OF THE CHVRCH, FIVE BOOKES.

By RICHARD FEILD, Doctor of Diuinitie.

AT LONDON
Imprinted by *Humfrey Lownes*, for *Simon Waterson*. 1606.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN God, my very good Lord, the Lord Archbishop of CANTERBVRY his Grace, Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*.

MOst Reuerend in Christ, the *consideration of the vnhappie diuisions of the Christian world, and the infinite distractions of mens minds, not knowing in so great variety of opinions, what to thinke, or to whom to ioyne themselues, (euery faction boasting of the pure and sincere profession of heauenly trueth, challenging to it selfe alone the name of the Church, and fastning vpon all that dissent, or are otherwise minded, the hatefull note of Schisme and Heresie) hath made me euer thinke, that there is no part of heauenly knowledge more necessary, than that which concerneth the Church. For, seeing the controuersies of Religion in our time, are growen in number so many, and in nature so intricate, that few haue time and leasure, fewer strength of vnderstanding to examine them; what remaineth for men desirous of satisfaction in things of such consequence, but diligently to search out, which amongst all the societies of men in the world, is that* blessed cõpany of holy ones, *that* houshold of faith, *that* Spouse of Christ, *and* Church of the liuing God, *which is* the Pillar and ground of trueth; *that so they may embrace her communion, follow her directions, and rest in her iudge-*

ment. Hence it commeth, that all wise and iudicious men, doe more esteeme bookes of doctrinall principles, than those that are written of any other argument; and that there was neuer any treasure holden more rich and precious by all them that knew how to price and value things aright, than bookes of prescription against the profane nouelties of Heretikes: for that thereby men that are not willing, or not able to examine the infinite differences that arise amongst men concerning the faith, haue generall directions what to follow, and what to auoide. We admit no man, sayth Tertullian in his booke of prescriptions, to any disputation concerning sacred and diuine things, or to the scanning and examining of particular questions of religion, vnlesse he first shew vs, of whome he receiued the faith, by whose meanes he became a Christian, and whether hee admit and hold the generall principles, wherein all Christians doe, and euer did agree; otherwise, prescribing against him, as a stranger from the common-wealth of the Israel of God, and hauing no part, nor fellowship in this businesse. But as in the dayes of the Fathers, the Donatists, and other Heretikes, including the Church within the compasse of Africa, and such other parts of the world, where they & their consorts found best entertainment, reiected all other from the vnity of the Church, excluded them from hope of saluation, and appropriated all the glorious things that are spoken of it, to themselues alone: so in our time, there are some found so much in loue with the pompe and glory of the Church of Rome, that they feare not to condemne all the inhabitants of the world, and to pronounce them to be Anathema from the Lord Iesus, if they dissent from that Church, and the doctrine, profession, and obseruations of it; So casting into hell, all the Christians of Græcia, Russia, Armenia, Syria, and Æthiopia, because they refuse to be subiect to the tyranny of the Pope, and the Court of Rome: besides the heauy sentence which they haue passed, against all the famous States and kingdomes of Europe, which haue freed themselues from the Aegyptiacall bondage, they were formerly holden in. These men abuse many, with the glorious pretences of Antiquitie, Vnitie, Vniuersalitie, Succession, and the like; making the simple beleeue, that all is ancient which they professe, that the consent of all ages is for them, and that the Bishops succeeding one another, in all the famous Churches of the world, neuer taught, nor beleeued any other thing, than they now doe: whereas it is easie to proue, that all the things

wherein

wherein they dissent from vs, are nothing else but nouelties, and vncertainties; that the greatest part of the Christian world hath been diuided from them for certaine hundreds of yeeres; that none of the most famous, and greatest Churches, euer knew, or admitted, any of their heresies; and that the things they now publish, as Articles of faith to be beleeued by all that will bee saued, are so farre from being Catholike, that they were not the doctrines of that Church, wherein they and wee sometimes liued together in one communion, but the opinions onely of some men in that Church, adulterating the doctrine of heauenly trueth, bringing in, and defending superstitious abuses disliked by others, and seruing as vile instruments to aduance the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome. Wherefore, for the discouerie of the vanity of their insolent boastings, for the confirming of the weake, the satisfying of them that are doubtful, and that all men may know e, that we haue not departed from the auncient faith, or forsaken the fellowship of the Catholike Church, but that wee haue forsaken a part to hold communion with the whole (led so to doe, by the most preuailing reasons that euer perswaded men, and the greatest authoritie on earth) I resolued to communicate to others, what I had long since in priuate for mine owne satisfaction obserued, touching the nature of the Church, the notes whereby it may be knowen, and the priuiledges that pertaine to it. These my simple labours, most Reuerend in Christ, I thought it my duety to offer to your Graces censure, before they should present themselues to the view of the world; that so, either finding approbation, they might the more confidently make themselues publike, or otherwise be suppressed like the vntimely fruit, that neuer sawe the Sunne. The condition of the times wherein we liue is such, that many are discouraged from medling with the Controuersies of Religion, becausethey are sure (besides the vile slanders, wicked calumniations, and bitter reproches, of the common aduersaries) to passe the censures of those men, who, though they will doe nothing themselues, yet in the height of a proud and disdainefull spirit, with many a scornefull looke, smile at the follies of other mens writings, as they esteeme them. The sinister iudgements of either of these sorts of men, I shall the lesse regard, for that it pleased your Grace so louingly to accept, and so fauourably to approue, these my poore paines bestowed, for the clearing of sundry questions concerning the Church, which by your direction and appointment I first entred into. It hath

beene of late, the vaunt of the aduersaries of the Religion established amongst vs, that they haue written many bookes against vs, and none haue been found to oppose any thing against them; and that they desire nothing more, than by writing, or disputing, to trie the goodnes of their cause. But, I doubt not, but this Nationall Church, the gouernement whereof vnder our most gracious Souereigne, is principally committed to your fatherly care, shall yeeld men more than matchable, with the proudest of the aduerse faction; who being animated and hartned by your fauour, and guided by your directions, shall no longer suffer these proud Philistims, to defie the armies of the Lord of Hostes. For, though they proclaime their owne praises with loude sounding trumpets, that might haue been piped with an oaten strawe; and though they magnifie themselues, as if they were the onely Paragons of the world, and as if all wit, and learning, had been borne with them, and should die with them; yet whosoeuer knoweth them, will little regard the froath of their swelling wordes of pride and scorne: seeing when they haue done vaunting, they haue done their best, and that which remaineth is little worth; their allegations being for the most part nothing but falsifications; their testimonies of antiquitie, the markes and notes of their ancient forgeries; their reasons, sophismes; their reports, slanders, and wicked calumniations; their threats, the venting of their malice, and powring out of their impotent desires; their predictions, onely manifesting what they wish might bee, but no way shewing what shall be. In the later dayes of our late dread Souereigne, ELIZABETH, of famous and blessed memorie, all their bookes were nothing but fearefull threatnings of bloody confusions, and horrible dissipations, of Church and common-wealth; which they hoped for, and looked after, so soone as it should please God to cut off the thread of her blessed life. But, he that sitteth in heauen hath laughed them to scorne, and branded them with the marke of false Prophets. For, ELIZABETH is gathered to her fathers, in peace, full of dayes, and full of honour, and yet they haue not bathed their swords in blood as they desired; but God hath disappointed all their purposes, frustrated their hopes, and continued our happinesse. Iosua hath succeeded Moyses; and Salomon, Dauid: and hee that disposeth the kingdomes of men, and giueth them to whom hee will, hath set vpon the Throne of Maiestie amongst vs, a King of a Religious, Vertuous, and peaceable disposition, to whom he hath giuen a wise and vnderstanding heart,

heart, large as the ſandes of the ſea ſhore, whoſe delight is in the Lawe of the Lord, who hath choſen his teſtimonies to bee his Counſellers; *whoſe conſtant reſolution in matters of faith and Religion, daunteth the enemies of it; whoſe admirable vnderſtanding in things Diuine, more than for many ages, the world hath found in any of his Ranke, giueth vs good aſſurance, that no frauds of any deceiuers ſhall euer be able to ſeduce or miſſe-leade him; whoſe bleſſed Progenie, and Royall Iſſue, maketh vs hope, that the felicitie of theſe vnited Kingdomes, ſhall continue as long as the Sunne and Moone endure: which whoſoeuer deſireth, and ſeeketh to procure,* Peace be vpon him, and vpon the Iſrael of God. *Thus crauing pardon for this my boldneſſe, and humbly beſeeching Almighty God, long to continue your Graces happie, and proſperous eſtate, and to make you a glorious inſtrument of much good to his Church, I reſt,*

Your Graces,

in all duetie,

RICHARD FEILD.

Dedicatory.

heart, large as the sands of the Sea-shore, whole delight is in the Law of the Lord, who hath chosen his testimonies to be his Counsellors; whole conversation in matters of Faith and Religion, damnified the enemies of it; whole admirable endeavouring in things Divine, more than for many ages, the world hath found in any of his Rank, giveth good assurance, that no Friends of any deceiners shall ever be able to seduce or misle-lead him; whole blessed Progenie, and Royall Offspring, giveth hope, that the Felicity of their united Kingdomes, shall continue as long as the Sunne and Moone endure: which wholoever defireth, and seeketh to procure, Peace be upon him, and upon the House of God. Then craving pardon for this my boldneſſe, and humbly beseeching almighty God, long to continue your Graces happie, and prosperous estate, and to make you a glorious instrument of much good to his Church, I rest,

Your Graces,

in all ducie,

RICHARD FIELD.

VVHAT THINGS ARE HANDLED IN THE BOOKES FOLLOWING.

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THE

THE FIRST BOOKE CONCERNING THE NAME, NATVRE, AND DEFINITION OF THE CHVRCH.

CHAP. 1.

Of the Church consisting of men and Angels, in the day of their Creation.

WHatsoeuer commeth within the compasse of mans conceit and apprehension, is either the vniuersall perfection of being it selfe, wherein there is nothing intermingled of not being, nothing of possibilitie to bee that which already it is not, which is the nature of God, whose name is [a] *Iehouah*, [b] *Which is, which was, and is to come*: or els it is finite limited and restrained to a certain degree, measure, and kind of being, which is the condition of all things vnder God. So that as wee can not thinke aright of God, but with resolued and vndoubted assurance that *he is*, (For what can be, if being it selfe be not?) that he is infinite, and hath no limitation of his perfections, (for within what bounds or limits shal we compasse that, wherin the fulnesse of being is found?) that he is from euerlasting to euerlasting, and knoweth neither beginning nor end of his continuance: (For how should that haue either beginning or end, wherein there is nothing intermingled of not being, and so no time nor moment can bee imagined wherein it was not, or shall cease to bee?) so wee cannot thinke of any thing else, but as finite and limited, hauing certaine bounds set vnto it, within the compasse whereof all the perfection it possesseth and enioyeth is contained, as hauing being after not being, and so receiuing it from another, as limited in continuance aswell as in measure and kinde of perfections, hauing set and certaine termes before which it was not, and a necessitie of ceasing to be, if the hand that vpholdeth it, withdraw it selfe but for a moment. Hence

[a] Exod. 3. 14. and 6. 3.
[b] Reuel. 1. 8.

it followeth that ſuch is the nature and condition of all things vnder God, that they are mixed and compounded of being and not being, perfection and imperfection, fulneſſe and want. For howſoeuer they want nothing, which to the perfecting of their owne kinde is required, yet they faile, and come infinitely ſhort of that perfection, which is found in God the fountaine of all being; yea, much is denied to euery of them, which is beſtowed on others, and euen in reſpect of themſelues, they are oftentimes that in poſſibilitie, which actually they haue not attained vnto. Seeing therefore the imperfection of each thing, preſuppoſeth perfection before it, out of which it is taken, whereunto it tendeth and endeoureth to attaine, and whereof it faileth; all things vnder God hauing imperfection found in them, and hauing ſome part of his Diuine perfections committed vnto them, but not in ſort anſwerable to that whence they are taken, and wherein they are originally found, looke backe and haſten to returne to that beginning, whence they came foorth, and with fixed eyes, bowed knees, and hands lifted vp, preſent themſelues before him that liueth for euer, *which is, which was*, and *which is to come*, with great ioy and exultation powring foorth, and returning thankefull praiſes to him, [c] *for whoſe ſake they were created*; deſiring continuance of that they are, ſupplie of that they want, and thinking it their greateſt happineſſe, to haue but the leaſt reſemblance of his Diuine perfections.

c Reuel. 5, 13. & 4, 11.

[d] The proceeding of each thing from the firſt, is like to a ſtraight line drawen out in length, which of all other is the weakeſt; neither can it be ſtrengthened, but by being redoubled and bowed backe againe, whereby it draweth nigh to the nature of a circular line, which of all other is the ſtrongeſt, as wherein each part yeeldeth ſtay and ſupport to other. All things therefore after they are come foorth from the preſence of God, taking view of themſelues, and finding their owne imperfect and defectiue nature, fearing to remooue too farre, flie back vnto him that made them, for ſupport, comfort and ſtay, and like a reflected line returne towards the preſence of him, *for whoſe ſake they are, and haue been created*: yet is there nothing found in degree of nature inferiour vnto man, that returneth ſo farre, and approacheth ſo neere, as to know, ſee and delight in God, as he is in himſelfe, but all reſt contented and ſeeke to diſcerne, knowe and enioy no more of his Diuine perfections, than in themſelues they poſſeſſe and partake of him. So that they expreſſe not the nature of a perfect circle, in which the lines, drawen foorth in length, are in ſuch ſort reflected and bowed backe againe, that in their returne they ſtay not, till they come to the very ſame poynt whence they beganne. This is peculiar to men and Angels, which are caried backe with reſtleſſe motions of vnſatiſfied deſires, and ſtay not till they come to the open viewe, cleare viſion, and happie fruition

d Gaſpar Contarenus lib. 7. primæ Philoſophiæ.

of

of GOD their Creator. e *O Lord, sayth Augustine, thou madest vs for thy selfe, and our hearts are restlesse and vnquiet, till they rest in thee.*

e *Quia fecisti nos ad te, & inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te. Aug. lib. 1. Confess. in initio*

The reason of this so different condition of men and Angels, from other things, who so taketh a viewe of the diuers degrees and sorts of things in the world, cannot but with exceeding great sweetnesse of delight obserue and discerne.

There is nothing which, in sense of want and imperfection, doth not endeuour to returne towards God, from whome all good, and happie supply of defect and want proceedeth: neither is there any thing found in the world, (all things being full of defect,) which is not caried with some inclination of desire, either seeking that it hath not, or desiring the continuance of that it hath already receiued from him, in whome the fulnesse of all happy good is found. From hence it commeth, that all things incline, tend, and mooue to that place, condition and estate, wherein they may enioy the vttermost of that perfection they are capable of. This inclination of desire ariseth and groweth in each thing out of the forme thereof, which giueth it that degree, measure and kinde of being it hath, neither is there any forme whence some inclination doeth not flowe. Those things therefore which haue no forme, but that which giueth them their naturall beeing different and distinct from other things, haue no inclination of desire, but naturall, to enioy and possesse themselues and continue that they are, to growe and increase till they come to the full period of their naturall perfection, and to continue the same by turning into their owne substance and nature such things, by addition whereof they may bee nourished, increased and continued. But those things, wherein, besides their naturall formes giuing them being, by reason of their more spirituall and immateriall nature, the formes and formall resemblances of other things doe shine and appeare, haue farre more large desires, growing out of the formes thus shining into them, and apprehended by them. And as they are of more or lesse largenesse of apprehension, so are their desires larger and more free, or shut vp within the narrower compasse.

The f most perfect and excellent creatures in the world, belowe the condition of man, haue not a generall apprehension of all things, but onely of some outward sensible things in the getting or declining whereof their good doth stand and consist; and therefore haue their desires likewise contained within the same straits, and are like prisoners subiect to the will of him that restraineth them, which cannot goe at large whither they wil. But man is by condition of his creation free, hauing no bounds of any one kind of good things within the cõpasse wherof he is incloſed; but

f *Conterenus lib. de libero Arbitrio*

as his vnderſtanding is ſo large, that it reacheth to all things that are, though in kinde neuer ſo different, and number neuer ſo numberleſſe; ſo his deſires haue no limitation to things of any one kind alone, but are freely carried to the deſiring of whatſoeuer in any kinde or degree of goodneſſe appeares to bee good. And becauſe in this multiplicitie of good things nothing is good, but as partaking of the chiefe good; nothing better than other, but as comming neerer vnto it: therefore for the direction of all his deſires, that he may rightly value and price each thing, either preferring or leſſe eſteeming it according to the worth thereof, it is neceſſary that he knowe and deſire as the chiefe good, that which indeede is the chiefe and principall good, the meaſure of all the reſt, before he can rightly diſcerne the different degrees of goodneſſe found in things, and ſo rightly preferre one before another.

And this doubtleſſe is the reaſon why no other creatures but onely men and Angels are capable of felicitie and bliſſe; becauſe the greateſt good they knowe or deſire is but ſome particular thing, and that not better than themſelues; but men and Angels, in whom ſo great perfection of knowledge is found, that they apprehend the whole varietie, and multiplicitie of things, and all the different degrees of goodneſſe in them, neuer haue their deſires ſatiſfied till they poſſeſſe and enioy that ſoueraigne infinite and euerlaſting good, by participation whereof all things elſe in their ſeuerall kindes and degrees are iudged good. This glorious ſocietie of men and Angels, whom the moſt high God; paſſing by all his other creatures made capable of felicitie and bliſſe, calling them to the view, ſight and enioying of himſelfe, is rightly named *Eccleſia, cœtus euocatus*, the Church of the liuing God, the ioyfull company of them among whom his greatneſſe is knowen and his name called vpon, the multitude which by the ſweete motions of his Diuine grace he hath called out to the participation of eternall happineſſe.

CHAP. 2.

Of the calling of grace, whereby God called out both men and Angels from the reſt of his creatures, to be vnto him a holy Church: and of their Apoſtaſie.

ALl [a] other things ſeeking no higher perfection, nor greater good, than is found within the compaſſe of their owne nature, by natures guiding without the help of any other thing attaine thereunto: but men and Angels which ſeeke an infinite and Diuine good, euen the euerlaſting and endleſſe happineſſe

a *Virtus naturæ ordinat actum ſuum in bonum per naturã, quia non eſt ſupra naturam, & ideo poteſt in illum ordinem & ſine diſpoſitione noua ferre ad locum. Actus rationalis creaturæ meritorius oportet quòd ordinetur ad bonum quod eſt ſupra ipſam, quod eſt ſummum bonum & infinitum. Quia ergo non eſt poſſibile extenſio rationalis creaturæ ſupra ſeipſam, ideo non eſt ei poſſibile per naturam vt ordinet ſuum actum ſiue perueniat in ſuum finem: & ideo neceſſe eſt vt iuuetur gratia.* Et poſt. *Duplex eſt cognitio de Deo. Vna per effectus ſuos, & hæc eſt ſine gratia, alia per preſentiam ſui apud animam, & hæc eſt per gratiam. Præſens autem eſt in quantum præſentat, ſeu præſentem facit beatitudinẽ, quæ eſt in ipſo; in baptiſmo tantum, vt in paruulo; in affectu tantũ, vt in adulto, in habitu, affectu, & intellectu, vt in beato.* Alex. de Hales part. 3. q. 61. membr. 1.

pineſſe

pineſſe, which conſiſteth in the viſion of God, *at whoſe right hand are pleaſures for euermore*, cannot attaine their wiſhed good, which is ſo high and excellent, and farre remooued from them, vnleſſe by ſupernaturall force, which we call *grace*, they be lifted vp vnto it. For though by nature they knowe God, ſo farre forth as by his effects and glorious workes he may be knowen; yet as he is in himſelfe they knowe him not, farther than in the light of grace and glory hee is pleaſed to manifeſt himſelfe vnto them, thereby admitting them to the ioyfull ſight, and bleſſed view of his glorious Maieſtie, *Which dwelleth in light that no creature*, by it ſelfe, *can approach vnto*. [b] This is true and perfect happineſſe, to ſee the face of God: which to behold, is the height of all that good which any creature can deſire. [c] To this the Angels may bee lifted vp, to this they cannot aſcend by themſelues; to this man cannot goe, to this hee may bee drawen, according to that our Sauiour deliuereth of himſelfe, [d] *No man commeth vnto me, vnleſſe my Father drawe him*. Thoſe things which are inferiour vnto man, can neither attaine by themſelues, nor be drawen, nor lifted vp to the partaking of this ſo happy and ioyfull an eſtate. The vapour of water goeth vp on high, but not vnleſſe it bee drawen with the beames and ſweete influence of the Sunne: but more groſſe and earthly things, can neither aſcend of themſelues, nor admit into them theſe heauenly beames, to raiſe and drawe them vp. Among bodily ſubſtances, ſome are caried onely with a ſtraight and direct motion, either to the higheſt or loweſt places of the world: which motion expreſſeth the condition of thoſe things to the which God hath denied the knowledge and immediate enioying of himſelfe, which are eſtabliſhed in the perfection of their owne nature, and therein reſt without ſeeking any farther thing. Some with circular motion, by which they returne to the ſame point whence they began to moue: The motion of theſe expreſſeth the nature and condition of men and Angels, who onely are capable of true happineſſe, whoſe deſires are neuer ſatisfied, till they come backe to the ſame beginning whence they came forth, till they come to ſee God face to face, and to dwell in his preſence. None but immortal & incorruptible bodies are rolled with circular motions: none but Angels that are heauenly ſpirits, & men whoſe ſoules are immortall, returne backe to the ſight, preſence, and happy enioying of God their Creator. Each thing is caried in direct motion, by natures force, in circular, by heauenly mouers. Euery thing attaineth natures perfection, by natures force and guidance; but that other which is Diuine and ſupernaturall, conſiſting in the viſion and fruition of God, they that attaine vnto it, muſt impute it to the ſweet motions and happie directions of Diuine grace.

This grace God vouchſafed both men and Angels in the day of their creation, thereby calling them to the participation of eternall happineſſe, and giuing them power that they might attaine to the perfection of all

b *Oſtendam tibi omne bonum.* Exod. 33.19.

c Ioan. Picus Heptapli lib. 7. in proœmio.

d Iohn 6.44

happie and desired good if they would, and euerlastingly continue in the ioyfull possession of the same. But such was the infelicitie of these most excellent creatures, that knowing all the different degrees of goodnesse found in things, and hauing power to make choise of what they would, ioyned with that mutabilitie of nature which they were subiect vnto in that they were made of nothing,[d] they fell from the loue of that which is the chiefe and greatest good, to those of meaner qualitie, and thereby depriued themselues of that sweete and happie contentment they should haue found in God; and denying to bee subiect to their great soueraigne, and to performe that dutie they owed vnto him, were iustly dispossessed of all that good, which from him they receiued, and vnder him should haue enioyed; yea all other things which were made to doe them seruice, lost their natiue beautie and originall perfection, and became feeble, weake, vnpleasant and vntractable, that in them they might find as little cõtentment as in themselues.[e] For seeing nothing can preuaile or resist against the lawes of the omnipotent *Creatour*: no creature is suffered to denie the yeelding of that, which from it is due to God. For either it shall be forced to yeeld it by right vsing of that which from him it receiued, or by loosing that which it would not vse well; and so consequently, if it yeeld not that by dutie it should, by doing and working righteousnesse, it shall by feeling smart and miserie. This then was the fall of men and Angels from their first estate, in that by turning from the greater to the lesser good, they depriued themselues of that blessednesse, which though they had not of themselues, yet they were capable of, and might haue attained vnto, by adhering to the chiefe and immutable good, and so by their fault fell into those greeuous euills they are now subiect vnto; yet in verie different sort and manner.

d *August. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 12. cap. 8.*

e *August. de libero Arbitrio. lib. 3. cap. 15.*

CHAP. 3.

Of the Church, consisting of those Angels that continued in their first estate by force of grace vpholding them, and men redeemed.

THe fall of Angels was irrecouerable; For, without all hope of any better estate, or future deliuerance out of those euils, into the bottomlesse gulfe whereof, by their rebellious sinne they plunged themselues, they are *reserued in chaines of darkenesse, to the iudgement of the great day*. But concerning the sonnes of men, the *Lord knew whereof they were made, and remembred that they were but dust*. Heelooked vpon them with the eye of pittie, and in the multitude of his compassionate mercies, said of them as it is in the Prophet [a] *Ieremie, Shall they fall, and shall they not arise? shall they turne away, and shall they not returne? as high as the heauen is aboue the earth, so great was his mercy towards*

a Ierem. 8. 4

towards them; *As farre as the East is from the West, so farre remoued hee their sinnes from them, hee redeemed their life from hell, and crowned them with mercie and compassion.*

b The reason of this so great difference, as the Schoolemen thinke, is; First, for that the Angels are not by propagation one from another, but were created all at once, so that of Angels some might fall and others stand: But men descende by generation from one stocke or roote, and therefore the first man falling and corrupting his nature, deriued to all his posteritie a corrupted and sinnefull nature; if therefore God had not appointed a redemption for man, hee had beene wholly depriued of one of the most excellēt creatures that euer hee made; whereas among the Angels, notwithstanding the Apostasie of some, hee held still innumerable in their first estate. Secondly, the Angels fell of themselues, but man by the suggestion of another. Thirdly, the Angels, in the height of their pride, sought to be like vnto God in omnipotencie, which is an incommunicable propertie of diuine being, and cannot be imparted to any creature: But men desired onely to be like vnto God in omniscience and the generall knowledge of all things, which may bee communicated to a creature, as in Christ it is to his humane soule: which notwithstanding the vnion with God, yet still remaineth and continueth a created nature, and therefore the degree of sinnefull transgression was not so greeuous in the one, as in the other. Fourthly, the Angels were immateriall and intellectuall spirits, dwelling in heauenly palaces, in the presence of God and the light of his countenance, and therefore could not sinne by error or misperswasion, but of purposed malice which is the sinne against the holy Ghost, and is irremissible: But man fell by misperswasion, and being deceiued by the lying suggestion of the spirit of errour. Fiftly, the Angels haue the fulnesse of intellectuall light; when they take viewe of any thing, they see all that any way pertaineth to it; and so doe all things with so full resolution, that they neuer alter nor repent: But man who findeth out one thing after another, and one thing out of another, doth dislike vpon farther consideration, that which formerly he liked. Whereupon the Schoolemen note that there are three kinds of willes; The first of God, which neuer turneth nor altereth; the second of Angels, that turneth and returneth not; the third of men, that turneth and returneth. Sixtly, there is a time prefixed both to men and Angels, after which there is no possibilitie of altering their estate, bettering themselues, or attaining any good; Now as death is that time prefixed vnto men, so was the first good or badde deliberate action to the Angels; that who would might be perpetually good; who would not, no grace should euer after restore them again. c *Hoc est Angelis casus, quod hominibus mors.* saith *Damascene*. The reason why God limited so short a time to them, & assigned so long a time to men, was, because they were spirituall substāces,

b *Alex. de Hales part. 3. q. 1. membr. 2*

c *Damasc. lib. 2, Orthodoxæ fidei, cap. 4*

all

all created at once, and that in the empyreall heauens; and so both in respect of nature, condition, and place, were most readily prepared, disposed, and fitted for their immediate euerlasting glorification; so that it was fit there should be set vnto them a short time to make choice of their future state, neuer after to be altered againe, to wit, till their first deliberate conuersion vnto him, or auersion from him.

But man being created in a naturall body, to fill the world with inhabitants by procreation, being set in a place farre remooued, euen in an earthly paradise, had a longer time set him before hee should bee in finall stay, or haue his last iudgement passe vpon him, to wit, till death for particular, and till the end of the world for generall iudgement, when the number of mankind shall be full. These are the reasons that mooued Almighty God that spared not the Angels, to shewe mercie vnto the sonnes of men.

So that as God, in the day of the creation, called foorth all both men and Angels from among the rest of his creatures, to whome hee denied the knowledge and enioying of himselfe, that these onely might knowe, feare, and worship him in his glorious Temple of the world, and be vnto him a selected multitude and holy Church; so when there was found amongst these a dangerous Apostasie, and departure from him, [d] he helde of the Angels so many as hee was pleased, and suffered them not to decline or goe aside with the rest; and raised vp and seuered out of the masse of perdition, whome hee would among the sonnes of men. The Angels now confirmed in grace, and those men whome in the multitude of his mercies he deliuereth out of the state of condemnation, and reconcileth to himselfe, doe make that happie societie of blessednesse, whome God hath loued with an euerlasting loue. This societie is more properly named the Church of God, than the former, consisting of men and Angels, in the state of that integritie wherein they were [e] created, in that they which pertaine to this happie company, are called to the participation of eternall happinesse, with the calling of a more mighty potent and preuailing grace than the other. For whereas they were partakers onely of that grace, which gaue them power to attaine vnto, and continue in the perfection of all happy good, if they would, and then *In tanta felicitate, & non peccandi facilitate*, in so great felicitie and facilitie of not offending, left to themselues to doe what they would and to make their choice at their owne perill; These are partakers of that grace, which winneth infallibly, holdeth inseparably, and leadeth indeclinably, in the wayes of eternall blessednesse.

d 1. Tim. 5. 21. & Iude verse 6.

e *Maior libertas est necessaria aduersus tot & tantas tentationes quæ in Paradiso non fuerunt domo perseuerantiæ munita & firmata, vt cum omnibus amoribus, terroribus erroribus suis vincatur hic mundus. Hoc Sæclorum martyria docuerunt: denique ille Adam, & terrente ntllo & insuper contra Dei terrentis imperium libero vsus arbitrio non stetit in tanta felicitate, in tanta non peccandi facilitate. Isti autem non dico terrente mundo sed seuiente ne starent, steterunt in fide cùm viderent ille bona presentia quæ erat relicturus, isti futura quæ accepturi fuerunt non viderent. vnde illud, Nisi dominus, &c.* Aug. de Corrept. & Gratia. Cap. 12.

CHAP.

CHAP. 4.

Of the Church of the Redeemed.

ALl these aswel Angels that stood by force of grace vpholding thē, as men restored by renewing mercy, haue a most happie fellowship among themselues, and therefore make one Church of God: yet for that the sonnes of men haue a more full communion and perfect fellowship, being all deliuered out of the same miseries, by the same benefit of gracious mercie; Therefore they make that more speciall society, which may rightly be named the Church of the redeemed of God. This Church began in him in whom sinne began, euen in [a] *Adam* the father of all the liuing, repenting after his fal and returning to God. For we must not thinke, that God was without a Church among men at any time; but so soone as *Adam* had offended, & was called to giue an account of that he had done, (hearing that voice of his displeased Lord and Creator, [b] *Adam, where art thou?* that so he might know in what estate he was by reason of his offence) the promise was made vnto him, [c] that *the seede of the woman should breake the serpents head.* Yet for that [d] *Abel* was the first that the Scripture reporteth to haue worshipped God with sacrifice, and to haue been diuided from the wicked in whom GOD had no pleasure, euen [e] *cursed Cain*, that afterward shed his innocent blood, therefore wee vsually say the Church or chosen company of the redeemed of the Lord began in *Abel*: who being slaine by *Cain*, God restored his Church againe in [f] *Seth*, in whose race and posteritie hee continued his true worship [g] till *Noe*. [h] In whose time the wickednesse of men being full, hee brought in the flood and destroyed the whole worlde, *Noe* onely and his family excepted, whom hee made *a preacher of righteousnesse* to the worlde, before and after the flood, and chose (from among his children) [i] *Sem* his eldest sonne, in whose race he would continue the pure and sincere knowledge of himselfe, and the expectation of that promised seed that should breake the serpents head.

This *Sem* was the father of all the sonnes of *Heber* (of whom the people of God were afterwards named *Hebrewes*) who was also [k] as some think *Melchisedech*, in whose posteritie the true Church continued; so that God vouchsafed to bee called the God of *Sem*, till the dayes of *Abraham*, in whose time there being a great declining to Idolatry after the flood, as there was in the dayes of *Noe* before the flood, so that the defection was found not onely amongst those that descended of *Cham* and *Iaphet*, but euen among the children of *Sem* and the sonnes of *Heber* also, of whom *Abraham* was; [l] God called him out *from his fathers house*, [m] and gaue him the promise that hee would *make his seede as the starres of heauen*,

a Wisd. 10, 1

b Gen. 3, 9.

c Gen. 3. 15

d Gen 4, 4.

e Gen. 4. 8

f Gen. 4, 25

g Gen. 6.

h Gen. 7.

i Gen. 10, 21

k *Hieron in epist. ad Enagrium, i.* Gen 9, 26

l Gen. 12, 1

m Gen. 15. 5

n Gen.12.3. *heauen in number*, and that n *in his seede all the nations of the worlde should*
o Gen.17.9. *be blessed*, and o *gaue him the seale of circumcision*, so that all posterities
haue euer honoured him with with the name and title of the father of
p Gen.15.4. the faithfull. This man obtained a sonne by p promise in his olde age,
& 17,& 21.2,3 when *Sara* his wife was *likewise old, and it ceased to be with her after the manner of women, and named his name Isaac*, of whome came *Esau* and *Iacob*, concerning whome God pronounced ere they were yet borne,
q Gen.25.23. or had done good or euill, q *The Elder shall serue the yonger*, r *I haue*
r Malac.1,2,3. *loued* Iacob *and hated* Esau. f *Iacob* therefore preuailed with God, and
f Gen.32.28. was named *Israel*, the father of the twelue Patriarches, of whome came the twelue Tribes of *Israel*, and that chosen nation of holy Hebrewes,
t Gen.49.8,10 who were also named Iewes of t *Iudah* the Patriarch, to whome the Scepter and kingly dignitie pertayned, to whome his fathers sonnes bowed according to the tenour of *Iacobs* blessing, concerning whome the Lord did promise, *that the Scepter should not depart from Iudah, nor a lawgiuer from betweene his feete, till the* Shilo *were come.* Great was the honour of this people aboue all the Nations of the worlde, for
n Rom.3.2 u *vnto them were committed the Oracles of* GOD, *to* x *them pertained the*
x Rom.9.4,5. *adoption and glory, and the couenants, and the giuing of the Lawe, and the seruice of* GOD, *and the promises, of whome were the fathers, and of whome concerning the flesh Christ came, who is God ouer all blessed for euer*, the propitiation for sinnes, the merit of reconciliation, y *the*
y Luke 2.32. *glory of Israel, and the light of the Gentiles,* a *to whome God gaue a name*
a Phil.2,9,10. *aboue all names, that at the naming thereof, all knees doe bow, both of things in heauen, and things in earth, and things vnder the earth,* b *in whome all*
b Nazianzen. Orat. 4. de Filio 1. *things appeare full of mercie, and full of marueile.* God, before all eternities, yet made man in time; begotten before all times, yet borne in time; borne of a woman, yet a virgine, inclosed in the wombe of *Marie* his mother, yet euen then knowen of *Iohn* his forerunner yet in the wombe of *Elizabeth* his mother likewise, who sprang for ioy at the presence of the eternall Word. Hee was *borne in Bethlehem* the meanest of the cities of *Iudah*, *wrapped in swadling bands, and layd in a manger*, yet glorified by the Angels poynted to by a starre, and adored by the Sages that came from far. *He* was no sooner borne into the world, but *Herode* sought his life, so that he was forced to flie into *Egypt* whilest hee did yet hang on his mothers breasts, but he ouerthrew and brake in pieces all the Idoles of *Ægypt*. The Iewes saw no beauty in his face, nor glory in his countenance, yet *Dauid* in spirit long before pronounced that he was fayrer than the sonnes of men; and being transfigured in the mount, his face did shine like the Sunne, and gaue a taste of that glory, wherein hee will returne to iudge the quicke and dead: hee was baptized as a man, but forgaue sinnes as God, not washed by those waters, but purifiyng them rather, and filling them with sanctifying force and

power;

power; hee was tempted as a man, but ouercomming as GOD, maketh vs confident, becauſe hee hath ouercome the worlde; hee was hungrie, but fedde many thouſands, and was the true bread that came downe from heauen; hee thirſted but cryed aloude, *If any man thirſt let him come vnto mee*, and promiſeth to *euery one that beleeueth in him*, that *riuers of water ſhall flowe out of his belly*. Hee was weary, but promiſed reſt to all them that are wearie and come vnto him; hee ſlept, but waking ſtilled the tempeſt, and commanded the winde and the ſea; hee payed tribute, but out of the mouth of a fiſh taken in the ſea; hee prayed, but heareth our prayers; hee wept, but wipeth all teares from our eyes; hee was ſolde for thirtie pence, but redeemed the worlde with a great and ineſtimable price; hee was ledde as a ſheepe to the ſlaughter, but hee is the great ſhepheard that feedeth the Iſrael of God; he was beaten and wounded, but cureth all our weakeneſſe and healeth all our ſickeneſſe; hee died, was buried, and deſcended into hell, but hee roſe againe, and aſcended into heauen, where hee ſitteth on the right hand of the higheſt Maieſtie, *till all his enemies be made his footeſtoole*. This was hee whome all the Fathers looked for, all the Prophets propheſied of, whome all the Ceremonies, Sacrifices, and Iewiſh obſeruations led vnto, in whome that which was foretolde was fulfilled, that which was imperfect ſupplied, and all things changed into a better eſtate, ſo that by his comming *all things are become newe*, a new Prieſthood, a new Lawe, a new Couenant, new Sacraments, and a newe people, [c] that *worſhip not at Ieruſalem, or in the Temple alone*, but (without reſpect of place) *worſhip God in ſpirit and trueth*. c Ioh. 4.23

CHAP. 5.

Of the Chriſtian Church.

THE ſocietie of this new and bleſſed people began in the *Apoſtles*, whom Chriſt the anointed *Sauiour* of the worlde did chuſe to bee his followers, and to bee witneſſes of all the things hee did and ſuffered among ſinfull men. To theſe our Sauiour Chriſt, after his reſurrection, gaue moſt ample Commiſſion [a] *to teach the Nations and people of the worlde*, [b] *and to preach repentance and remiſſion of ſinnes in his name, opening their vnderſtandings that they might vnderſtand the Scriptures, that ſo it behoued him to ſuffer, and to riſe againe the third day, whereof they were witneſſes*. [c] *Yet commaunded hee them to tarrie in Ieruſalem, till they were indued with power from aboue*, [d] which was performed vnto thē in *the feaſt of Pentecoſt*, when all they that a Mat. 28.19, 20. b Luke 24.45, 46, 47, 48. c Acts 1.4 d Acts 2.1.

n Gen.12.3. *heauen in number*, and that n *in his seede all the nations of the world should*
o Gen.17.9. *be blessed*, and o *gaue him the seale of circumcision*, so that all posterities
haue euer honoured him with with the name and title of the father of
p Gen.15.4. the faithfull. This man obtained a sonne by p promise in his olde age,
& 17,& 21.2,3 when *Sara* his wife was *likewise old, and it ceased to be with her after the manner of women, and named his name Isaac*, of whome came *Esau* and *Iacob*, concerning whome God pronounced ere they were yet borne,
q Gen.25.23. or had done good or euill, q *The Elder shall serue the yonger*, r *I haue*
r Malac.1,2,3. *loued* Iacob *and hated* Esau. s *Iacob* therefore preuailed with God, and
s Gen.32.28. was named *Israel*, the father of the twelue Patriarches, of whome came the twelue Tribes of *Israel*, and that chosen nation of holy Hebrewes,
t Gen.49.8,10 who were also named Iewes of t *Iudah* the Patriarch, to whome the Scepter and kingly dignitie pertayned, to whome his fathers sonnes bowed according to the tenour of *Iacobs* blessing, concerning whome the Lord did promise, *that the Scepter should not depart from Iudah, nor a lawgiuer from betweene his feete, till the* Shilo *were come.* Great was the honour of this people aboue all the Nations of the worlde, for
n Rom.3.2 u *vnto them were committed the Oracles of* GOD, *to* x *them pertained the*
x Rom.9.4,5. *adoption and glory, and the couenants, and the giuing of the Lawe, and the seruice of* GOD, *and the promises, of whome were the fathers, and of whome concerning the flesh Christ came, who is God ouer all blessed for euer*, the propitiation for sinnes, the merit of reconciliation, y *the*
y Luke 2.32. *glory of Israel, and the light of the Gentiles*, a *to whome God gaue a name*
a Phil.2,9,10. *aboue all names, that at the naming thereof, all knees doe bow, both of things in heauen, and things in earth, and things vnder the earth*, b *in whome all*
b Nazianzen. Orat. 4. de Filio 1. *things appeare full of mercie, and full of marueile.* God, before all eternities, yet made man in time; begotten before all times, yet borne in time; borne of a woman, yet a virgine, inclosed in the wombe of *Marie* his mother, yet euen then knowen of *Iohn* his forerunner yet in the wombe of *Elizabeth* his mother likewise, who sprang for ioy at the presence of the eternall Word. Hee was *borne in Bethlehem* the meanest of the cities of *Iudah*, *wrapped in swadling bands, and layd in a manger*, yet glorified by the Angels poynted to by a starre, and adored by the Sages that came from far. *He* was no sooner borne into the world, but *Herode* sought his life, so that he was forced to flie into *Egypt* whilest hee did yet hang on his mothers breasts, but he ouerthrew and brake in pieces all the Idoles of *Ægypt*. The Iewes saw no beauty in his face, nor glory in his countenance, yet *Dauid* in spirit long before pronounced that he was fayrer than the sonnes of men; and being transfigured in the mount, his face did shine like the Sunne, and gaue a taste of that glory, wherein hee will returne to iudge the quicke and dead: hee was baptized as a man, but forgaue sinnes as God, not washed by those waters, but purifiyng them rather, and filling them with sanctifying force and

power;

power; hee was tempted as a man, but ouercomming as GOD, maketh vs confident, becauſe hee hath ouercome the worlde; hee was hungrie, but fedde many thouſands, and was the true bread that came downe from heauen; hee thirſted but cryed aloude, *If any man thirſt let him come vnto mee*, and promiſeth to *euery one that beleeueth in him*, that *riuers of water ſhall flowe out of his belly*. Hee was weary, but promiſed reſt to all them that are wearie and come vnto him; hee ſlept, but waking ſtilled the tempeſt, and commanded the winde and the ſea; hee payed tribute, but out of the mouth of a fiſh taken in the ſea; hee prayed, but heareth our prayers; hee wept, but wipeth all teares from our eyes; hee was ſolde for thirtie pence, but redeemed the worlde with a great and ineſtimable price; hee was ledde as a ſheepe to the ſlaughter, but hee is the great ſhepheard that feedeth the Iſrael of God; he was beaten and wounded, but cureth all our weakeneſſe and healeth all our ſickeneſſe; hee died, was buried, and deſcended into hell, but hee roſe againe, and aſcended into heauen, where hee ſitteth on the right hand of the higheſt Maieſtie, *till all his enemies be made his footeſtoole*. This was hee whome all the Fathers looked for, all the Prophets propheſied of, whome all the Ceremonies, Sacrifices, and Iewiſh obſeruations led vnto, in whome that which was foretolde was fulfilled, that which was imperfect ſupplied, and all things changed into a better eſtate, ſo that by his comming *all things are become newe*, a new Prieſthood, a new Lawe, a new Couenant, new Sacraments, and a newe people, [c] that *worſhip not at Ieruſalem, or in the Temple alone*, but (without reſpect of place) *worſhip God in ſpirit and trueth*. c Iohn 4.23

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looked for the redemption of Israel by this anointed Sauiour, and had been his followers, after his departure from them and returning to the heauens, were *assembled into one place, and suddainly heard as it were the noyse of a mighty and rushing winde, and there appeared vnto them clouen tongues like fire, and sate vpon euery of them, and they were all filled with the holy Ghost, and began to speake with other tongues as the spirit gaue them vtterance*; so that though there *were dwelling at Ierusalem men that feared God of euery nation vnder heauen, yet they all heard them speake in their owne tongues the wonderfull workes of God.* Here was the beginning of that blessed company which for distinction sake we call the Christian Church, as consisting of them that beleeue in Christ now already come in the flesh.

And though the Church of the olde and new Testament bee in essence the same, yet for that the state of the Church of the new Testament is in many respects farre more glorious and excellent, the Fathers and Ecclesiasticall writers for the most part appropriate the name of the Church, to the multitude of beleeuers since the comming of Christ, and call the faithfull people that were before, by the name of the Synagogue. If this difference of names be retained onely for distinction sake, (that men may know when we speake of that moity of the people of God that was before, and when of that other that is and hath been since the comming of Christ) we dislike it not.

The Greeke words which we turne *Church* and *Synagogue*, the one originally and properly signifieth a multitude called out, or called together, which is proper to men; the other a multitude congregated and gathered together, which is common to men with brute beastes. If any man hauing an eye to the different originall significations of these wordes, doe thereupon inferre, that the people of GOD, before the comming of Christ, did seeke nothing but earthly, outward and transitorie things, and so were gathered together like brute beasts, and like oxen fatted to the day of slaughter, we detest and accurse so wicked and damnable a construction. [c] And herein surely the *Chatechisme of Trent* cannot wel be excused, which abusing the authority of *Augustine* vpon the [f] Psalm. 77. and 81. affirmeth that *the name of Synagogue is therefore applyed to the people that were vnder the Law, because like brute beastes (which most properly are sayd to bee congregated or gathered together) they respected, intended, and sought nothing, but onely outward, sensible, earthly, and transitory things.* Which vnaduised speach,

c *Catech. Trident. in explicatione Symboli.*

f *Quamuis propriè dicatur synagoga Iudæorum, ecclesia verò Christianorũ, quia Congregatio magis pecorum, Conuocatio magis hominum intelligi solet; tamen et illam dictam inuenimus*

ecclesiam, et nobis fortasse magis conuenit dicere Saluos nos Domine noster et congrega nos de Gentibus, vt confiteamur nomini sancto tuo, neque dedignari nos oportet, imò gratias ineffabiles agere, quia sumus oues manuum eius, quas præuidebat cùm diceret Habeo alias oues. Aug. in Psal. 77. g *Synagoga dicitur populus Israel, cùm vtiq; quamuis vero Deo mancipatus videretur, pro magnis tamen & summis bonis ab illo carnalia terrena & temporalia requirebat. Aug. in Psal. 81. Sed in Psal. 72. ostendit, vtcunq; multi animaduertentes quæ promiserit Deus populo suo, nempe abundantiam rerum terrenarum, patriam, pacem & felicitatem terrenam, & non considerantes in his omnibus figuram esse, nec intelligentes quid ibi lateret, putarent non habere Deum melius quod daret diligentibus se; fuisse tamen Prophetas & alios quosdam intellectores regni cœlestis & æterni, qui non pro temporalibus sed spiritualibus bonis Domino seruirent.*

how

how much it aduantageth the *Anabaptists*, [h] who thinke the faithfull people before Christ did onely taste of the sweetnesse of Gods temporall blessings, without any hope of eternall happinesse, any man of meane vnderstanding may easily discerne. It is therefore not to be doubted, but that the faithfull, before the manifestation of Christ in the flesh, [i] were so instructed of the Lord, that they assured themselues there was a better life for them elsewhere; and that, neglecting this earthly momentanie and wretched life, they principally sought the other, which is Diuine and Heauenly. Notwithstanding, some difference there was betweene their estate and ours, in that though the Lord raised their mindes from base and earthly things, to know, seeke, and desire the heauenly inheritance, and life of the world to come, yet that they might the better bee strengthned, in the hope and expectation thereof, hee made them take a viewe of it, and taste the sweetnesse of it, in those temporall and earthly blessings and benefits, which most abundantly hee bestowed vpon them; whereas now, the grace of the life that is to come being more clearely reuealed by the Gospell (omitting all that inferiour kinde of manuduction or leading by the hand, through the consideration sight and enioying of these meaner things) hee doth more directly, and immediatly fasten our thoughts on things diuine.

h *Caluin. Institut. lib. 2. cap. 10. 1*

i Hebr. 11, 13, 14, 15, 16

For the expressing of this difference, and the more easie distinction of the two moities of the people of God, the one before, the other after the worke of redemption was performed by Christ, though both be rightly and most aptly named the Church of God; yet it hath beene and is religiously obserued, that by a kinde of appropriation the one is named the *Synagogue*, the other the *Church*. Neither do any of our Diuines (for ought I know) call this societie of Christians a *Synagogue*, though (following the rule of [k] *Thomas*, that *in words wee must not so much respect their originall, exact, and precise signification, or deriuation, as whereunto they are by vse of speech applyed*) wee vse the word congregation, which is the Latine of συναγωγὴ, and feare not to say that the people of God, in the state of the new Testament, are the Congregation of Christ, and are congregated in his faith and name: euen as, though ἐκκλησία, *Ecclesia*, *conuocatio*, *cœtus enocatus*, a multitude called out, or called together, both Greeke, Latine and English words, doe originally signifie one and the same thing; yet there are many meetings, societies, & assemblies of men, which may rightly be called conuocations, multitudes called together, or multitudes of men called out from others, which if wee should endeuour to expresse by the Greeke word ἐκκλησία, or by the English word *Church*, it would seeme absurde, and no man would vnderstand vs. It followeth not therefore, that we call the companie and societie of Christians a *Synagogue*, though wee name it the Congregation of Christ, warranted thereunto by the authoritie, example, and practise of the Apostles

k *Aliud est Etymologia nominis, et aliud significatio nominis. Etymologia attenditur secundùm id a quo imponitur nomen ad significandum: Nominis verò significatio secundum id ad quod significandum imponitur. 2. 2. q. 92 art. 1.*

of Christ, and other holy and Catholique men that haue beene before vs. *Let vs consider one another to prouoke vnto loue, and good workes*, saith the Apostle in the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*. 10. [l] chapter, *not forsaking our assembling or congregating, and gathering together, or the fellowship we haue among our selues, as the manner of some is*; where the Greek word is ἐπισυναγωγὴν. And the same Apostle to the [m] *Corinthians, when you are congregated, and my spirit in the middest of you, I will deliuer this man, that hath done this thing, vnto Sathan*. And who knoweth not that [n] all writers, since the Apostles times, haue freely vsed the word Congregation, applying it to signifie the multitudes and assemblies of Christians. In the Councell of *Constance* nothing more often repeated, than *Synodus in spiritu sancto congregata &c.* Yet I hope that *Gregorie Martin*, and other such verball companions, will not say that the fathers assembled in that Councell, which ended the Schisme of three Popes, and setled the succession of the Bishops of *Rome* againe, were congregated, and gathered like brute beasts. It is not therefore with so great scorne, and imputation of daungerous and hereticall meaning to be reiected, that our translatours of the Scriptures did, and doe sometimes translate the word *Ecclesia*, vsed to expresse the Christian people of the newe Testament, by the name of the Congregation.

l verse. 25.

m 1. Cor. 5. 4

n *Ignatius epist. ad Trallianos* saith, that without the Bishop and Presbyters there can be no congregation of holy ones, *where the word is* συναγωγὴ.

The reason why our translatours, in the beginning, did choose rather to vse the word *Congregation* then *Church*, was not as the aduersarie malitiously imagineth, for that they feared the very name of the Church; but because, as by the name of religion and religious men, ordinarily in former times, men vnderstood nothing but *factitias religiones*, as [o] *Gerson* out of *Anselme* calleth them, that is the professions of Monkes and Fryers: So all the ordinarie sorte, when they heard the name of the *Church*, vnderstood nothing else thereby, but either the materiall place where men mette to serue and worshippe God, or the Clergie, Iurisdictions, and Temporalities belonging to them; as the same *Gerson* sheweth, [p] affirming that *the state of the Church in his time was meere brutish, so that men iudged him a* [q] *good Bishop and gouernour of the Church, that looked well to the Edifices, Mansions, Lands, Rents, and Reuenewes pertaining to the Clergie*, not much respecting, what care hee tooke of the spirituall welfare of them that were committed to his charge. When this error in the conceipt and apprehension of men was remoued, the former name of Church was more ordinarily vsed againe. Wherfore leauing this contention about wordes, wherein our aduersaries most delight, let vs come to the thing it selfe.

o *Religio Christiana quamuis extendat se ad omnem Christianum, attamen appropriato quodam vsu loquentium restringitur ad religiones quas Anselmus appellat Factitias. Gerson. de Relig. perfectione et moderatione, Cõsid. 3. et ibid. addit ecclesiæ nomen ad Clerum solere restringi, sicut Religiosis ad Religatos circum consilia Christi.*

p *Sermo in die Circumcisionis Dom. Consid. 1.*

q *De origine Iuris & legum consid. 13*

CHAP.

CHAP. 6.

Of the definition of the Church.

COncerning the Church, fiue things are to be obſerued. Firſt, what is the definition of it, and who pertaine vnto it. Secondly, the notes whereby it may be knowen. Thirdly, which is the true Church demonſtrated by theſe notes. Fourthly, the priuiledges that do pertaine vnto it. Fiftly, the diuers degrees, orders, and callings of thoſe men, to whom the gouernment of this Church is committed.

Touching the firſt; the *Church* is the multitude and number of thoſe, whom Almightie God ſeuereth from the reſt of the world by the worke of his grace, and calleth to the participation of eternall happineſſe, by the knowledge of ſuch ſupernaturall verities as concerning their euerlaſting good hee hath reuealed in Chriſt his ſonne, and ſuch other pretious, and happie meanes, as hee hath appointed to further and ſet forwarde the worke of their ſaluation. So that it is the worke of *grace*, and the heauenly calling, that giue being to the Church, and make it a different ſocietie from all other companies of men in the world, that haue no other light of knowledge, nor motion of deſire but that which is naturall; whence, for diſtinction from them, it is named *Eccleſia*, a multitude called out.

CHAP. 7.

Of the diuers ſorts of them that pertaine to the Church.

THey that are partakers of the heauenly calling, & ſanctified by the profeſsion of diuine truth, and the vſe of the meanes of ſaluation, are of verie diuers ſorts. For there are ſome that profeſſe the truth deliuered by Chriſt the ſonne of God, but not *wholly*, and *entirely*, as Heretiques; ſome that profeſſe the whole ſauing truth, but not in *vnitie*, as Schiſmatiques; ſome that profeſſe the whole ſauing truth in *vnitie*, but not in *ſinceritie*, and ſingleneſſe of a good and ſanctified minde, as Hypocrites and wicked men, not outwardly diuided from the people of God; and ſome that profeſſe the whole ſauing truth in *vnitie*, and *ſinceritie* of a good and ſanctified heart.

All theſe are partakers of the heauenly calling, & ſanctified by the profeſsion of the truth, & conſequently are all in ſome degree & ſort of that ſociety of men, whom God calleth out vnto himſelf & ſeparateth frō Infidels, which is rightly named the *Church*. Theſe being the differēt ranks of men made partakers of the heauenly calling, & ſanctified by the profeſſion of ſauing truth, there are diuers names by which they are expreſſed, and diſtinguiſhed one from another.

For

For as the name of the *Church* doth distinguish men that haue receiued the reuelation of supernaturall truth, from Infidelles; and the name of the Christian *Church*, Christians from Iewes; so the name of the Orthodoxe *Church*, is applyed to distinguish right beleeuing Christians from Heretiques; the name of the Catholick *Church*, men holding the faith in vnity, from Schismatiques; the name of the inuisible *Church*, [a] *the Church of the first borne, whose names are written in heauen, the mystical bodie of Christ*, and the like, to distinguish the elect from all the rest: so that many were of the Church which were not of the Christian Church, as the Iewes before the comming of Christ; many of the Christian Church, that are not of the Orthodoxe; many of the Orthodoxe, that are not of the Catholique; and many of the Catholique, that are not of the inuisible, and Church of the first borne, whose names are written in heauen.

a Heb. 12, 23.

Thus then the Church hauing her being and name, from the calling of grace, all they must needes be of the Church, whom the grace of God in any sort calleth out from the profane, and wicked of the world, to the participation of eternall happinesse, by the excellent knowledge of diuine, supernaturall, and reuealed veritie, and vse of the good, happy, and pretious meanes of saluation: but they only perfectly, and fully in respect of outward being, which professe the whole truth in vnity; and they only principally, fully, and absolutely are of the Church, whom diuine grace leadeth infallibly, and indeclinably by these meanes, to the certaine and vndoubted possession of wished blessednesse; because in them only grace manifesteth her greatest & most preuailing force, without which efficacie of grace, winning infallibly, holding inseparably, & leading indeclinably, no man euer attained to saluation; and of which whoso is partaker shall vndoubtly be saued.

In the benefites of this grace, none but the elect and chosen of God, whom he hath loued with an euerlasting loue, haue any part or fellowship, though others concurre with them in the vse of the same meanes of saluation, and be partakers with them of sundrie inward motions enclining them to good. When we say therefore that none but the elect of God are of the Church, wee meane not that others are not at all, nor in any sort of the Church, but that they are not [b] *principally, fully, & absolutely*, and that they are not of that especiall number of them, who partake and communicate in the most perfect worke, force, and effect of sauing grace.

b *Ecclesia præcipuè et ex intentione fideles tantùm colligit, qui verum fidem in corde habent. Cùm autem admiscentur aliqui ficti qui verè non credunt, id accidit præter intentionem Ecclesiæ. Si enim eos nosse posset, nunquam admitteret, aut casu admissos omnino excluderet. Bellar. de Ecclesia lib. 3. cap. 10.*

CHAP.

CHAP. 8.

Of their meaning, who say, that the elect onely are of the Church.

THis was the meaning of *Wickliffe*, *Husse* and others, who therefore define the Church to be the multitude of the elect, not for that they think them onely to pertaine to the Church, and no others, but because they onely pertaine vnto it principally, fully, effectually, and finally, and in them onely is found that which the calling of grace (whence the Church hath all her being) intendeth, to wit, such a conuersion to God, as is ioyned with finall perseuerance, whereof others failing and comming short, they are only in an inferiour and more imperfect sort, said to be of the Church.

The *elect* and chosen of God are of two sortes; some elect onely and not yet called; some both elect and called. Of the latter there is no question but they are the most principall parts of the Church of God: Touching the former, they are not actually of the Church, but only *secundum præscientiam, & prædestinationem*, in Gods prescience, and predestination, who hath purposed what they shall bee, and knoweth what they will be.

It is friuolous therefore, that [a] *Bellarmine*, [b] *Stapleton* and others of that faction alledge against vs, that the elect before they are called are not of the Church. For it is true, if they speake of actuall admission into the fellowship of Gods people; but false, if they speake of the intent & purpose of Almightie God, wherby they were chosen to be made his in this present world, before the world it self was made. *Secundũ præscientiam* saith Augustine, [c] *multi etiam qui aperte foris sunt, & hæretici appellantur, multis et bonis Catholicis meliores sunt: In the prescience of God, many that are apparantly without and named Heretiques, are better then many, and those good and right beleeuing catholique Christians.* And in his tract vpon John. *Secundum præscientiam, & prædestinationem, quàm multæ oues foris, quã multi lupi intus? Quid est, inquit, quod dixi? Quàm multæ oues foris? quam multi luxuriantur casti futuri? quàm multi blasphemant Christum crediturì in Christum? & hij oues sunt, veruntamen modò alienam vocem audiunt, alienos sequuntur. Item quàm multi intus laudant blasphematurì? Casti sunt fornicaturi? stant casuri? et non sunt oues; de prædestinatis enim loquimur: According vnto Gods prescience and predestination, how many sheepe are there without, and wolues within? what is it, saith Augustine, that I said? How many sheepe are there without? how many are there that now wallow in all impuritie and filthines, that hereafter shall be chast and vndefiled? How many now doe blaspheme Christ, which hereafter shall beleeue in Christ? and these are sheepe, yet for the present they heare the voice of a stranger, and follow strangers: On the other side, how many are there now within, which presently prayse God, that hereafter, will blaspheme him? which now are chast, that hereafter will become impure adulterers?*

[a] *Lib. 3. de Eccles. militante cap. 2.*
[b] *Contr. 1. q. 2. art. 8*
[c] *Lib. 4. de Baptismo contra Donatistas.*

cap. 45.

Electorum quidam adhuc in hæresibus aut Gentilium superstitionibus sunt, et tamen etiam illic nouit dominus qui sunt eius. Aug. lib. 1. de Baptismo contra Donatist.

now ſtand, that hereafter will falli? and theſe are not ſheepe, for we ſpeake of the predeſtinate. It is true therfore that *Wikliffe, Huſſe, Caluine* and others do teach, that none but the elect do pertaine to the Church in ſuch ſorte as hath beene before expreſſed, and that all the elect are of the Church, either actually, as they that are alreadie called, or potentially and according to the purpoſe of Gods will, as they that are electe and not yet called.

CHAP. 9.

Of the difference of them that are in, and of the Church.

BY that which hath beene ſaid, that none but the elect are of the Church in that principall and high degree before mentioned, wee may eaſily vnderſtand their true meaning, and the truth of their meaning, who ſay that Hypocrites, wicked men, and caſtawaies, are in, but not of the Church. *Puto* (ſaith [a] *Auguſtine*) *me non temerè dicere alios ſic eſſe in domo dei, vt ipſi etiam ſint domus dei; alios ſic eſſe in domo dei, vt non pertineant ad compagem domus, nec ad ſocietatem frugiferæ pacificæq; iuſtitiæ. I thinke I may verie aduiſedly and conſiderately ſay, ſome are in ſuch ſort in the houſe of God, that they alſo are the houſe of GOD; and that ſome are ſo in the houſe of God, that they pertaine not to the frame and fabricke of it, nor to the ſocietie and fellowſhip of fruitfull and peaceable righteouſneſſe.*

a *De Baptiſmo lib. 7, cap. 51. et de Ciuitate Dei lib. 20, cap. 9. Regnant cum illo qui eo modo ſunt in regno eius, vt ſint etiam ipſi regnum eius.*

b *Stapleton. Relect. Contr. 1, de eccleſia in ſe. q: 2, art: 1. in explicat. articuli Notabile tertio.* 1 2 3

b Of them that are in the Church there are three ſorts. For there are ſome only *numero*, ſome *numero & merito*, ſome *numero, merito, & electione*: that is, *there are ſome, that only in externall profeſſion; ſome that in profeſſion and affection; and ſome that, in profeſſion and affection with neuer altering reſolution, ioyne themſelues to the companie of the beleeuers, and haue their hearts knit vnto God for euer: As, the elect of God called according to his purpoſe:* theſe are *intrinſecus et in occulto intus*, as [c] *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh; and whoſoeuer are thus in the Church, are moſt fully of the Church, and are of the ſpeciall number of thē, that cōmunicate in the moſt pretious effects, and moſt happie benefits of effectual and ſauing grace. In the two former ſorts many are in the Church, which though they be alſo of the Church, in [d] that they haue fellowſhip in ſome outward things with the elect and choſen ſeruants of God, yet principally fully and abſolutely are not of it, nor of that ſpeciall number of thoſe, that haue part in the benefits of effectuall and ſauing grace.

c *Aug. lib. 5 de Baptiſmo, contra Donatiſtas. cap. 27 & ibid. eſt certus numerus ſanctorum prædeſtinatus ante mundi conſtitutionem qui eſt tanquam lilium inter ſpinas; multitudo verò ſpinarum ſine occultis ſuis apertis ſeparationibus, extrinſecus adiacet ſuper numerum.*

d *Miſeratione neſſa diminutis partim ſunt propriis electorum ſicut in hoc tempore inſatiabilis charitas, & in futuro vita æterna partim vocatis malis et perueriſ communia, ſi.ut omnia cetera in quibus ſunt & ſacroſancta myſteria. Aug. ibid.*

CHAP. 10.

Of the visible, and invisible Church.

HEnce it commeth, that we say there is a *visible* and *invisible* Church; not meaning to make two distinct Churches, as our aduersaries falsly & maliciously charge vs, though the forme of words may seeme to insinuate some such thing, but to distinguish the diuers considerations of the same Church: which though it be visible in respect of the profession of supernaturall verities reuealed in Christ, vse of holy Sacraments, order of Ministerie, and due obedience yeelded thereunto, and they discernable that doe communicate therein; yet in respect of those most pretious effects, and happie benefits of sauing grace, wherein onely the elect doe communicate, it is inuisible; and they that in so happie, gratious, and desireable things haue communion among themselues, are not discernable frō others to whom this fellowship is denied, but are knowen only vnto God. That *Nathaniell* was an [a] *Israelite*, all men knew; that he was *a true Israelite, in whome was no guile*, Christ only knew.

[a] Ioh. 1.47.

The persons then of them of whom the Church consisteth are visible; their profession knowen euen to the profane and wicked of the world, & in this sort the Church cannot be inuisible, neither did any of our men teach that it is or may be. For seeing the Church is the multitude of them that shal be saued, & no man can be saued vnlesse he make cōfession vnto saluation, (for faith hid in the heart and concealed doth not suffice) it cannot be but they that are of the true Church, must by the profession of the truth make themselues knowen in such sorte, that by their profession and practise they may be discerned from other men.

Notwithstanding, because the truth and excellencie of the faith and profession of Christians, is not discerned by the light of nature, but of faith alone; the excellencie of this societie of Christians aboue other profane companies in the world, and their happinesse that are of it, is inuisible, hidden and vnknowen to naturall men, and is knowen onely to them that are spirituall: and who they are that haue fellowshippe among themselues, not only in the profession of heauenly verities and outward meanes of saluation, but also in the benefits of effectuall and sauing grace, is knowen neither to the naturall nor spirituall man, but to God alone.

If any man shall further vrge, that *Luther*, and some other that were in the beginning of the reformation of the Church, did thinke the Church to be sometimes inuisible, not only in those respects aboue specified, but euen in the truth of professiō, & practise of those things that to saluation are necessarie, we denie that any such thing can be collected, out of any of their writings which they haue left vnto posterity. For how should there bee a Church in the world, the perpetuitie whereof they all most

constantly defend, and none found to professe the sauing truth of God, which all are bound to doe that looke for saluation? But this surely both they & we do teach, that though alwaies the open, knowen, and constant professiō of sauing truth, be preserued & found amongst men, & the ministerie of saluatiō cōtinued & known in the world, (for how should there be a Church gathered without a ministerie?) that yet sometimes errors and heresies so much preuaile, that the most part not onely of them that apparantly are without, but euen of thē also that holde & possesse great places of office and dignitie in the Church of God, either for feare, flatterie, hope of gaine, or honor, or else misseled through simplicitie, or directly falling into error & heresie, depart from the soundnesse of the christian faith, so that the sinceritie of religion is vpholden, and the truth of the profession of Christians defended and maintained, but only by some few, and they molested, persecuted, & traduced, as turbulent and seditious men enemies to the common peace of the Christian world. In this sense thē the Church is said to be somtimes inuisible, not because there are none seene, knowen, or found that professe the truth of God; but because euen in that cōpany which is the true church of God, many & those the greatest are carried into error, so that but some few, and they such, as (if we should iudge by outward appearance) are most vnlike to vphold & maintain the truth, are left to defend the same; multitude, authority, reputation, & opiniō of greatnes in others, obscuring thē in such sort, that they which measure things by outward appearance, can posibly take no notice of them.

This was the state of the Christian world in the time of *Athanasius*, wherein the [b] Councell of *Seleucia* and *Ariminium*, the *Nicene* faith was condemned, and all the Bishops of the whole world carried away with the sway of time fell from the soundnesse of the faith, only *Athanasius* excepted, & some few cōfessors that *sub Athanasy nomine exulabant*, as *Hierom:* noteth writing against the *Luciferians*; *Ingemuit totus orbis, et miratus est se factum esse Arrianum: The world powred foorth sighes, marualing how it was become an Arrian.* At that time it was, when [c] *Hillarius* writing against *Auxentius* By shop of *Millaine*, complained that the Arrian faction had confounded all, & therfore admonished all men to take heed, how they suffered themselues to be led with outward appearances: *Malè vos parietum amor cepit; malè ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificijsq; veneramini; malè sub hijs pacis nomen ingeritis; anne ambiguum est in ijs Antichristū esse sessurū? montes mihi, & sylua, & lacus, & carceres, & voragines sūt tutiores, in hijs enim Prophetæ manentes aut demersi prophetabant. It is not well, saith he, that you are in loue with walls, that you esteeme the Church in respect of houses and buildings, & in and vnder those shewes and outward appearances, pretend and vrge the name of peace: Is there any doubt of Antichristes sitting in these places? The Mountaines, the Woods, the Lakes, the prisons, the deepe pittes and deuouring gulfes, seeme to me more safe. For in these the Prophets either remaining*

b *Tunc Ousiæ nomē abolitum est, tum Nicena fidei damnatio conclamata est, ingemuit totus orbis, & Arrianum se esse miratus est. Igitur alij intra suum communionē remanere, alij ad eos confessores, qui sub Athanasy nomine exulabant, cæperunt literas mittere &c. Hieron. contra Luciferianos.*

c *Hillarius contra Auxentium.*

ning, abiding, and making them their dwelling places, or as it were drowned and ouerwhelmed in them, propheſied in olde time. And to this purpoſe it is that [d] *Auguſtine* writeth, moſt aptly diſtinguiſhing betweene the ſtarres of heauen, and the ſands of the ſea, according to the number whereof God promiſed *Abraham* that his ſeede ſhould bee: *Ecclesia aliquando obscuratur & tanquam obnubilatur multitudine scandalorum, sed vbique tunc in sanctis sublimissimis eminet, qui sunt quasi stellæ cœli in semine Abrahæ, at multitudo illa carnalium & infirmorum fidelium, quæ quasi arena maris est: aliquando tranquillitate temporis, libera & quieta apparet, aliquando autem tribulationum & tentationum fluctibus operitur, atq; turbatur.* The Church of God, ſayth hee, *ſometimes is obſcured, darkened, and as it were ouerſhadowed with the multitude of offences and ſcandals that are found in it, yet euen then doth it appeare, and ſhewe it ſelfe, in thoſe worthies of moſt ſtrong and conſtant reſolution, which are as the ſtarres of heauen among theſe of* Abrahams *ſeede and poſteritie; but for the multitude of weake and carnall Chriſtians, which is like to the ſand on the ſea ſhore, in peaceable times they are free, and quiet, but in dangerous times, troubled, couered, and hidden with the waters, and raging waues of tribulation and temptation.*

This and no other thing our Diuines meant, that affirmed the Church to bee ſometimes inuiſible; and therefore it is moſt true that [e] *Bellarmine* noteth, that many of his companions haue taken much needleſſe paine in proouing againſt vs the perpetuitie of the Church, which (as hee confeſſeth) none of vs euer denied; but it is as true that hee alſo laboureth in vaine, in prooving that there is, and alwayes hath been a viſible Church, and that not conſiſting of ſome fewe ſcattered Chriſtians, without order of Miniſtery, or vſe of Sacraments; for, all this wee doe moſt willingly yeelde vnto, howſoeuer perhaps ſome fewe haue been of opinion, that though all others falling from the faith, the trueth of God ſhould remaine onely in ſome fewe of the Laitie, yet the promiſe of Chriſt concerning the perpetuitie of his Church, might ſtill be verified.

This queſtion was diſputed by [f] *Occham* and [g] *Cameracenſis* long before our times, and who knoweth not that [h] Cardinall *Turrecremata*, and other great Diuines haue been of opinion, that during the time that Chriſt was touching his bodie in the graue, all the Apoſtles being fallen from the faith, the fame continued in the bleſſed Virgine alone; but theſe diſputes we leaue to them that are delighted in them, reſting in the aſſured and vndoubted perſwaſion of the trueth of theſe things, which wee haue deliuered touching the viſibilitie, and inuiſibilitie of the Church; by which it may eaſily appeare, in what ſenſe the Church may bee ſayd to bee ſometimes inuiſible, and how the ſame Church is at the ſame time, both viſible and inuiſible in diuers reſpects.

[d] *Aug. Epiſt. 48 Chriſti tempore, deficientibus in fide Apoſtolis, integra & omnimo perfectiſſima fides in ſola virgine Domini matre remanſit; & Arriana hæreſeos ferente perſecutione Athanaſius ferè ſolus pro Catholica fide agens inuentus eſt. Franciſc. Picus Mirand. Theorem. 13.*

[e] *Tom. 1. contro. 4. lib. 3. cap. 13.*

[f] *Dialog. lib. 3. 1. partis cap. 32.*

[g] *Queſt. Veſperiarum de Reſumpta.*

[h] *Canus lib. 4. cap. 3. oſtendit Turrecremat. & alios putaſſe in ſola virgine fidem permanſiſſe, idq; ſignificare duxiſſe candelã quæ in officijs eorum dicitur ſola non extinguitur, vnde diſcipuli lumen quod amiſerant receperũt. Idem Turrec. lib. 3 Summæ cap. 10. ait Apoſtolos omnes fuiſſe infideles tempore mortis Chriſti, vide Canum ibidem.*

CHAP. 11.

Of the diuers titles of the Church, and how they are verified of it.

HAuing thus declared the diuers considerations of the Church of God, and the different conditions of them that are of it; for our better direction, least wee mistake and misapplie those things that are spoken of it, we must further obserue that the names and titles giuen vnto it are of two sorts: for there are some that are verified of it in respect of the whole considered generally, and it comprehendeth all those that concurre in the same intire profession of heauenly verities, and outward means of saluation, though they be of very diuers, different, and contrary condition; so it is named [a] *a great house, wherein there are vessels of honour and dishonour*, in [b] *which there are that walke according to the rule of Christianitie, and* [c] *worthy of God; and* [d] *others that walke inordinately:* It is named [e] *a field, in which is wheate mingled with tares:* It is a [f] *floore, in which there is wheate and chaffe:* It is *a* [g] *companie of virgins attending the coming of the bridegrome, whereof some are wise, hauing oyle in their lamps, others foolish, hauing none:* It is *a* [h] *net cast into the sea, that gathereth into it good fishes and bad.* [i] Other names and titles there are, which are not verified of the Church considered generally in all her parts, but only in respect of some parts, and those the best and principall; so it it is named *the* [k] *spouse of Christ, and the wife of the Lambe, a* [l] *royall priesthood, an holy nation, and a peculiar people, the* [m] *Loue of Christ, all faire, vndefiled, and without spot, the onely Doue, an orchard inclosed, a Well sealed vp, a fountaine of liuing water, a paradise with all precious, delectable, and desireable fruit, and that nothing may be added to the honour of it:* It is the *mysticall body of Christ, which hee doth animate, formalize, and quicken with his owne spirit:* [n] *of this bodie the wicked are not members,* though they bee members of the body of the Church generally considered. It is therefore a vaine dispute betweene them that say, they are members of the mystical bodie of Christ, though not liuing members, and them that say, they are parts, but not members; For they are neither

a 2. Tim. 2. 20
b Phil. 3. 16, 17.
c 1. Thes. 2. 12
d 2. Thes. 3. 11
e Matth. 13. 25
f Mat. 3. 12
g Mat. 25 2
h Mat. 13. 47

i *Non omnibus æquè conuenunt præconia filiorum, sed vocabula summæ laudis & excellentiæ tituli, quamuis indistinctè per scripturas de totâ legantur Ecclesiâ, tamen de solâ gloriosâ parte eius debent intelligi; vt quòd sit sponsa agni, quòd sit ciuitas sancta Hierusalē, noua descendens de cœlo, à Deo parata &c. Waldens. lib. 2. art. 2. ca. 11*

k Reuel 19. 7. l 1. Pet. 2. 9. m Cantic. 1, 2, &c.

n *Distinguenda est Ecclesia Christi in suâ latitudine à corpore Christi mystico propriè dicto. Primus enim etsi malus non sit membrum corporis Christi, in quo perpetuus est influxus, & participatio gratiæ, viuum, operatiuum adeoq; reipsa vniuocè dictum, tamen ipsius Ecclesiæ Christi, quæ vt est corpus Christi in vno sensu propter internam gratiam, ita est domus magna Christi, est area & ager Dominicus in alio sensu propter externam collectionem, professionem & societatem, per sacramenta; huius inquam Ecclesiæ in hoc sensu, qui etiam verus & proprius est, verè & propriè membrum est. Stapleton. Contro. 1 q. 2. artic. 1. notabili 5. Ad vnionem corporis mystici siue Ecclesiæ nunquā propriè pertinens existimat in peccato mortali, tamē refert dicere vnitatē Ecclesiæ & corporis Ecclesiæ. In vnitate Ecclesiæ sunt boni & mali, vnitas verò corporis Ecclesiæ non est nisi per fidem Charitate formatam. Alex. de Iales part. 3. quæst. 12. memb. 3. artic. 3. Hieron. Non audeo eos peccatores et gehennæ reos negare membra magni corporis Christi, & grandis Ecclesiæ speciosæ & fuscæ, quas Apostolus dicit Cum eo omnes in vno spiritu baptizati sumus vt vnum corpus efficeremur in Christo & membra de membro; nec tamen scio introducere eos in Ecclesiam Electorum quam dicit Apostolus gloriosam vt membra eius, quamuis inter eos corporaliter habitent; sed vt mali humores non vt membra in corpore meo sano. & August. Tom. 9. Quidam sic sunt in corpore Domini vt membra in non sano, quidam vt humores mali; Corpus non plenè curatur nisi istos euomuerit, exierunt ex me humores isti, sed non erant de me. Non sunt ergo membra in Christi corpore glorioso qui forsan in Christi corpore magno illo regno cœlorum sunt membra. Waldens. lib. 2. artic. 2. cap. 11. hæc verba Hieron & August. Augustinus de doctrina Christiana lib. 3. cap. 32. negat esse de corpore Christi qui cum illo non erunt in æternum: fatetur tamen esse in Ecclesia, ideoq; Ecclesiam vocari posse permixtam non autem corpus Christi permixtum aut bi-part tum. Stapleton. Relect. Conuer. 1. q. 2. artic. 1. notab. 5.**

parts,

parts, nor members, of the mysticall body of Christ, though they be both in respect of the body of the Church considered generally. And it is false that [o] *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that we require inward qualities to make a man to be of the Church, thereby making it vnknowen, who are that Church, to whose authoritie and direction the Lord commandeth vs to submit our selues. For we doe not require inward qualities in a man, before hee can be at all of the Church; but before he can be fully, and of the mysticall bodie of Christ. We say therfore that al they are of the Church that outwardly hold the faith of Christ; and that that societie wherein the sincere outward profession of the truth of God is preserued, is that true Church of God, whose communion we must imbrace; that happy mother, in whose wombe we are cõceiued, with whose milke we are nourished, & to whose censures we must submit our selues. And so it is vntrue that the same *Bellarmine* imputeth vnto vs, charging vs that we affirme that none of the priuiledges, which Christ hath bestowed on his Church, doe pertaine to the Church generally considered, but only to that more special number of the elect of God, who cõmunicate in the benefits of effectual & sauing grace; which who they are is knowen to none, but God onely. For though wee know they were all grãted for their sakes, & do benefit them only, yet we say not that they pertain only vnto them. For wheras there are foure sorts of things pertaining & belonging to the Church, to wit; First, the promises of euerlasting loue & mercie; secondly, the knowledge of God, and means of saluation; thirdly, the ministery and dispensation of the word and sacraments; and fourthly, the performance of such dueties as God requireth; The first sort of things pertaine onely to the more speciall number of the elect of God; the second to the whole multitude of Christians in generall; the third, to such as are lawfully called thereunto; the fourth, if they be generall dueties, pertaine to all; if speciall, to speciall degrees and sorts of men in the Church, according to their seuerall differences. Thus when wee see the diuers considerations of the Church, and the different condition of them that doe pertaine to it, and of whom it doth consist; notwithstanding all which differences, for that they all concurre in the same holy profession, and vse of the same happie meanes of saluation, they make one holy Catholicke Church, in which onely the light of heauenly trueth is to be sought, where only grace, mercie, remission of sinnes, and hope of eternal happinesse are found. [p] *Sola Catholica Ecclesia est quæ verum Dei cultum retinet; hic autem est fons veritatis, hoc est domicilium fidei, hoc templum dei, quod si quis non intrauerit, vel à quo si quis exierit, à spe vitæ ac salutis æternæ alienus est. It is onely the Catholicke Church that hath the true worship and seruice of God; this is the well spring of trueth, the dwelling place of faith, the temple of God, into which whoso entreth not, and from which whoso departeth, is without all hope of life and eternall saluation.*

[o] *De Ecclesia militante lib. 3. cap. 2.*

1 2 3 4

[p] *Lactantius lib. 4 cap. vltimo diuinarum Institut.*

CHAP.

CHAP. 12.

Of the diuers sorts of them that haue not yet entred into the Church.

THey that haue not entred into this ſociety are of two ſorts; Infidels and Catechumens; that is, infidels, and ſuch as, though they be beleeuers, are not yet baptized. The former are without, of whome the Apoſtle ſpeaketh when hee pronounceth, *that hee hath nothing to doe to iudge them that are without*. The latter, for that they make profeſsion of the trueth of God, and with longing deſires thirſte after the full enioying of the bleſſed communion of the Saints of God, wiſhing for nothing more then by baptiſme to be admitted into the family of Chriſt, and houſhold of faith, are in *veſtibulo pietatis* as [a] *Nazianzen* noteth, and are like children formed and faſhioned in the wombe and come to the birth, though not yet brought foorth.

[a] Nazianzen. Orat. panegerica in ſanctum Baptiſma.

[b] And therefore the conſtant reſolution almoſt of all Diuines is and hath been, that if without contempt and neglect, by any vnauoidable impediment, they bee hindered from enioying the benefite of this ſacramentall aſſurance of their adoption, they doe, notwithſtanding the want thereof, liue and die in the ſtate of ſaluation. Theſe therefore *are within*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, though not by that ſolemne, outward, and ſacramentall admiſsion which they doe deſire, yet in deſire, purpoſe, and preparation fitting them vnto it, which is ſo farre foorth neceſſary to ſaluation, that no man euer was or ſhall be ſaued, that either wilfully neglected or contemned the ſame.

[b] Iohan. de Turrecremata in Summa de Eccleſia. lib. 1. cap. 8. ad arg. 8. & poſt eum Barnes in ſecundam ſecundæ q. 1 artic. 10. docent Catechumenos non numero ſed merito eſſe de Eccleſiâ. Quod verũ eſſe poſſe vt Eccleſia eſt corpus Chriſti myſticũ, agnoſcit Stapleton. Contro. 1, q. 2, art. 3.

And therefore it is not without great cauſe, that *Nazianzen* in the place abouementioned taxeth the folly of ſome in his time, who for that they knew the greatneſſe of the benefit of grace which is receiued in baptiſme, which, by no other meanes in ſo full and ample ſort is beſtowed on the ſonnes of men, leſt, by the euils they might through humane frailtie eaſily runne into, they ſhould fall from it, which could not in the ſame degree & meaſure be recouered againe, deferred & put off their baptiſme as they could, ſo that [c] ſome were lifted vp to Biſhops chaires, before by baptiſme they had ſet one foote within the doores of the houſe of God: not conſidering, as he wiſely obſerueth, that while they ſought ſo prouidently to auoide the danger of looſing the benefits once receiued in Baptiſme, they did runne into as great or greater danger, neuer to receiue the ſame: And that, if the feare of looſing the benefite of the grace of Baptiſme once receiued may cauſe vs iuſtly to deferre the ſeeking and obtaining of it, we may with as good reaſon deferre and put off to be Chriſtians at all, leſt happily in time of perſecution and trial we might fall away. This was the fault of ſundry in the Primitiue Church; and which was yet more to be condemned,

[c] Nazianzenus Orat in ſanctum Baptiſma, & Nicetas in Commentarijs negant eos, qui vel per ignorantiam vel per tyrannidem à Baptiſmo exciderunt, cœleſti gloriâ aut ſupplicijs à iuſto iudice afficiendos eſſe, nec ad vim baptiſmi obtinendam ipſius expiditate teneri ſatis eſſe cenſent.

[d] In vitâ Ambroſij à Paulino Presbytero ad beatum Auguſt. conſcriptâ.

ned, many did therefore differre and put off their Baptiſme, that ſo whatſoeuer euill things they did in the meane time, might in that Lauer of new birth be waſhed away, thereby taking greater libertie to offend, for that they had ſo preſent meanes of full remiſſion, and perfect reconciliation; ſo making that which was ordained againſt ſinne, and for the weakening and ouerthrowe of it, to be an encouragement thereunto, and to giue life and ſtrength vnto it.

Seeing therefore wee are but *in veſtibulo pietatis*, while we remaine vnbaptized, and our feete ſtand but in the outward courts of the Lord of hoſtes, we muſt not reſt till we enter into his holie habitation, till wee may looke into the holieſt of all, and behold his glorious preſence in the middeſt of his Saints.

CHAP. 13.

Of the firſt ſort of them, that, after their admiſſion into the Church of God, doe voluntarily depart and goe out from the ſame.

THey which, after their entrance and admiſſion into the houſe of God, depart and goe out againe, are of two ſorts; For either they depart of themſelues, leauing the fellowſhip and forſaking the faith, as Schiſmatikes, and Heretikes; or elſe they are caſt out by the cenſures of the guides of the Church, for their wicked, vngodly, and ſcandalous conuerſation, as *excommunicate perſons*, and ſuch as are enioyned publike penance.

Concerning the firſt ſort, [a] Schiſmatikes are they that breake the vnitie of the Church, and refuſe to ſubmit themſelues, and yeelde obedience to their lawfull Paſtours and guides, though they retaine an entire profeſſion of the trueth of God; as did the Luciferians and ſome others in the beginning of their Schiſme, though for the moſt part the better to iuſtifie their Schiſmaticall departure from the reſt of Gods people, Schiſmatikes doe fall into ſome errour in matters of faith. This is the firſt ſort of them that depart and goe out from the Church of God, and company of his people, whoſe departure yet is not ſuch, but that notwithſtanding their Schiſme, they are and remaine parts of the Church of God. For whereas in the Church of God is found an entire profeſſion of the ſauing trueth of God, order of holy Miniſtery, Sacraments by vertue thereof adminiſtred, and a bleſſed vnitie and fellowſhip of the people of God, knit together in the bond of peace, vnder the commaund of lawfull Paſtours and guides, ſet ouer them to direct them in the wayes of eternall happineſſe; Schiſmatikes, notwithſtanding their ſeparation, remaine ſtill conioyned with the reſt of Gods people in reſpect of the profeſſion of the whole ſauing trueth of God, all outward actes of Religion and Di-

a *Inter hæreſim & ſchiſma hoc intereſſe arbitrantur quòd hæreſis peruerſum dogma habeat, ſchiſma propter epiſcopalem diſſenſionem ab eccleſia ſeparetur. Quod quidem in principio aliqua ex parte intelligi poteſt. Cæterùm nullum ſchiſma non ſibi aliquam conſingit hæreſim vt rectè ab eccleſia receſſiſſe videatur: Hiero. in 3. ad Titum.*

uine worship, power of order, and holy Sacraments which they by vertue thereof administer, and so stil are & remaine parts of the Church of God: but, as their communion and coniunction with the rest of Gods people, is in some things only, and not absolutely in all, wherin they haue and ought to haue fellowship; so are they not fully and absolutely of the Church, nor of that more speciall number of them, that communicate intirely and absolutely in all things necessary, in which sense they are rightly denied to be of the Church; which I take to be their meaning that say they are not of the Church.

CHAP. 14.

Of the second sort of them that voluntarily goe out from the people of God.

HEretikes are they that obstinately persist in error contrary to the Churches faith; so that these doe not only forsake the fellowship but the faith also; and therefore of these there may be more question, whether, notwithstanding their hereticall diuision, they still continue in any sort parts of the Church of God. But this doubt in my opinion is easily resolued. [a] For in respect of the profession of sundry diuine verities, which still they retaine in common with right beleeuers, in respect of the power of order, and degree of ministery, which receiuing in the Church they carrie out with them, and sacraments which by vertue thereof they doe administer, they still pertaine to the Church. But for that they hold not an entire and full profession of all such sauing trueths, as to knowe and beleeue is necessary vnto saluation, [b] for that their Pastours and Priests, though they haue power of order, yet haue no power of iurisdiction, neither can performe any acte thereof, for that they retaine not the vnity of the spirit in the bond of peace, they are rightly denied to bee of the Church: not for that they are not in any sort of it, but for that they are not fully and absolutely of it, nor of that more speciall number of them, which communicate in all things wherein Christians should. This more speciall number of right beleeuing Christians, is, for distinction sake, rightly named the Catholike Church, becaus it consisteth of them onely, that without addition, diminution, alteration, or innouation, in matter of doctrine, hold the common faith once deliuered to the Saints, and without all particular or priuate diuision or faction, retaine the vnitie of the spirit in the bond of peace.

[c] To this purpose it is that Saint *Augustine* against the *Donatists*,

[a] *Propter characterē Baptismalē hæreticus quadantenus ad militantem Ecclesiam pertinet; vnde recedant à fide non dimittitur vt Paganus, sed punitur vt transfuga: Reconciliatus non de nouo initiatur vt prorsus alienus, sed reparatione aliquâ factâ ad militiam sine nouo sacramento recipitur. Stapleton. Contr. 1. de Ecclesia in sc. q. 2. artic. 3. notabili 3.* [b] *Potest dici quod potestas quæ reperitur in ministris Ecclesiæ. Quædam namq; est fundata super ordinē principaliter, vt potestas conficiendi: quædam super Iurisdictionem Canonicam principaliter, vt potestas Excommunicandi: quædam super ordinem & eminentiam, vt potestas ordinandi: quædam super ordinē & iurisdictionē, vt potestas absoluēdi & ligādi in foro pœnitentiæ: & quoniam character auferri non potest, ideo potestas, quæ consequitur characterē de facto, auferri nō potest: Sed quoniā iurisdictio descendit ordinatè à superiore, potest auferri; vnde potest auferri potestas absoluendi & excommunicandi, sed non ordinandi. Bonau. vt. lib. 4. distinct. 25. q. 2.*

[c] *Augustin. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, lib. 5 cap. 27 28. ostendis ab Ecclesiâ in suis perfectissimis membris consideratâ, & secundum vnitatem cum Christo communissimam, non sicut sperat & exvna illam esse impios, quàm apertè per hæresim præcisos. Stapleton. Controuer. 1. q. 2. artic. 1. ad 4.*

(who

(who therefore denied the baptisme of Heretikes to be true Baptisme, and did vrge the necessitie of rebaptizing them that were baptized by them, for that they are out of the Church) doth shewe that all wicked ones, feined Christians, and false hearted hypocrites, are secluded from the Church of God, considered in her best and principall parts, and in the highest degree of vnitie with Christ her mysticall head, aswell as Heretikes and Schismatikes. As therefore all they that outwardly professe the trueth, and holde the faith of Christ, without schisme or heresie, are of the Church, and *are within* as the Scripture speaketh, [d] yet are not all of that more speciall number of them that are *intrinsecus & in occulto intus*, but in more generall sort: So likewise Heretikes and Schismatikes, though they be not of that speciall number of them that in vnity hold the entire profession of diuine trueth, are of the Church generally considered, and of the number of them that professe the trueth of God reuealed in Christ. And this surely *Augustine* most clearely deliuereth.

d *Ex illis omnibus qui (vt ita dicam) intrinsecus & in occulto intus sunt, constat ille hortus conclusus, fons signatus, putens aquæ viuæ, paradisus cum fructu pomorum. Aug. lib. 5. de Baptismo contra Donatist. cap. 27.*

For when the *Donatists* did obiect that Heresie is an harlot, and that, if the baptisme of Heretikes bee good, sonnes are borne to God of heresie, and so of an harlot, than which, what can be more absurde, and impious; [e] his answere was, that the conuenticles of Heretikes do beare children vnto God, not in that they are diuided, but in that they still remaine conioyned with the true and Catholike Church; not in that they are Heretikes, but in that they professe and practise that, which Christians should and doe professe and practise.

e *De Baptis. cont. Donatist. lib. 1, ca. 10. Vnus est Ecclesia quæ sola Catholica nominatur; & quicquid suum habet in cõmunionibus diuersorum, à sua vnitate separatis, per hoc quod suum in ijs habet ipsa vtique generat, non ille. Et lib. 11. cap. 1. Isti in quibusdã rebus nobiscũ sunt, in quibusdã à nobis exierunt. Et lib. 1. cap. 8. Qui seipsos à societate cæterorum separantes charitate violatã, vnitatis vinculũ rumpunt, si nonnulla eadem faciunt, non se in ijs separauerũt, & ex ea parte in texturæ compage distinguntur, in ea-dem texti scissi sunt. Proinde si quem sociauerint sibi, ex eâ parte nectitur Ecclesiæ, in quâ nec illi separati sunt.*

It is not therefore to be so scornefully reiected by *Bellarmine*, *Stapleton*, and others of that faction, that we affirme that both Heretikes and Schismatikes are in some sort, though not fully, perfectly, and with hope of saluation, of the Church; seeing *Augustine*, in the iust & honorable defence of the Churches cause against Heretikes, did long since affirme the same, not doubting to say, that Heretikes remaine in such sort conioyned to the Church, notwithstanding their Heresie, that the true Church in the midst of them, & in their assemblies by Baptisme ministred by them, doth beare and bring forth children vnto God. The not conceiuing whereof gaue occasion to *Cyprian* and the African Bishops, of errour, and afterwards to the *Donatists* of their heresie, touching the rebaptization of them that were baptized by Heretikes. For seeing *there is but one Lord, one faith, one Baptisme*, seeing God gaue the power of the keyes, and the dispensation of his worde and sacraments onely to his Church, if Heretikes be not of the Church, they doe not baptise.

This their allegation they amplified and enlarged from the nature and condition of heresie and Heretikes, and the high pretious & diuine qualitie, force, and working of the sacraments; therby endeuouring to shew, that so excellent meanes, pledges, and assurances of our saluation

f Concilium Carthaginense habetur inter opera Cypriani

cannot be giuen by the hands of men so far estranged from God. f There is, say they, *one faith, one hope, one Baptisme*, not among heretikes, where there is no hope, and a false faith, where all things are done in lying, false, and deceiueable maner, where hee adiureth Sathan, that is the vassall of Sathan, and possessed of the diuell; Hee proposeth the sacramentall demaunds and wordes of holy stipulation, whose mouth and wordes send forth a canker; He giueth the faith, that is himselfe an infidell; Hee giueth remission of sinnes, that is himselfe most wicked and sinfull; Antichrist baptizeth in the name of Christ; hee blesseth, that is himselfe accursed of God; he promiseth life, that is himselfe dead; he giueth peace, that is himselfe an enemie to peace; he calleth on the name of God, that is a blasphemer of God; he administreth and executeth the holy office of Priesthood, that is profane; he prepareth, furnisheth, and attendeth the Altar of God, that is a sacrilegious person. All which obiections, howsoeuer carrying a faire shewe at the first sight and viewe, yet are most easily answered, if we consider, that heretikes, notwithstanding their heresies, doe in some sort still pertaine to the Church, and so consequently haue that degree, order, office, ministerie, and calling which is holy, by vertue whereof they doe administer the holy Sacraments; euen as in the true and Catholique Church, many wicked ones are found, that are no lesse the vassals of Sathan, and possessed of the diuell, dead in sinne, accursed of God, profane, sacrilegious, and enemies of peace, than heretikes and schismatikes, who yet for that they haue that order, office, and degree of ministery, which is holy, doe no lesse, nor with lesse effect, administer the holy Sacraments, than they that are the samplers of all sanctitie, pietie and vertue.

g Ponuntur. li. 4 distinct. 13. qu. 1.

g Whereupon the schoolemen rightly note that there are foure sorts of Ministers, to wit, good; secretly bad; openly and apparantly wicked, but not put from their office and place, nor cast out of the Church; and lastly such as are depriued of their office, and dignitie, and remoued from the happie fellowship of right beleeuers. The first administer the Sacraments with benefite, profit, and good to themselues and others. The second with benefite to others, but not to themselues. The third with hurt to themselues and scandall to others, but yet to the euerlasting good of them that receiue them, if the fault be not in themselues. The fourth administer those Sacraments that are holy, and in their owne nature the meanes, pledges and assurances of saluation, but without any benefit to themselues, or others, because they are in diuision and schisme: h Whereas nothing, though neuer so good and excellent, is auaileable to their good that are out of the vnitie the people of God should haue among themselues. i *If I giue my body to be burned, and haue not charitie, it profiteth me nothing*, sayth the Apostle.

h Siquis ad Hereticos aut Schismaticos relictis ab Ecclesiâ transeat, & si eccisus propter nomen Domini post modum fuerit extra Eccl. chã cõstitutus, & ab vnitate atq; charitate diuisus coronari in morte non potest. Cyprian. lib. 4. epist. 2.

i 1. Cor. 13. 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. 15.

Of them whom the Church casteth out by excommunication.

HItherto wee haue treated of such, as, being once of the Church, of themselues goe out from the companie of right beleeuers, by schisme, or heresie. Nowe it remaneth to speake of them whom the Church casteth out by *excommunication*. *Excommunication* is that sentence of the Church, wherby she eiecteth and casteth out wicked sinners out of her communion. Which communion what it is, and wherein it consisteth, that we may the better vnderstand, wee must obserue, that communion is sometimes taken for hauing the same things in common, and sometimes for mutuall doing and receiuing good to and from each other. In the former sense the communion of the Church is of two sorts; *outwarde* and *inward*. The *outward* consisteth in those things, which all they that are of the Church haue in common, as the profession of the truth reuealed in Christ, and the Character of Baptisme, which as a note distinctiue separateth Christians from Infidels and vnbeleeuers. The *inward* consisteth in those things, which only the best parts of the Church haue in common, as faith, hope, loue and the like.

The Communion of the Church in the later sense consisteth in a mutuall and enterchangeable course of action, whereby the parts thereof doe and receiue good to and from one another, one supplying the want and defect of another. This is of two sorts: *Publike* and *priuate*. The *publike* consisteth, first in the prayers which the Church powreth foorth for euerie the least and most contemptible member thereof; thereby obtayning of God, the giuing, supply, and continuance of all necessarie good, ioyned with a most happy protection keeping them from falling into those euills they are subiect vnto; Secondly in the dispensation of Sacraments by the hands of her Ministers: *Priuate*, in mutuall conuersation of one man with an other.

[a] Excommunication doth not depriue the Excommunicate, of the former kinde of communion. For, euerie sentence of excommunication is either *iust*, or *vniust*. If it be *vniust*, they may still retaine all those things which the best parts of the Church haue inward or outward, as sometimes it falleth out through the preuailing of factious, seditious, and turbulent men, that the best men are vniustly and vndeseruedly cast out of the true Church, as [b] *Austine* noteth; who though they neuer be permitted to returne againe and reenter, yet if they continue without gathering any conuenticles, or broaching of heresies, and still loue, professe, and seeke to promote what in them lyeth, the truth of God which is holden and professed in the Church of God, from the assemblies wherof they are vniustly

a *Non ita ejicitur fidelis ab ecclesiâ per excommunicationem, quin illâ maneat subiectus ratione charitatis et vnitatis per fidem si alij qui illam non amittit; sed solùm priuatur dicto iure morali ad vtendâ ecclesiasticâ communicatione & participatione. Suarez tom. 5. disp 8, sectione, 1. Quomodo excommunicatus priuatur suffragijs ecclesiæ, idem ostendit in eodem tomo, 3. disp. 9. sect. 3, 4, 5.*

b *Augustin: de vera relig: cap. 6*

ly

ly excluded and baniſhed, who dare deny them to be of the Church? And therefore c *Bellarmine* himſelfe, though he make ſhew as if he meant to proue that excommunicate perſons are not of the Church, as hee indeuoureth to doe that Heretickes and Schiſmatickes are not, yet hee altereth the matter cleane, and ſaith only they are not in the Church, *corpore & externâ communicatione*, as if hee would only proue that they are excluded from the meetings and aſſemblies of the Church, and conuerſing with the people of God. There is therefore no doubt but that they are of the Church, and that, if they patiently endure theſe indignities, iniuries and wrongs, they ſhall be highly rewarded of Almightie GOD: but, ſaith *Bellarmine*, they are not of the Church *corporally, and in outward Communion*; then which, what could be more friuolouſly ſpoken? For who maketh any doubt, but that they are thruſt out of the aſſemblies, ſo that they may not be bodily preſent when the people of God doe meete together, to performe the acts of diuine worſhippe; but that therefore they are not properly of the viſible Church, who that aduiſedly conſidereth what he ſaith, would euer ſay? Seeing they haue ſtill the communion, which onely is eſſentiall and maketh a man to bee of the Church, in that they haue all thoſe things, both inward and outward, which the beſt among them that remaine not ejected haue, as faith, hope, loue, and profeſſion of the whole truth of God, the character of baptiſme, obedient and humble ſubmiſsion to their lawfull ſuperiors; which things and no other are required to make a man to be of the Church. For, the performance of holy duties is an action of them that are alreadie of the Church, and doth not make a man to be of the Church. Yea the performance of of theſe duties is a thing of that nature, that by violence and the vniuſt courſes holden by wicked men, we may be hindred from it without any fault of ours.

c *Bellar. 1, Tom. 4 contro. lib. 3. cap. 6*

If the ſentence of excommunication be iuſt, yet it doth not cut the excommunicate off frō the myſticall body of Chriſt, but doth preſuppoſe that they haue already cut off themſelues, or that, if this ſentence being duely and aduiſedly pronounced make them not relent, but that ſtill they hold out againſt it, they wil cut off themſelues, and depriue themſelues of all inward grace and vertue. From the *viſible* Church of Chriſt it doth not wholly cut them off: for they may and often do retaine the entire profeſſiō of ſauing truth, together with the Character of Baptiſme, which is the marke of Chriſtianite, and ſo farre forth notwithſtanding their diſobedience ſtill acknowledge them to be their lawfull paſtours and guides, by whoſe ſentence they are excommunicate, that they would rather endure and ſuffer any thing, then ſchiſmatically ioyne themſelues to any other cōmunion. It doth therfore onely cut thē off, from cōmunicating with the Church in the performance of holy duties, & depriue thē of thoſe cōforts which by cōmunicating in the ſacraments, &c. they might haue enioyed.

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This excommunication is of two sorts; the *greater* and the *lesser*. The greater putteth the excommunicate from the sacrament of the Lords bodie and blood, and depriueth them of all that comfort and strength of grace, which from it they might receiue, it denieth to them the benefit of the Churches publique prayers, and so leaueth them to themselues as forelorne & miserable wretches, without that assistāce, presence, & protection which from God she obtaineth for her obedient children. Whence it is, that they are said *to be deliuered vnto Sathan*, because they are left (naked, and voide of all meanes to make resistance) vnto his will and pleasure: and as if this were not enough, they are denied that solace which they might finde in the company and conuersation of the people of God; who nowe doe no lesse flye from them, than in olde time they did from the Lepers, who cried, *I am vncleane, I am vncleane*. The *lesser* excommunication excludeth onely from the sacramental pledges, and assurances of Gods loue, which, when it is pronounced against them that stubbornely stand out, and will not yeeld themselues to the Churches direction and disposition, is properly named excommunication; but when it is pronounced against them that yeeld when they haue offended, and seeke the blessed remedies of the euils they haue committed, it is not so properly named excommunication, but it is an act of the discipline of repentance, and of that power and authoritie which Christ left vnto his Church, whereby shee imposeth and prescribeth to her obedient children, when they haue offended, such courses of penitency, wherby they may obtaine remission of their sinnes, and recouer the former estate from which they are fallen.

CHAP. 16.

Of the errors that are and haue beene, touching the vse of the discipline of the Church, in punishing offenders.

TOuching this discipline of repentance and power of the Church in ordering offenders, and the vse thereof, there are and haue beene, sundrie both errors and heresies. The first of the *Pelagians* in former times, and the *Anabaptistes* in our times, who for euerie the least imperfectiō cast men out of their societies, denying that any are or can be in or of the Church, in whom the least imperfection is found. Which if it were true, there should be no Church in the world; all men being subiect to sinne and sinnefull imperfection, that either ate or haue been. For it is a vaine dispute of the *Pelagians*, whether a man may bee without sinne or not; whereof see that which *Augustine*[a] and *Hierom*[b] haue written against the madnesse and folly of those men.

a *Augus. de perfectione iustitiæ contra Celestinum.*
b *Hiero. contra Pelagianos.*

For

For confirmation of their errour touching absolute perfection, they alleadge that of the c *Canticles*; *Thou art all faire, my Loue, and there is no spot in thee*: And that of the Apostle to the d *Ephesians*; that *Christ gaue himselfe for his Church, that he might make it to himselfe a glorious Church, not hauing spot or wrinkle, but that it should be holy, and without blame.* For answere whereunto, first we must remember that which formerly was obserued, to wit, that sundrie glorious titles are giuen to the Church, which agree not to the whole totally considered, but to some parts only; so it is said to be *faire, glorious, and without spot or wrinkle*, not for that all or the most part of them that are of the Church are so, but because the best and principall partes are so; and for that the ende, intent, and purpose of the gifte of grace giuen to the Church is to make all to be so, if the fault be not in themselues. Secondly, we must obserue that there is a double perfection, puritie, and beautie of the Church *without spot or wrinkle*, to wit, *absolute*; and *according to the state of this life*. The first is not founde in any among the sonnes of men, while they are clothed with the bodie of death. And therfore if we speak of that absolute puritie & perfectiō, the Church is sayd to be *pure, all faire, and to haue no spot or wrinkle*; f not for that actually, and presently it is so, but for that it is prepared to be so hereafter, as *Augustine* fitly noteth. The second kind of puritie, which is *not absolute but according to the state of this life*, consisteth herein, that al sinnes are auoided, or repented of, and in Christ forgiuen, and his righteousnesse imputed. In this sense the Church is now presently pure, and vndefiled, and yet not free from all sinfull imperfection, as the *Pelagians* and *Anabaptists* vainely and fondly imagine, contrarie to all experience, and the wordes of the Apostle, *If we say we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues, and there is no truth in vs.*

The second error, touching the power of the Church in the ordering of sinners, and the vse thereof, was that of the g *Nouatians*, who refused to reconcile, and restore to the Churches peace, such as grieuously offended, but left them to the iudgement of God, without al that comfort which the sacraments of grace might yeeld vnto them; and if any fell in time of persecution, and denied the faith, how great and vnfained soeuer their repentance seemed to be, they suffered them not to haue any place in the Church of God. The third of certaine of whom h *Cyprian* speaketh, that would not reconcile nor restore to the Churches peace, such as for adultery were cast out.

The fourth, of the i *Donatistes*, who would not receiue, into the lap and bosome of the Church, such as hauing in time of persecution, to saue their owne liues, deliuered the books and other holy things into the hands of the persecutors, did afterwards repent of that they had done, and with

c Chap. 4. 7
d Chap. 5, 25, 26, 27

e *Augustin. de perfectione iust. hu.* f *Hoc agitur vtiq; in hoc seculo, vt ad illam quam omnes sancti cupiūt immaculatissimam puritatem ecclesia sancta perueniat, quæ in futuro seculo neque aliquo malorum hominum permixto, neq; aliquā in se lege peccati resistente legimentu, ducat mundissimam vitā in eternitate diuina. August. contra Pelag: de naturā & gratia, cap. 63.*

g *Miror quosdam sic obstinatos esse vt damnam non putent lapsis pœnitentiam. Cypr. lib. 4. epist. 2: in eadem epistolā extendit Nouatianos mœchis, & fraudatoribus cōmunicare qui libellaticis & sacrificatis deteriores sunt.* Nouatus refused onely to communicate with idolators; the Nouatiās exclude men from the Communion for other sins, referring vnto God alone the power of remitting them *Socrates* lib. 7. cap. 25:

h *Apud antecessores nostros quidam de episcopis istic in prouincia nostra damnam pacem mœchis non putauerunt, et in totum pœnitentiæ locum contra adulteros clausuerunt; non tamē à Coepiscoporum collegio recesserunt. Cypr. in eadem epist.*

i *Plus quam quadraginta anni sunt inter Cypriani passionem et Donatum cod cum exustionem: unde isti calumniarum suarum flamas iactant occasionem faciendi schismatis inuenerunt. August. li. 5. de Bapt. contra Donatistas. cap. 1.*

teares of repentant griefe seeke to recouer their former standing in the Church of God againe; yea they proceeded so farre in this their violent and passionate zeale, that they abandoned the societie of them that did, held them not Christians, and rebaptised them which came from them, to their pretented purer societies;

The fift of the [k] *Luciferians*, who receiued men returning from heresie to the Catholique faith, without rebaptization, and enioyned them penitence, & gaue them imposition of hands. But Bishops that had been drawne into heresie, they would not admitte, vnlesse they forsooke their office and ministerie: against, these *Hierom* writeth his booke against the *Luciferians*. All these did erre, vrging ouermuch the Church discipline in casting off the wicked, and not admitting the vnworthy, to her happie fellowshippe.

[k] *Hiero. contra Luciferianos.*

CHAP. 17.

Of the considerations mooving the Church, to vse indulgence towardes offenders.

BVt the true Church admitteth and receiueth all, that with sorrowfull repentance returne and seeke reconciliation, how great soeuer their offences haue beene: not forgetting to vse due seueritie, which yet shee sometime remitteth, either vpon due consideration, or of negligence. The due and iust consideration, mooving the Church to remitte some thing of her wonted seueritie, is either priuate, or publique perill. Priuate, as when the partie being of a tender, timorous, and relenting disposition, if he be proceeded with rigorously, is in daunger to fall in despaire, or to bee swallowed vppe with ouermuch sorrow. In this case the [l] Apostle, hauing excommunicate the incestuous *Corinthian*, writeth to the Church of *Corinth*, speedily to receiue him againe, least hee should be swallowed vp with ouermuch griefe: and in this sort the auncient Bishoppes were wont to cut off great parts of enioyned penance; which remission and relaxation, was called an indulgence. [m] Out of the not vnderstanding whereof, grewe the popish pardons, and indulgences. Publike perill is then, when the multitude, authoritie, and preuailing of the offenders is so great, as that if they be cut off, and separated from the rest, a schisme may iustly be feared, without hope of any good to be effected thereby; in this case there is iust cause why the Church forbeareth to proceede to excommunication. [n] For whereas the ende of excommunication is, that euill doers being put from the companie of right beleeuing Christians, and forsaken of all, may be made ashamed of their euill doing, and so brought to repentance, this cannot bee looked for, when the multitude of offenders hath taken away all shame.

[l] 1 Corint. 2. 8, 9, 13

[m] *Caietan opusc. tom. 1, tractat. 15 cap. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 Quidam distinguentes forum Dei et forũ Ecclesiæ, dixerunt relaxationes non fieri nec intelligi quãtum ad forum Dei, sed quantũ ad forum Ecclesiæ; hoc autem sic intelliguntur; sacri canones pro mortalibus peccatis graues et diuturnas pœnitentias quas pauci facere volunt, taxant, et idcirco constituerũt relaxationes aliquando fieri. Bonauentura li. 4. dist. 20. quæst. 2. aliam ipse sequitur opinionem.*

[n] *Si contagio peccãdi multitudinem inuaserit, consilia separationis et inania sunt et pernitiosa, atque sacrilega, quia et impia et superba sunt, et plus perturbant infirmos bonos quàm corrigunt animosos malos. Aug. contra Epist: Parmeniani li. 3. cap. 2*

These are the due and iust motiues, which cause the Church sometimes to forbeare to punish with that extremitie, which the qualitie and condition of the offenders fault may seeme to require. But sometimes of negligence, not led by any of these considerations, shee omitteth the due correction of such as haue offended God and scandalized his people. So the [o] *Corinthians* before the Apostles Letter written vnto them, *suffered an incestuous person*, and seemed not much to be mooued with so vile a scandall. And the like negligence is often found in the Churches of God, which notwithstanding their fault in this behalfe, continue the true Churches of God stil; [p] & priuate men may communicate with them that through the Churches negligence are thus tolerated and suffered, and that both in publique actes of religion, & priuate conuersation, without being partakers of their sinnes, if they neither do the same things, nor approue, like, and applaud them that doe, and if they neglect not by all good meanes, to seeke their correction and amendment.

o 1. Cor. 1. 2

p *Auferte, inquit, malum ex vobis; vt si fortè non possent auferre malos à cõgregatione suâ auferendo malum ex seipsis, id est, non cũ ipsis peccando, nec iis ad peccandum consentiendo, aut fauẽdo, integerrimi inter eos et incorruptissimi versarentur. Aug. li. 3. contra Epist. Parmeniani cap. 1.*

CHAP. 18.

Of their damnable pride, who condemne all those Churches wherein want of due execution of discipline, and imperfections of men are found.

THere are and haue beene alwayes some, who possessed with a false opinion of absolute sanctitie, and spotlesse righteousnes, reiect the societies and companies of them in whom any imperfection may be found; which was the furious zeale of the *Pelagians* in olde time, and the *Anabaptists* in our time. Others there are, which, though they proceede not so farre, yet deny those societies of Christians to be the true Churches of God, wherein the seueritie of discipline is so farre neglected, that wicked men are suffered, and tolerated without due and condigne punishment. These, while they seeme to hate the wicked, and flie from their companie for feare of contagion, do schismatically rent, and inconsiderately diuide themselues from the bodie of Gods Church, and forsake the fellowshippe of the good, through immoderate hate of the wicked. Both these doe daungerously and damnably erre; the first in that they dreame of heauenly perfection to bee found amongst men on earth, when as contrariwise the Prophet [a] *Esay*

a Esay, 64, 6. *Nostra, si qua est, omnium iustitia, recta forsitan, sed non pura, nisi fortè meliores nos esse credimus quàm patres nostros, qui non minùs veraciter quàm humiliter aiebant, omnes iustitiæ nostræ tanquam pannus menstruatæ mulieris. Bernard de verbis Esaiæ sermo 5. hinc afflictus Iob, verebar omnia opera mea, aît Deo; et iterum, si voluerit contendere mecum, non potero respondere vnum pro mille: cui conformis est oratio prophetica, non intres in iudicium cum seruo tuo; et rursus, si iniquitates obseruaueris &c. Porrò quod Esaias se cum cæteris inuoluens, sibique vilescens humili confessione protulerit, legimus, omnes iustitiæ nostræ tanquam pannus menstruatæ; quis igitur iustitias suas velut gloriabundus ostentauerit Deo plusquam pannum confusionis suæ nimber. vide Gers: de consol. theolog. li. 4. pros. 1.*

pronounceth, that *all our righteousnesse is like the polluted and filthie ragges of a menstrous woman.* And [b] *Dauid* desireth of Almightie God, that he will *not enter into iudgement with him, for that in his sight no flesh shall be iustified*: And *Augustine* denounceth a woe against our greatest perfections, if God doe straitly looke vpon them. The later, though they doe not require absolute and spotlesse perfection in them that are in and of the Church, yet thinke it not possible that any wicked ones should bee founde in so happie and blessed a societie: not remembring that the Church of God is compared to [c] *a Nette, that gathereth into it all sorts of fishes great and small, good and badde*, which are not separated one from another, till they be cast out vpon the shore; that it is like *a* [d] *fielde sowen with good seede, wherein the enuious man soweth tares*; like *a* [e] *floore wherein wheate and chaffe are mingled together*; like the [f] *Arke of Noah*, wherein cursed *CHAM* was as well preserued from drowning as blessed *SEM*.

But they will say, there may be Hypocrits, who, for that their wickednes is not knowne, cannot be separated from them who in sinceritie serue and worship God; but if their wickednesse breake foorth, that men may take notice of it, either they are presently reformed, or by the cēsures of the Church cut off from the rest: which course if it be not holden, but that wicked ones without due punishment be suffered in the middest of Gods people, those societies wherein so great negligence is found, cease to be the true Churches of God, and we may and must diuide our selues from them. This was the errour of the [g] *Donatistes* in former times, and is the error of certaine proude and arrogant Sectaries in our time. But if the Church of God remained in *Corinthe*, [h] where there were *diuisions, sects, emulations, contentions, and quarrels* [i] *and going to lawe one with another for euerie trifle, and that vnder the infidels; where that* [k] *wickednesse was tolerated, and winked at, which is execrable to the verie heathens*; where [l] *Paules* name and credite was despitefully called in question, whom they should haue honoured as a father; [m] where *the resurrection of the dead*, which is the life of Christianitie *was* with great scorne *denied*; who dare deny those societies to be the Churches of God, wherein the tenth part of these horrible euils and abuses is not to be found? Wee see then the difference betweene the turbulent disposition of these men, and the milde affection of the Apostle of Christ, who writing to the *Corinthians*, and well knowing to how many euils and faults they were subiect, yet doth not thunder out against them the dreadfull sentence of *Anathema*, exclude them from the kingdome of Christ, or make a diuision and separation from them, but calleth them the *Church of Christ*, and *societie of Saints*. What would these men haue done, if they had liued amongst the *Galathians*, who so farre adulterated the Gospell of Christ, that the Apostle pronounceth that *they were* [n] *bewitched*, and, if they still persisted to

b *Aug. in Psalm. 142. in illa verba, non iustificabitur omnis viuens, sic habet: fortè iustificare potest se coram se, non coram te: quomodo coram se? sibi placens, tibi displicans: noli ergo intrare mecum in iudicio Domine, quantumlibet rectus mihi videar: prodicus tu de thesauro tuo regulã, coaptas me adte, et prauus inuentor; ad te cum respicio, nihil aliud meum quàm peccatum inuenio; nolo tecum habere causam, vt ego proponam iustitiam meam, tu conuincas iniquitatem meam; commemorate iustitias vestras, ego non facinora vestra, inquit Dominus. Augus. cõfes. lib. 9. cap. 13.*

c Mathew 13, 47
d Mat. 13, 24, 25
e Mathew 3, 12
f Genesis 7, 13
g *Caranus, li. 4. cap. 3*
h 1. Corinth. 3, 3
i 1. Corinth. 6, 1
k 1. Corinth. 5, 1
l 2. Corin. 10, 10
m 1. Corin. 15, 12
n Galat. 3, 1

ioyne circumcision and the workes of the law with Christ, they *were fallen from grace, and Christ could profitte them nothing*; whom yet the Apostle acknowledgeth to be the Church of God, writing *to the Church which is at Galathia?* • Gala: 5. 4.

Excellent to this purpose is the counsaile of *Augustine* in his third book against *Parmenian* and second chapter, which he giueth to all that are of a godly and peaceable disposition, *vt misericorditer corripiant, quod possunt, quod non possunt patienter ferant, & cum dilectione gemant & lugeant, donec aut emẽdet deus ac corrigat, aut in messe eradicet zizania, & paleas ventilet.* That with mercifull affection they should dislike, reproue, & correct, asmuch as in them lyeth, what they finde to be amisse; what they cannot amend, that they should patiently endure and suffer, and in louing sort bewaile and lament, till either God doe here in this world correct and amend it, or otherwise in that great harueft in the ende of the world, plucke vp all tares, and comming with his fanne in his hand purge the wheate from the chaffe. Thus then wee haue hetherto shewed, who are of the Church, the definition of it, and the meaning of such sayings of our Diuines, as haue beene by our aduersaries mistaken or peruerted, together with all such errors, and heresies, as are or haue been, concerning the nature and being of the Church.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE, CONCERNING THE NOTES OF THE CHVRCH.

CHAP. 1.

Of the nature of notes of difference, and their ſeuerall kindes.

NOw it remaineth that wee come to the ſecond part of our principall and generall diuiſion, to find out the notes wherby the true Church may be knowen and diſcerned from all other companies and ſocieties of men in the world. A note, marke, or character, is that, whereby one thing may bee knowen and differenced from another. The Philoſophers obſerue, that of things not the ſame, there are two ſorts; ſome wholly diuerſe, which haue no common condition of nature wherin they agree and are the ſame. Theſe cannot be apprehended by vs, but the diuerſitie of nature & condition, found in them, muſt of neceſsity be conceiued & knowen likewiſe; ſo that no man, hauing any apprehenſion of the nature of a voice or ſound, enquireth wherein it differeth from a circle or line, not finding any thing wherein they are the ſame. Theſe need not any notes, or marks of differēce wherby to be known one frō another.

Other things there are which haue many things in common wherein they agree & are the ſame, & ſome other which are ſo found in one of thē that not in another. Theſe are not properly ſaid to be wholly diuerſe, as the former, hauing many things in common wherein they agree and are the ſame; but to differ one from another, in that ſome thing is ſo found in one of them that it is not in another. The diſtinction of theſe things thus differing, cannot be knowen by any other meanes, but by obſeruing what is peculiarly found in each of them: neither is there any thing proper or peculiar to any of them, which may not ſerue for a note or marke of diſtinction, to diſcerne one of them from another.

That which is proper to a thing, and peculiarly founde in it alone, is of two ſortes: For either it is ſayd to bee proper and peculiar reſpectiuely, and at ſome one time onely; or abſolutely, and euer.

Respectiuely that is proper to a thing, which, though it be not found in alone, but in sundry other, yet if wee take viewe of it, and onely some certaine and definite things besides, is so in it that in none of them, and serueth for a sufficient note of distinction to knowe it from any of them. So if we seeke to difference and discerne the nature of man, onely from those things that are void of life; sense and motion serue for notes of difference, and distinction, and are proper to man for that they are not found in any thing voide of life. But if we seeke to difference the nature of man from all other things whatsoeuer; we must finde out that which is in man and in nothing else; in which sort also a thing may bee proper and peculiar at some one time, that is not perpetually and euer so, as weeping, laughing, and the like; which though not alwayes found in a man, (for some time he neither weepeth nor laugheth) yet when then they are, they be notes of difference, distinguishing man from all other things, for that nothing else is at any time capable of any of these.

Perpetually and absolutely that is proper to a thing, which is inseparable and incommunicable, as neuer being not found in that to which it is proper, nor euer being found in any thing else. Those things which are thus and in this sort proper to a thing, either are of the essence of that to which they are proper, or that is of the essence of them: by both these, a thing may be knowen from all other whatsoeuer, but more specially by them that are of the essence of that which wee desire to knowe. These things thus generally obserued touching the nature of the notes of difference, whereby one thing may be discerned and knowen from another, wee applie particularly to the Church, we shall easily knowe which are the true, certaine, and infallible notes thereof, about which our aduersaries so tediously contend and iangle, deliuering them confusedly without order, and doubtfully without all certaintie.

Wherefore, seeeing by that wee haue already obserued it is euident that there is nothing not proper that may, nor proper that may not serue as a note of difference to distinguish one thing from another; Seeing likewise of things proper and peculiar, there are two sorts, some respectiuely and some absolutely; and of these againe, some not perpetually, but for some one time onely, and some perpetually and euer; and these either essentiall to that to which they are peculiar, or essentially depending of and flowing from it: Let vs first see, what things are proper to the Church respectiuely considered; and secondly, what (without such respectiue consideration) absolutely, generally, and perpetually; which onely are perfect notes of difference, whereby the true Church may be perpetually and infallibly knowen from all other societies of men, professions of religion, and diuersities of diuine worship that are in the world: and thirdly, such as are generally and absolutely but not perpetually proper.

CHA

CHAP. 2.

Of the diuers kindes of notes, whereby the true Church is discerned from other societies of men in the worlde.

THere are presently, and were formerly, but three maine differences of religion in the world, Paganisme, Iudaisme, and Christianity. Paganisme is, and was, that state of religion and diuine worship, wherein men hauing no other light than that of nature, and the vncertaine traditions of their erring fathers to guide them, [a] did and *doe change the trueth of God into a lie, and worship and serue the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for euer.* Iudaisme is that state of religion, wherein men imbrace the Lawe which God gaue to the children of *Abraham*, and sonnes of *Iacob*, reforming heathenish impietie, teaching saluation to be looked for through one, whome God would send in the last dayes, and exalt to bee Lord ouer all. Christianitie is the religion of them that beleeue *Iesus Christ* to bee that Sauiour promised to the *Iewes*, and [b] *acknowledge him to be the sonne of the liuing God.* They which hold this profession, are called the Church of Christ: neither is there any other societie or company of men in the world, that professe so to beleeue but they onely.

1

a Rom. 1:25.

2

3

b Matth. 16.16

If we take a view of this Church respectiuely considered, seeking onely to difference and distinguish it from the societie of Pagan Infidels, the profession of Diuine, supernaturall, and reuealed verities is so found in the Church, that not amongst any of these; and so, πρὸς ἕτερον, respectiuely, it is proper to the Church, and may serue as a note of difference, distinguishing it from these profane and heathenish companies; but from the Iewes it doeth not seuer it; for it is common to it with them; both holding the sacred profession of many heauenly and reuealed verities. So that, if we will distinguish Christians from *Iewes*, we must finde out that which is so proper and peculiar to the companies and societies of Christians, that it is not communicated to the *Iewes*. Such is the profession of diuine verities reuealed in Christ, whome onely these societies acknowledge to bee the Sonne of God and Sauiour of the world. But for that, when neither heathenish superstition, nor the *Iewes* perfidious impietie, could any longer preuaile, or resist against the knowledge and glory of Christ, [c] but that all *the whole world went after him*, Sathan the enemie of mankinde stirred vp certaine turbulent, wicked, and godlesse men, who professing themselues to be Christians, vnder the name of Christ brought in damnable doctrines of errour, no lesse dangerously erring, than did the Pagans and *Iewes*. This profession of the faith of Christ, though it distinguish the Christian Church from the *Iewes* and Pagans, and is so farre proper vnto it, that it is not found in any of them, yet doth it not separate the

c *Christi aduentu detecto & prostratus inimicus, sed videns ille idola derelicta & per omnium credentium populum sedes suas ac templa deserta, excogitauit nouam fraudem, vt sub ipso Christiani nominis titulo fallax incautos, hæreses inuenit & schismata, quibus subuerteret fidem, veritatem corrumperet, scinderet vnitatem. Cypr. de vnitate Eccles.*

the multitude of right beleeuing Christians (which is the ſound part of the Christian Church, and is named the Orthodoxe Church) from ſeduced miſcreants, being common to both.

We muſt therefore further ſeeke out that, which is ſo peculiarly found in the more ſpeciall number of right beleeuing Christians, that not in any other, though ſhadowed vnder the generall name of Christianitie. Such is the entire profeſſion of diuine verities, according to the rule of faith, left by Christ, and his firſt diſciples, and ſchollers, the holy Apoſtles.

This entire profeſſion of the trueth reuealed in Christ, though it diſtinguiſh right beleeuers from Heretikes, yet is it not proper to the happy number, and bleſſed company of Catholike Christians, becauſe Schiſmatikes may, and ſometimes doe, holde an entire profeſsion of the trueth of God reuealed in Christ. It remaineth therefore, that we ſeeke out thoſe things that are ſo peculiarly found in the companies of right beleeuing & Catholike Christians, that they may ſerue as notes of difference, to diſtinguiſh them from all, both Pagans, *Iewes*, Heretikes, and Schiſmatikes. These are of two ſorts; for either they are ſuch as onely at ſometimes, and not perpetually; or ſuch as do perpetually, and euer ſeuer the true Church from all conuenticles of erring and ſeduced miſcreants. Of the former ſort was multitude, largeneſſe of extent, and the name of *Catholike*, eſteemed a note of the Church, in the time of the Fathers. The notes of the latter ſort, that are inſeparable, perpetuall, and abſolutely proper and peculiar, which perpetually diſtinguiſh the true Catholike Church, from all other ſocieties of men, & profeſsions of religions in the world, are three: Firſt, the entire profeſsion of thoſe ſupernaturall verities which God hath reuealed in Christ his ſonne; ſecondly, the vſe of ſuch holy ceremonies and ſacraments as he hath inſtituted and appointed, to ſerue as prouocations to godlineſſe, preſeruations from ſinne, memorials of the benefits of Christ, warrants for the greater ſecuritie of our beleefe, and markes of diſtinction to ſeparate his owne from ſtrangers; thirdly, an vnion, or connexion of men in this profeſsion, and vſe of theſe ſacraments, vnder lawfull paſtours and guides, appointed, authoriſed, and ſanctified, to direct and leade them in the happie wayes of eternall ſaluation. That theſe are notes of the Church, it will eaſily appeare, by conſideration of all thoſe conditions that are required in the nature of notes. They are inſeparable, they are proper, and they are eſſentiall, and ſuch things as giue being to the Church, and therefore are in nature more cleare and euident, and ſuch as that from them the perfect knowledge of the Church may and muſt be deriued. Notwithſtanding, for that our aduerſaries take exception to them, I will firſt examine their obiections, and ſecondly proue, that neither they, nor any other that know what they write or ſpeake, can or doe aſsigne any other. And becauſe *Bellarmine* and *Stapleton* haue taken moſt paines in this Argument, I will therefore propoſe the obiections

finde in them, assuring my selfe that there are not any other of moment, to be found in the writings of any other of that side.

CHAP. 3.

Of Bellarmines *reasons against the notes of the Church assigned by vs.*

BEllarmine his first obiection is; [a] *By these notes we knowe not who are elect; therefore by these we doe not certainely knowe which is the true Church.* The consequence of this reason we denie, as being most fond and false. He proueth it in this sort. *The Church, according to the doctrine of the Protestants, is onely the number of the elect; and therefore if the elect be not knowen and discerned by these from the reprobate and castawayes, the Church cannot bee knowen by them.* But the Antecedent of this argument is likewise false, as appeareth by that which I haue formerly deliuered, touching the nature and being of the Church: for we doe not say that the Church consisteth onely of the elect, but principally, intentionally, and finally. For otherwise it consisteth of all that partake in the outward calling of grace, and enioying of the meanes of saluation, and so may bee knowen by these notes. For that society doubtlesse hath and enioyeth the meanes of saluation, to which the notes aboue specified doe agree.

[a] Bellar. l. 3. cap. 4. contro. de Conciliis & ecclesia militante, lib. 4. cap. 2.

Secondly, hee reasoneth thus; *The true and certaine notes whereby the Church is knowen, are inseparable; but there may bee true Churches that holde not the entire and sincere profession of supernaturall trueths reuealed in Christ; therefore this profession is no note of the Church. That there may bee true Churches without the entire and sincere profession of the trueth of God, appeareth by the examples of the Churches of* Corinth, Galatia, *and other, to whome* Paul *wrote, and gaue them the titles and names of the Churches of God, and yet they erred in the matter of the resurrection, and the necessitie of the law of* Moyses *to be ioyned with the Gospel.* To the minor proposition of this Argument, we answere by a double distinction: the first taken out of [b] *Stapleton*; that a multitude or company of Christians may be said to be a true Church, either onely becaus it hath the true nature and essence of a Church, or becaus, besides that, it hath all those things that pertaine to the integritie and plenitude thereof. The second, that there is a double sinceritie, and puritie of the profession of the trueth of God reuealed in Christ; the first free from all damnable, fundamentall, and pertinacious errour; the other from all errour whatsoeuer. The former is an inseparable note of the true Church: For there is no being of a Church to be found where that sinceritie, and puritie of profession is not. The later is a note of a pure and perfect Church, and is inseparably proper vnto it. So that proportionably, sincerity, and purity of profession is alwayes inseparably proper to the Church: Absolute to the Church, that is absolutely perfect; and in an in-

[b] Relect. contro. 1. q. 4. art. 5. exposit. articuli.

ferioure degree and sorte, to that which is in any sorte a Church. For seeing, as *Stapleton* rightly affirmeth, the true faith is the life of the Church, it cannot bee the true Church, that pertinaciously erreth in the substance, and maine grounds of the faith. What is a fundamentall error, and what that pertinacie, that cannot be found in the true Church of God, I will then make manifest when I come to speake of the nature of Schisme and Heresie.

His third reason hee proposeth in this sort: *Notes of the Church must be proper to the Church, and such things as are not to bee found in any societie or companie of men besides; but this sinceritie and soundnesse of profession may bee found in other societies and companies of men besides, namely amongst Schismatikes, as appeared in the Luciferians, and some others in the beginning of their schisme, e though for the most part the better to iustifie their schismaticall separation, they adde heresie to schisme.* To the Maior proposition of this argumẽt we answere, that the notes of the Church are of two sorts; either absolute, full, and perfect, generally differencing and distinguishing it from all other societies whatsoeuer; or onely from some certaine. Those notes, that absolutely, and generally distinguish the Church from all other societies and companies whatsoeuer, are so peculiar to the true Church, that they are not found any where else; but they which doe distinguish it but onely from certaine, are proper onely πρὸς ἕτερον, and respectiuely, that is, so that they are not found in any of those things, from which they doe distinguish it. Notes of the former sort are all those three things ioyntly concurring, whereof I spake in the beginning, to wit, entire profession of sauing trueth, and right vse of sacraments, and vnion vnder lawfull Pastours. These ioyntly cannot bee found among Pagans, *Iewes*, Heretikes, Schismatikes, nor any other seduced or misseled people whatsoeuer. But the entire profession of sauing trueth singly and by it selfe, is a note distinguishing the Church from Infidels, and Heretikes onely, and so is not absolutely, but respectiuely proper to the true Church, so farre foorth that it is not found in any of these.

e *Hieron. in epist. ad Titum cap. 3.*

Fourthly hee reasoneth, that *puritie of profession can be no note of the Church, for that absolute puritie is not necessarily required to the being of the Church; for that the Church may bee without it: and that other puritie free from essentiall and fundamentall errour, is no note, for that it doth not distinguish the Church from Heretikes; For there haue been, and may bee Heretikes, which erre not in any matter directly fundamentall.* But who seeth not that hee reasoneth sophistically, from an imperfect diuision of the puritie of the Churches profession? For there are three sorts of it; the first absolute, and that is not necessarily required in the being of the Church; the second free from fundamentall and essentiall errour, and that is necessarily required in the Church, and company of right beleeuers, but it is not peculiar to it; for it may be found among Heretikes; and a third

third free from pertinacious errour, and that is euer found in the true Church, and neuer among Heretikes. It is this last kind of puritie of profession, which we make a note of the Church.

Lastly, hee endeuoureth to improoue the notes assigned by vs, for that *notes must not onely bee inseparable and peculiar, but they must bee such as may not be challenged or pretended by any other.* As if he should thus say, I may not direct my man to seeke out one whome I desire to speake with, being in company with two or three more, by this note that hee is the tallest man of the company, though euidently he bee so; if any one of the rest foolishly imagine himselfe as tall or tallet: Or by wearing a garment of some certaine colour or die, becausse some one or other not exactly distinguishing the diuersities of colours, may thinke himselfe to haue the like. *But*, sayth hee, *they must be so proper, that no other must pretend or challenge them with any probabilitie.* This likewise is false euen in the notes which himselfe bringeth: for who knoweth not, that the Grecians and others pretend Antiquitie, Succession, Vniuersalitie, and the like, aswell as the Church of *Rome*, and that not without all probabilitie? Thus wee see how weakely this great Champion hath performed that which hee vndertooke.

CHAP. 4.

Of Stapletons *reasons against our notes of the Church.*

LEt [a] vs see if *Stapleton* quitte himselfe any better. His first reason is taken from the vncertainetie of our doctrine, in this sorte: *The doctrine of the Protestants is most vncertaine, doubtfull, and full of contradiction; therefore they doe vnaduisedly make trueth of doctrine a note of the Church*; for *the notes of the Church must bee constant and perpetuall.* The Antecedent of this Argument wee reiect as most false, and calumnious. For the whole course of our doctrine is most constant and certaine, as shall appeare by that which followeth. That which hee alleageth that we agree not touching the nature, qualitie, and members of the Church, is sufficiently refuted by that which I haue already deliuered touching that matter in the former part.

Secondly, hee reasoneth from our confession; for, sayth he, [b] *Caluine and Melancthon acknowledge these notes to bee vncertaine.* This, whoso taketh a view of the places cited by him, shall finde to bee most false. *Caluine* indeede sayth, that not the bare preaching of the trueth, but the receiuing, imbracing, and professing of it is necessary to the being of the Church; but touching the vncertaintie of these notes hee sayth nothing. That which he obiecteth, that wee make the Church to bee onely

[a] *Relect. contro. 1. de Ecclesia in se q. 4 art. 5 refutatio notarum in quibus haeretici conuenire videntur.*

[b] *Non dico vbicunque predicatur verbum, illic fructum mox exoriri, sed nullibi recipi & stare habere sedem, nisi vt suam efficaciam proferat: Vtcunq; vbi reuerenter auditur Euangelij predicatio, nec sacramenta negliguntur, illic pro eo tempore nec fallax, nec ambigua ecclesiae facies. Calu. instit. lib. 4. c. 1. sect. 10 idem sentit Melanchon.*

the number of the elect, and that therefore it cannot be knowen by these notes, is answered in the refutation of *Bellarmines* first reason.

His third allegation is this: *There are many that doe truely pertaine to the Church, to whom these notes agree not; therefore they are no notes of the Church.* The Antecedent wee denie. Hee prooueth it out of our owne doctrine. *Many not yet called pertaine to the Church; but these notes agree not to such; therefore there are many to whome these notes agree not, which yet pertaine to the Church.* To the maior proposition we answere thus. Of them that pertaine to the Church, there are two sortes; For some pertaine to it actually, some potentially onely, and according to the purpose of Gods will: To both these, these notes agree, but in different sort and maner; To them that are actually of the Church, they actually agree; For they doe presently make profession of the trueth of God, and ioyne with the people in the vse of holy Sacraments appointed by him: To them that potentially and according to the purpose of Gods will pertaine to the Church, as doe all the elect not yet outwardly called, these notes agree onely potentially, and according to the purpose of Gods will, for that in due time they shall come to the knowledge and profession of the trueth, and vse of those happie meanes of saluation, which others actually enioy.

His fourth obiection, that *the entire profession of the trueth agreeth to schismatikes*, is answered already, being likewise obiected by *Bellarmine*.

Fiftly hee reasoneth thus; *The trueth of heauenly doctrine and right vse of Sacraments are no notes of the Church, because they doe not shewe vs which is the Church.* We answere that they doe: he prooueth they do not, because *the true Church is knowen of vs before we can knowe any of these.* This wee denie; For we say a man must knowe which is true doctrine, and what is the right vse of Sacraments, before hee can knowe which is the true Church. This he thinketh impossible, because we seeke to learne the trueth, of the Church; and therefore we must in the beginning of our enquirie knowe which is the true Church, and where assuredly trueth is found, or else our whole search and enquirie is doubtfull, vncertaine, and often without successe. For the clearing of this doubt, we must obserue, that seeking is a motion of the minde, desiring to knowe where a thing is, or what it is. He that desireth to knowe where a thing is, either knoweth the place, within compasse whereof he is sure it is, or else his search is doubtfull, vncertaine, and often in vaine. What a thing is, we desire to knowe, either by our owne discourse, or by the instructions or directions of another: Hee that seeketh after a thing, desiring to knowe it by the directions of another, either knoweth not particularly and certainely of whome to enquire, with assurance that from him hee shall receiue satisfaction, and this kinde of search and enquirie is alwayes doubtfull, and often without successe; Or else hee knoweth particularly of whome

so

to enquire with assurance of resolution and satisfaction. Now if we apply this which hath been said, to that which *Stapleton* alleadgeth, we shal easily aunswere his obiection. For when Infidels, and men wholly ignorant of the truth of God, beginne first to seeke it, they doe not know certainely where they may finde it; and being left to themselues, would often seeke in vaine, as hee saith: but being directed by diuine prouidence, and the helpe of others, to the true Church which they know not, and being taught by her, they are established in the perswasion of the truth taught by her, in such sort, as they make no doubt of it; and are farther resolued that that must needes be the Church of God, & company of them whom he loueth, where these truthes are in such sort knowen and taught, as they finde them to be there. It is therefore vntrue that *Stapleton* saith, that *the Church is better and sooner knowen then the doctrine of it.* For the doctrine is in some sort knowen, before we can know the Church that teacheth vs. For euen as a man wholly ignorant, and knowing none of the precepts and principles of Geometrie, cannot possiblie know who is learned in that kinde of knowledge, but either casually, or by direction of others meeting with one excelling therein, learneth of him, & then by that which he hath learned of him, knoweth him to be a skillfull professour thereof, and euer after resorts vnto him, if in any thing hee bee doubtfull, with assurance of satisfaction; whose perfections, when hee began to learne, hee knew not, but either casually mette with him, or by the directions of others, and not of his owne choise: So wee know not the Church, what it is, which it is, nor how excellent it is, till wee haue learned some part of the doctrine it teacheth, and are directed to it without any certaintie of our owne knowledge; but being once established in the certaintie of the truth of the things shee teacheth, we thereby know her to be the Church of God, beloued of him, ledde into all truth by him, and appointed a faithfull witnesse, and skilfull mistresse of heauenly truth; and then in all our doubts and vncertainties, wee euer after resort vnto her, with full assurance of satisfaction and resolution. Thus then wee see, how both the Church sheweth vs the truth of heauenly doctrine, and that againe the Church; but in different sort: the Church doctrinally proposing to vs what we must embrace and beleeue; and the doctrine of the truth beleeued and imbraced by vs, really demonstrating to vs that to be the Church, in which so pretious and sauing truthes are taught and professed: and that first repaire and resort of Infidels, to the Church, proceedeth from the direction of others, or some thing which they see, that maketh them enquire farther after her; but not from their owne knowledge of her infallibilitie, and the pretious treasures of heauenly truth which shee possesseth, as *Stapleton* vainlie fancieth.

In his sixt obiection first he saith; *Truth of doctrine and right vse of sacra-*

ments are things without which the Church is not entire and full: contrarie to *Bellarmine*, who therefore excludeth them from being notes, becaus they are ſeparable and the Church may be without them. Secondly, in the ſame place he ſaith, that *theſe things do depend of the Church, flow from it, and are in order of nature after the being of it, not giuing being to it, or concurring in the conſtitution of it;* and therefore cannot be notes; but elſe where hee ſaith, *the things that giue being to the Church, are the ſame with the Church*; and ſo cannot be more euident, nor eaſie to be knowne then the Church it ſelfe. Thirdly, in his ſeuenth reaſon hee ſaith; *Theſe are the notes whereby wiſe and ſpirituall men doe knowe the Church:* and againe in his ninth: That *to demonſtrate the Church by theſe notes, is demonſtrare idem per idem, to demonſtrate the ſame by the ſame. For,* ſaith hee, *when wee aſke which is the true Church, wee aſke which is that ſocietie that holdeth the true profeſſion, &c; and they that aſſigne theſe notes, aunſwere, it is that which holdeth the true profeſſion, &c.* If this man bee not poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of giddineſſe, ſaying, and vnſaying; affirming, denying the ſame things in the verie ſame page, and ſo indeede ſaying hee knoweth not what, let the Reader how partiall ſo euer hee be iudge.

c Eadem contr. q. 4. art. 5. n. tabli. 3.

To that which hee addeth, that *faith is knowen from infidelitie, religion from ſuperſtition, a beleeuer from an infidell, and a Catholique from an heretique, by true doctrine and right vſe of ſacraments, that they are eſſentiall to them and giue them their being, but that the whole collected multitude of right beleeuers, muſt bee knowen by thoſe things which are proper and eſſentiall to ſuch an vnited multitude, as vniuerſalitie and the like:* We ſay, that there is nothing, beſides ſinceritie of profeſſion and right vſe of Sacraments, eſſentiall to the Church as a collected multitude, but onely order and orderly connexion or vnion of men concurring in theſe, while ſome authoriſed thereunto doe teach, direct, and command, others obey; which if wee adde to the former two, wee ſhall finde all and only thoſe notes which wee aſsigne. Neither are ſincere profeſsion, & right vſe of Sacraments ſo eſſentiall to beleeuing and catholique men, that they doe ſufficiently diſtinguiſh them from ſchiſmatickes, vnleſſe this bee added, that they *hold the vnitie of the ſpirit in the bande of peace:* ſo that as they do not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh the whole body of the Church from the Conuenticles of ſchiſmatickes, vnleſſe an orderly connexion of men concurring in them bee added, which orderly vnion or connexion is eſſentiall to the Church as a collected multitude; ſo do they not a catholique from a ſchiſmaticke: but on the other ſide, who is ſo fooliſh as to deny, that the profeſſion of truth and right vſe of Sacraments are eſſentiall to the whole bodie of the Church? ſeeing, as *Stapleton* himſelfe ſaith, d *Recta fides eſt anima eccleſiæ, Right beleefe is the verie life and ſoule of the Church*; which is nothing elſe but

d Contr. 1. de eccleſia in ſe. q. 3. art. 6. expoſ. arti. notabili 3.

but an orderly multitude of right beleeuers, and is collected and gathered in the true faith of Christ, and hope of eternall happineſſe: which as it cannot be knowen and diſcerned from the Conuenticles of Schiſmatickes, by right faith and due vſe of Sacraments onely, without the addition of orderly connexion, ſo likewiſe on the contrarie ſide, it cannot be knowen without theſe, and therefore of neceſſitie they muſt bee notes, though not ſole and onely notes.

In the ſeuenth there is nothing but that which refuteth that himſelfe elſewhere ſaith, or is refuted by him. For when hee ſaith that *wiſe men do know and diſcerne the Church by the notes aſſigned by vs*, hee doth acknowledge that they do demonſtrate the Church in the perfecteſt ſort that may be; which in his ninth he denyeth, ſaying that *to demonſtrate the Church by them, is to demonſtrate the ſame by the ſame:* and in his eight maketh it *ſauour of hereſie at leaſt, to thinke to finde out the true Church by them*; whereas in the ſame place hee appropriateth theſe notes only to the wiſer ſort of men, as not being within the compaſſe of ignorant mens conceipt. Surely they which he aſsigneth are leſſe obvious to the knowledge of the vulgar ſorte than theſe, as ſhall appeare in that which followeth.

His eight reaſon, that *the notes of the Church muſt be ſuch as may not bee challenged or pretended by the heretiques*, is anſwered alreadie in the refutation of the reaſons brought by *Bellarmine*. That which hee addeth concerning their notes, of *Antiquitie, Vnitie, Succeſſion, and Vniuerſalitie, that they are ſo cleerely proper and peculiar to the Church of* Rome, *that we do not denie them to agree to it, but denie them to bee notes of the true Church*; is wholly falſe. For wee peremptorily deny any of theſe notes to agree to the Romiſh Church; and with ſuch explication, as they (forced with our arguments) now make of them, weemoſt willingly admitte them, and will proue, that they differ not really from them aſsigned by vs.

His ninth, that *the notes aſſigned by vs are no notes of the Church, becauſe to demonſtrate the Church by them, is to demonſtrate the ſame by the ſame, (for that when we aſke which is the true Church, wee aſke which is the Church that holdeth the true profeſſion and right vſe of the Sacraments;)* is a meere ſophiſticall cauillation. For the better manifeſtation whereof, wee muſt obſerue, that hee that ſeeketh to finde out the true Church, at the firſt is wholly ignorant of whatſoeuer pertaineth to the nature and being of it, as Infidels that know not what the verie name of the Church importeth; and then ſurely the firſt thing, that hee, who is thus wholly ignorant, enquireth after, is not, which is that ſocietie that holdeth the profeſsion of ſauing truth, as *STAPLETON* ſaith; (For, he knoweth not, that there is any ſuch profeſsion, or ſocietie ſo profeſsing;) But about the ſignification of the worde, and meaning of the name of the Church: whome wee ſatisfie, if

if wee say no more, but that it is a societie or company of men, called by the working of grace to the hope of eternall happinesse. But if, when he knoweth thus much, and is not ignorant what the word importeth, hee doe farther desire to know which among all the societies of men in the world it is, that hath this happy and pretious hope; We satisfie him by shewing him, what things are so peculiar and proper to it, that whersoeuer hee findeth them, hee may assure himselfe, that that company and societie of men hath the assured hope of eternall happinesse, and is the true Church of God; as namely, the entire profession of reuealed truth, according to the rule of faith left by Christ, & the right & due vse of Sacraments, vnder lawfull pastors and guides appointed to conduct the sonnes of God, in the waies of their eternall blisse and happinesse. Now when hee knoweth the entire profession of sauing truth &c. to be proper and peculiar to the true Church, if yet still hee know not truth from errour, and the right vse of Sacraments from the profanation of them, and therefore aske of vs in the third place which is the true profession, and which is the multitude that hath it, wee will not tell him, as *Stapleton* vainely fancieth, that it is that which holdeth and embraceth the truth; but we will shew him how to know truth from falshood; that so, wheresoeuer hee findeth it professed and taught, hee may knowe that societie that so professeth, as hee now knoweth the truth in Christ to bee, is the true Church of God. Euen as, if one aske of vs, how hee may know such a noble mans seruants in the Princes Court, we satisfie him, if wee tell him they are clothed with scarlet, if none other but they only bee so clothed; But if hee knowe not scarlet, and so aske of vs in the second place which is scarlet, and who they are that weare it, wee will not tell him, they that weare it, but shew him how hee may know it, that so, when hee seeth it, hee may assure himselfe he hath found the men hee required after.

CHAP. 5.

Of their notes of the Church, and first of antiquitie.

THus hauing answered the reasons brought by our aduersaries against the notes of the Church assigned by vs, let vs proceede to take a viewe of such as are allowed by them, and see if they be not the verie same in substance with ours. The [a] notes that they propose vnto vs, are Antiquity, Succesiō, Vnitie, Vniuersalitie, & the very name and title of Catholique, expressing the Vniuersality. Antiquity is of two sortes; primary, & secondary. Primary is proper vnto God, who is eternal, whose being is from euerlasting, who is absolutely the first, before whom nothing was, & from whom all things receiue being, when as before they were not. This kinde of antiquitie is a most certaine proofe, and demonstration of truth and goodnes

[a] *Bellar. 1. tom: cōtro. 4. li. 4. & alij.*

Of

Of this they ſpeake not, who make Antiquitie a note of the Church. Wherefore letting this paſſe, let vs come to the other; which for diſtinction ſake, we name ſecondarie Antiquitie. This is of two ſorts; The firſt wee attribute to all thoſe things, which began to be longe agoe, and ſince whoſe firſt beginning there hath beene a long tract of time. This is no note, or proofe of truth or goodneſſe: For the diuell was both a lyer, & a murtherer long agoe, euē immediatly after the beginning. And there are many errors, and ſuperſtitions which began long ſince, yea before the name of Chriſtians was once named in the world: and ſundrie hereſies, that were *coætaneall* and as auncient as the Apoſtles times; and that began before the moſt famous Churches in the world were planted. This kinde of Antiquitie it is, that *Cyprian* ſpeaketh of; [b] *Non debemus attendere quid alius ante nos fecerit, aut faciendum putauerit; ſed quid, qui ante omnes eſt, Chriſtus prior fecerit. Neque enim hominis conſuetudinem ſequi oportet, ſed dei veritatem. Et* [c] *alibi; Non eſt de conſuetudine præſcribendum, ſed ratione vincendum.* [d] *Et ad Pompeium; Conſuetudo ſine veritate, vetuſtas erroris eſt. Wee muſt not regard what any other did before vs, or thonght fit to bee done, but what Chriſt did, who was before all. Neither muſt we follow the cuſtomes of men, but the truth of God.* And in another place; *We muſt not preſcribe vpon cuſtome, but perſwade by reaſon.* And writing to Pompeius; *Cuſtome without truth, is nothing elſe but inueterate error.* There is therefore another kinde of Antiquitie, which is not long continuance, or the being before many other, but the prime, firſt, and originall being of each thing: this is a ſure proofe of goodneſſe, and perfection. For all defects, found in things, are ſwaruings, declinings, and departures from their original, and firſt eſtate. For truth is before falſhood, and good before euill, and the habit before priuation. *Veritas*, ſaith [e] Tertullian, *in omnibus imaginem antecedit, poſtremò ſimilitudo ſuccedit. The truth is before any counterfeite, ſimilitude, or repreſentation; the truth is firſt, and then afterwards there are imitations.* That therfore that is firſt in any kind, or ſort of things, is trueſt and beſt: and conſequently, that Church that hath prime and abſolute Antiquitie, is vndoubtedly the true Church.

b Epiſt. 63.

c Ep. ad Quint. 7.

d Epiſt. 74.

e In his booke of preſcript: againſt hæretickes *Contra Praxeam; id verum quodcunque primum: id adulterum quodcunque poſterius.*

This Antiquitie, a Church may be ſaid to haue, three wayes; either onely becauſe the firſt conſtitution of it was moſt auncient, as taking beginning from the firſt publiſhers of heauenly knowledge, the Apoſtles of Chriſt, the immediate, indubitate, and prime witneſſes of the truth of God, whatſoeuer her declinings haue beene ſince; Or becauſe as her firſt conſtitution was moſt auncient, in that ſhee receiued the faith from the Apoſtles, or ſuch as ſhee knew vndoubtedly to hold common with them, ſo ſhee is not ſince gone from it, in whole, or in part, but ſtill hath the ſame being ſhee firſt had: or thirdly, becauſe the profeſſion it holdeth, is the ſame that was deliuered by the prime, immediate, and indubitate witneſſes, and publiſhers of the truth of God, though it began to be a

Church but yesterday. The Antiquitie of the first constitution of a Church is no sufficient proofe, or note of the truth or soundnesse of it: Neither doe they that plead most for Antiquitie, think it a good proofe for any companie or societie of Christians, to demonstrate themselues to be the true Church of God, because they haue had the profession of Christianitie euer since the Apostles times, by whose meanes they were first conuerted to the faith, and established in the profession of the same. For then the Church of *Ephesus* might at this day proue it selfe a true Church of God; yea many Churches in *Æthiopia* are yet remaining, which haue continued in the profession of Christianitie, euer since the Apostles times. But this is all they say, that if any Church founded by the Apostles; or their coadiutors, and left by them in the true profession, as were the Churches of *Rome, Antioche, Ephesus*, and the like, can demonstrate that they haue not since departed from their first, and originall estate, They thereby do proue themselues to be the true Churches of God. And if any other that began since, as innumerable did, can shewe that they haue the faith first deliuered to the Saints, they therby proue themselues therby no lesse to bee the true Churches of God, then the former, which had their beginning from the Apostles themselues, and haue continued in a state of Christianitie euer since. Doe wee not see then, that it is truth of doctrine, whereby the Church is to be found out, euen in the iudgement of them that seeme most to say the contrarie? they admitte no place of Antiquitie on the behalfe of any Churches whatsoeuer, though established by the Apostles, vnlesse they can proue that they haue not left their first faith. So that this is still the triall, if they may be found to haue the truth of profession &c. Wherupon *Stapleton* saith, [f] *Adnotam Antiquitatis sibi vendicandam, non satis est quòd aliqua societas sub titulo Ecclesiæ diu perduraverit, aut prior extiterit, sed præterea necesse est quòd sanam doctrinam semper, & primùm retinuerit. Hoc autem contra veteres hæreses, maximè ipsis Apostolis coetaneas, notandum est. It is not a sufficient reason, for a societie of Christians, to chaleng to it selfe the note of Antiquitie, because it hath long continued, and beene before others in the profession of Christianitie; but besides it is required, that it haue aunciently, and euer holden the doctrine of truth: This is specially to be noted agæinst olde hereses, whereof some began in the Apostles times.* [g] And heer saith of the Churches of *Greece, Æthiopia*, and *Armenia*, that, though their Antiquitie did reach as high as the Apostles times, yet notwithstanding *propter doctrinæ nouitates postea inuentas, veram antiquitatem non habent; because they haue brought in newe doctrine, they haue noe true Antiquitie.*

f Cont. 1. de eccles. q. 4. art. 1. expos. art. notabile. 3.

g Ibidem in fabrica de argumentorum.

CHAP.

CHAP. 6.

Of Succession.

HItherto wee haue ſpoken of Antiquitie, which they make the firſt note of the Church. It followeth in the next place that we ſpeake of Succeſſion. The miniſtrie of paſtors and teachers is abſolutely, and eſſentially neceſſarie to the being of the Church. For how ſhould there be a Church gathered, guided, and gouerned without a miniſterie? Therefore the miniſterie of thoſe whom God ſanctifieth to himſelf, to teach, inſtruct and gouerne his people, is an eſſentiall marke and note of the Church, as we haue already ſhewed. Now becauſe the Church is not to laſt only for ſome ſhort time, and ſo to ceaſe, but to continue to the ende of the world, this miniſterie muſt continue likewiſe; which becauſe it cannot continue in the ſame perſons (all being ſubiect to death) it is neceſſarie, that when ſome faile, others poſſeſſe the places they formerly held, which is to Succeede. Neither is this Succeeding of one into the place of another, neceſſarie, only by reaſon of that failing which is by death, but becauſe the places of ſacred miniſtery muſt not bee vnfurniſhed; if either the wickedneſſe of them that are in place, caſt them out, or their weakeneſſe cauſe a voluntarie relinquiſhment of their office, and ſtanding, others muſt ſucceede. Lawfull and holy miniſterie therefore is an inſeparable, and perpetuall note of a true Church; for no Church can be without it; but Succeſsion not ſo; For the Churches in the firſt eſtabliſhment in the Apoſtles time had it not, and many Churches, which in ſundrie ages ſince haue beene founded, had none, their Biſhops being the firſt, and ſucceeding none, in thoſe epiſcopall chaires wherein they ſate. If therfore we ſhould cauill againſt them as they doe againſt vs, wee might deny Succeſsion to be a note of the Church, becauſe there haue beene, and may be true Churches without it; as all at the firſt in the beginning of Chriſtianitie, and all others ſince newly founded, in their firſt beginnings. But becauſe wee knowe they make not Succeſsion of paſtors and Biſhops a note of the Church abſolutely conſidered, but of that which being formerly eſtabliſhed, is ſtill to be continued, by multitudes of men and people continually ſucceeding, and comming into the places of others that went before them, in the ſame profeſsion of Chriſtianity; Let vs ſee whether Succeſsiō of Biſhoppes, & paſtors may truely be ſaid to be a note of the Church.

Abſolutely and without limitation, doubtleſſe it is not: For there may be a continued Succeſsion of Biſhops, where there is no true Church, as at this day amongſt the *Grecians*, *Armenians*, and *Æthiopians*, which yet are not the true Churches of GOD, in the opinion of them that plead for ſucceſsion. [a] *Bellarmine* therefore ſaith, that Succeſsion is inſeparable, ſo

[a] *Bellar. 1. tom. contr. 4. lib. 4 cap. 8 Eccleſia Conſtantinopolitana habet ſucceſſionem à tempore Conſtantini. ſed argumentum à ſucceſſione effertur ad probandum non eſſe eccleſiam vbi non eſt &c.*

so that there can be no Church without it; but that it is not proper, so that whersoeuer it is found, wee may assure our selues that there is the Church; so forgetting himselfe, who requireth in the notes that they bee proper, and reiecteth our note of puritie of doctrine free from pertinacious error, because it may be found among schismatickes, though it bee inseparable, and the true Church cannot bee without it.

b Contro: de Eccles. in 5 q. 4, art. 3 expos. artic. notabil. 5.

b But *Stapleton*, handleth this point of Succession much better. For hee saith, that Succession is an inseparable, and proper note of the true Church: but not euerie Succession, but that which is true, and lawfull. Let vs therefore see what hee requireth to make a true and lawful Succession. First, there must bee a place voide, by resignation, depriuation, or death; Secondly, they that succeede must haue election, and ordination from them to whom it appertaineth to elect, and ordaine. c Thirdly, they muste not departe from the faith that was formerly holden, by them that went before, vnlesse any of them did first decline, and goe aside from the way of the first, and most auncient, that held those places before: and therefore in the catalogue of Bishops succeeding one another in each seuerall See, whersoeuer any first began to teach any newe and strange doctrine, different from that which was formerly deliuered, the thread and line of succession was by him either wholly broken, or somewhat endaungered, according to the qualitie of the error and the manner of defending, and maintaining the same. So that this is all which *Stapleton* saith, that whersoeuer wee finde a Church once established, vnder a lawfull ministerie, in the vndoubted profession of the truth, if afterwardes ther be a Succession of Pastors & Bishops in the same place, and that none of them depart from the faith of the former, that so it may be euident, that what faith was first holden, is still holden by them that presently are in place, there wee may assure our selues to finde the true Church.

c Neque qui per vim irrupit successor habendus est, sed qui vim perpessus; nec qui contrariam sententiam tuetur, sed qui eadem fide præditus est; nisi quis fortassis ita successorem dicat, quemadmodum morbum sanitati tenebras lucis tempestatem tranquillitati dementiã prudentiæ succedere dicemus. Nazianz. in laudem Athanasij.

Thus still wee see, that truth of doctrine, is a necessarie note whereby the Church must he knowen and discerned, and not ministerie, or Succession, or or any thing else without it.

But saith hee, the people must not iudge, which is true doctrine and which is false, by the particular consideration of the things themselues, but only by the newnesse, strangenesse, contrarietie it hath with that which they haue learned of their pastors, guides, & forefathers. Hee alloweth then a kinde of iudgement to the vulgar sort, who must discerne which is the true doctrine & which is the false, though not by particular consideration of the things themselues that are taught, yet by the newnes & strangenes of thē. Touching the iudgemēt the people of God ought to haue of the doctrine of Christianitie, I wil speak whē I come to the fourth part of my first, & generall diuisiō. In the mean while it sufficeth, that not bare & naked Succession, but true, & lawfull, wherin no new, or strange

doctrine

doctrine is brought into the Church, but the auncient religiously preserued, is a marke, note, or character of the true Church.

CHAP. 7.

Of the third note assigned by them, which is Vnitie.

THe third note of the Church assigned by them is Vnitie. There are many sorts and degrees of Vnitie found in the Church: The first, in respect of the same beginning, and original cause, which is GOD that hath called vs to the fellowship of his Sonne, and to the hope of eternall life. [a] Iohn 6. *No man commeth vnto me, vnlesse my father drawe him.* The second, in respect of the same last ende, whereunto all they that are of the Church doe tend, signified by that *penie giuen to euery one of the labourers.* [b] Matth. 20. The third is in respect of the same meanes of saluation, as are faith, sacraments, holy lawes, and precepts, according to that [c] Ephesians 4. *One faith, one Baptisme, &c.* The fourth, in respect of the same spirit, which doeth animate the whole body of the Church: *There are diuersities of graces, but the same spirit.* [d] 1. Cor. 12. The fift, in respect of the same head Christ, and guides appointed by him; who, though they are many, yet are all holden in a sweete coherence and connexion amongst themselues, as if there were but one episcopall chaire and office in the world. Which Vnitie of Pastours and Bishops, though they be many, and ioyned in equall commission, without dependance one of another, Christ signified by directing his words specially to *Peter, Feede my sheep, feede my lambes*, as [e] *Cyprian* most aptly noteth. The sixt is in respect of the connexion, which all they of the Church haue amongst themselues, and with Christ, and those whome hee hath appointed in his stead to take care of their soules. [f] Rom. 12. *Wee are one body, and members one of another*. These being the diuers kindes, and sortes of Vnitie in the Church, let vs see what Vnitie it is, which they make a note of the Church. The Vnitie which they make a note of the Church is, first, in respect of the rule of faith, and vse of the sacraments of saluation; secondly, in respect of the coherence and connexion of the Pastors and Bishops amongst themselues; thirdly, in the due and submissiue obedience of the people to their Pastours.

[a] Vers. 44. [b] Mat. 20. 8, 9, 10 [c] Eph. 4, 5 [d] 1. Cor. 12, 4 [e] *Cypr. de vnitate Ecclesiæ.* [f] Rom. 12. 5

This is it then which they say, that whereseoeuer any company, and societie of Christians is found in orderly subiection to their lawfull Pastours not erring from the rule of faith, nor schismatically rent from the other parts of the Christian world, by factious, causelesse and impious diuision, that societie of men is (vndoubtedly) the true, and not offending Church of God. This note thus deliuered, is the very same with those assigned by vs. But if any of them shall imagine that any Vnitie,

and agreement whatsoeuer of Christian people amongst themselues, doth proue them to be the Church of God, we vtterly denie it. For the Armenians, Æthiopians, and Christians of *Muscouia*, and *Russia*, haue euery of them an agreement amongst themselues, though diuided each from other, more perfect than they of the Church of *Rome* haue; which yet in the iudgement of the Romanists, are not the true Churches of God.

CHAP. 8.

Of Vniuersalitie.

THe next note assigned by them is Vniuersalitie. Concerning Vniuersalitie, [a] *Bellarmine* obserueth three things: First, that to the Vniuersalitie of the Church is required, that it exclude no times, places, nor sorts of men; in which consideration the Christian Church differeth from the Synagogue, which was a particular Church tied to one time, being to continue but to the comming of Christ; to a certaine place, to wit, the Temple at *Hierusalem*, out of which they could not sacrifice; and to one family, the sonnes of *Iacob*. Secondly, he noteth out of *Augustine*, that to the Vniuersalitie of the Christian Church it is not required, that all the men of the world should be of the Church, but that at the least there should bee some, in all prouinces of the world, that should giue their names to Christ. For till this be performed, the day of the Lord shall not come, [b] *Mat.* 24. Thirdly, he noteth out of *Driedo*, in his fourth booke, chap. 2 part. 2. *de Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, that it is not required, that this should bee all at once, so that at one time necessarily there must bee some Christians in all places of the world; For it is enough, if it be successiuely. Whence, sayth hee, it followeth, that though but onely one Prouince of the worlde, should retaine the true faith, it might truely and properly bee named the Catholike Church, if it could clearely demonstrate it selfe, to be one with the Church and company of beleeuers; which if not at one time, yet at diuers times hath filled the whole world. This it cannot demonstrate, but by making it appeare, that it hath neither brought in any newe, and strange doctrine in matter of faith, nor schismatically rent it selfe from the rest of the christian world.

[a] 1. *Tom. contro.* 4. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 7.

[b] Matth. 24. 14.

This note of Vniuersalitie, thus vnderstood, wee willingly admitte. For it is the same with those we assigne. For we say, what Church soeuer can proue it selfe to holde the faith once deliuered to the saints, and generally published to the world, without hereticall innouation, or schismaticall violation, and breach of the peace, and vnitie of the Christian world, is vndoubtedly the true Church of God. But out of this which *Bellarmine* hath thus truly, wisely, and fitly obserued touching Vniuersalitie, we may deduce

reduce many corrollaries of great consequence in this controuersie touching the Church.

The first, that it may be the true and Catholike Church, which neither presently is, nor euer hereafter shall be, in all or the most parts of the worlde, if it can continuate it selfe, and prooue it selfe one, with that Church which formerly at some time or times, hath been in the most parts thereof. From whence it is easie to discerne the vanitie of that their sillie obiection against vs, who say our Church began not at *Hierusalem*, in the feast of Pentecost, but at *Wittenberg*, or *Geneua*, in this last age of the world; and that it is not likely, beginning so late, that euer it will so farre enlarge it selfe, as to fill all the whole world, and so become Catholike, or Vniuersall. For wee doe not imagine, that the Church began at *Wittenberg*, or *Geneua*, but that in these and sundry other places of the Christian worlde, it pleased God to vse the ministery of his worthy seruants, for the necessary reformation of abuses in some parts of that Catholike Church, which beginning at *Hierusalem*, spredde it selfe into all the world, though not at all times, nor all places, in like degree of puritie, and sinceritie. So that, though the reformed Churches neither presently be, nor perhaps hereafter shall bee, in all, or the most parts of the worlde, yet are they catholike, for that they doe continuate themselues with that Church, which hath been, is, or shall be, in all places of the worlde, before the comming of Christ, and vndoubtedly already hath beene in the most parts thereof. The second, that the true Church is not necessarily alwayes of greater extent, nor the multitude of them that are of it greater, than of any one company of Heretikes, or mis-beleeuers. The third, that the true Church cannot bee at all times infallibly knowen from the factions of heretikes, by multitude, and largenesse of extent. The fourth, that this contrarieth not the sayings of [c] *Augustine*, and others of the Fathers, who vrge the ample extent of the Church as a proofe of the trueth thereof; For that they liued and wrote in those times, when the Church was in her growth, and wee are fallen into the last and worst times, wherein she is in her declining.

[c] *Aug. ps. 101. conc. 2. reprehendit Donatistas dicentes ecclesiã in sola Africa remansisse. hunc locum Augustini explicat Bellarminus loco suo perius notato.*

CHAP. 9.

Of the name and title of Catholike.

The [a] fift note assigned by them is the name and title of Catholique; which they say, is an vndoubted proofe of the true Catholike Church whersoeuer it is found. And because our aduersaries doe not more insolently boast, and glorie of any thing, than of the bare and emptie name, and title of Catholike; I will therefore

[a] *Bellar. 1. Tom. contro. 4. lib. 4. cap. 4.*

therefore make it euident to all them, that knowe their right hand fro their left, that howsoeuer it was in the dayes of the fathers, it is not now proper to the true Church, but common to Schismatikes, and Heretike and therefore, that it cannot now serue as a marke or note distinctiue whereby the true Church may bee knowen from mis-beleeuers. Th therefore is to be reckoned amongst those things that are proper and pe culiar to the true Church, but not perpetually proper; and so amōgst tho notes that may difference the true Church from the false, at some time and not at others.

The title of Catholike doth most fitly expresse those, both Christia men and societies of Christians, which holde the common faith, wit out particular diuisions from the maine bodie of Christianitie. Wh therefore there was but the maine bodie of Christianitie at vnitie in it self and such portions of seduced and misseled people, as apparantly diuid themselues from it, the name of a Catholike was a note and distinct marke, or character to knowe, and discerne a Catholike from an He tike, or Schismatike by, and the naming after the name of any man, note of particularity, and hereticall or Schismatical faction. Whereup

b *Pacianus in epist. ad Sempronianum citatur à Bellarm. loco superiùs notato.*

b one of the auncient sayd fitly to this purpose, *Christian is my name, a Catholike is my surname: by the one I am knowen from Infidels, by the other fr Heretikes and Schismatikes.* But when the maine body of the Christi Church diuided it selfe, partly by reason of different ceremonies, vs customes, and obseruations; partly through the ambitious striuings of t Bishops, and Prelates of the greatest, richest, and most respected plac partly by occasion of some different opinions; the name of Catholi remained common to either of the parts thus diuided, sundred, and re one from another, though on the one side rested not onely errour, b heresie also in the opinion of the other. For who knoweth not, that t Christians of the *Greeke*, and Orientall Church, are and haue been generally named Catholikes, as the friends & followers of the Weste or *Latine* Church? Neither haue they any name, or note of faction, as ancient Heretikes had, but as in former times before this schisme beg for distinction take the whole Christian Church was diuided into t moities, the one called the Occidentall, or *Latine*, and the other the O entall, or *Greeke* Church: so are they by the same notes of difference a no other knowne at this day. Yet are the Grecians, Armenians, Æthi pians, and other in the East parts of the world, in the iudgement of t Romanists, not onely Schismatikes, but Heretikes also.

c 1. Tom. contr. 4 lib. 4. cap 4.

It c was therefore more than ordinarie impudencie in *Bellarmine* affirme, that the name of a Catholike is a note of true Catholike profession, when he knew it to be common to such as himselfe pronounce Heretikes. And it is yet more intolerable that hee sayth, there is heresie which receiueth not her name from some particular man the

thor and beginner of it: and that whosoeuer are named after the names of men are vndoubtedly Heretikes. For of what man had the *Apostolici* their name, whose author and first beginner was neuer known, (as [d] *Bernard* sayth) that we might assure our selues the diuell was authour of that damnable Sect? and who dare pronounce all the *Thomists, Scotists, Benedictines*, and the like, to be Heretikes? That we may therefore make his follie to appeare in that hee sayth concerning Heretikes, and the naming after the names of men, as wee did in the former part, touching the name and title of Catholike, wee must obserue, that Heretikes sometimes haue their names from the matter wherein they erre, as the *Monothelites* in olde time, and the *Anabaptists* in ours; the first affirming, that there is but one will in Christ, whence they were named *Monothelites*; the other vrging rebaptization of such as are baptized by Heretikes, whence they are named *Anabaptists*, that is, rebaptizers: sometimes of that they arrogantly challenge to themselues and make pretence of, [e] as the *Apostolici*, for that they challenged to themselues more than ordinarie perfection, as equalling the Apostles, or comming neerer to their examples, and presidents, than other men: sometimes of the place where they began and most preuailed, as the *Cataphriges*: sometimes of the first author of their heresie, as *Marcionites, Donatistes*, and the like. Thus then we see all Heretikes haue not their names from men.

But they will say, they were all Heretikes that were named after the names of men. Surely it is not to be denied but that the naming after the names of men was in the time of the Primitiue Church, peculiar and proper to Heretikes, and Schismatikes onely.

Neither were there any Christians in the first ages of the Church called after the names of men, but such as followed wicked seducers in Schisme, or Heresie: whereupon it was a sure rule in ancient times, that whosoeuer professing themselues Christians, were named after the names of men (as *Nouatiãs* of *Nouatus*, *Pelagiãs* of *Pelagius*) they were to be holden for Heretikes. This rule is deliuered by *Ierom*, against the [f] *Luciferiãs*, *ſicubi &c. If any where thou finde men professing Christianitie, called after the particular names of men, knowe them to bee the Synagogue of Antichrist, and not the Church of Christ.* But as the honourable title of Catholike, sometimes a note of the true and Orthodoxe Church, is now ceased to bee so; in like sorte the naming after the names of men, sometimes a note of Heresie, is now ceased to be so: which to bee most true the sundry, manifold and diuers names of *Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictins, Augustinians, Thomists, Scotists*, and the like, doe make it most apparant. And besides this, there are at this day innumerable Christians in the East parts of the world, that are [g] called *Nestorians*, that hold not the Heresie of *Nestorius*, nor any other speciall Heresie, whence they might haue any such name of diuision, faction, or particularitie.

d *Cetera huiusmodi pestes singulæ singulos magistros, homines habuisse noscuntur, à quibus originem duxere, & nomen; quo nomine istos titulo censebus nullo; quoniam non ab homine illorum hæresis &c.* Bernardus in Cantica serm. 66.

e *Nempe iactant se & se Apostolorum successores & Apostolicos nominant, nullum tamẽ Apostolatus sui signum valentes ostendere.* Ber. in Canti. serm. 66.

f *Contra Luciferianos prope finem.*

g *Onuphrius in supplemento Platinæ in vita Iuly 3.*

For the better clearing of whatsoeuer may seeme doubtfull in this matter of names, titles, and appellations, wee must obserue, that they, which professe the faith of Christ, haue beene sometimes in these later ages of the Church, called after the speciall names of such men, as were the Authors, deuisers, and beginners of such courses of monasticall profession, as they made choyce of to followe, as *Benedictins*, and the like; sometimes of such principall men, whose iudgement and opinion they embraced, and followed, in sundry matters of great moment in the controuersies of religion, not yet determined by consent of the whole vniuersall Church; and so in our times amongst the schoole Diuines, some following *Thomas*, and others *Scotus*, in many and sundry maine contradictory opinions, some were named *Thomists*, others *Scotists*; sometimes of such men, whose new, strange, and priuate opinions contrary to the Churches faith, they pertinaciously imbraced and followed, as *Arrians*, of *Arrius*, *Eutichians*, of *Eutiches*: yea, sometimes of some arch-heretike, whose opinions and heresies they hold not, as at this day the greater part of Christians that are in *Assyria*, *Persia*, and the rest of the Easterne prouinces, are called [h] *Nestorians*, by all other Christians in those parts, as the *Iacobites*, *Maronites*, *Cophti*, and the like; yet doe they holde nothing that sauoureth of *Nestorius* heresie, as *Onuphrius* reporteth in the life of *Iulius* the third, in whose time sundry of them came to *Rome*.

h *Onuphrius in vita Iulij 3.*

These in likelyhood are called *Nestorians*, for that in former times the heresie of *Nestorius* preuailed much in those parts of the world: which now being clearly banished, the right beleeuing Christians of those parts are stil notwithstanding called by that odious and hateful name: or elseit is by wrong and vniust imputation, as the *Armenians* are iudged by many to be *Eutichians*, for that they receiue not the counsel of *Chalcedon* [i] which they refused to subscribe vnto, vpon a false suggestion, and apprehension, that in it the heresie of *Nestorius* condemned in the Councell of *Ephesus*, was reuiued againe: somtimes of such as collected, gathered, and brought into a certaine Order, for the better direction of Gods people in his seruice, the prayers of the Church, and formes of administring the sacraments, and other holy things, or else augmented, altered, or reformed those that were before; So when there grew a diuisiō among the Churches of this part of the world, some following the forme of Diuine administration left by *Ambrose*, others imbracing that preseribed by *Gregory*, some were called [k] *Ambrosian*, and some *Gregorian* Churches: as likewise in our times when *Luther*, *Caluine*, and other worthy seruants of God had perswaded some states of Christendome to reforme, correct, and alter some things that were amisse, and to remooue and take away sundrie barbarismes, errours, and superstitions crept into the prayers of the Church, with many grosse abuses, and grieuous abominations formerly tolerated in the middest of the Church of God; those States, people, and

i *In Concilio Florentino in decreto Eugenij 4.*

k *In Ecclesiâ Gregoriana est hac forma, per illam sanctā unctionem &c. in Ambrosianâ est hac, vngo te, &c. Bonauent li. 4. dist. 23. q. 4. de sacramento unctionis, Caßander in præfat. in l. ord. Rom. Petrus Voraginensis in legenda Gregorij 1.*

and Churches, which reformed themſelues, abandoning ſuperſtition, and errour, were by ſome called reformed Churches; by other, *Lutherane* Churches. Neither was it poſſible, that ſo great an alteration, as the corrupt ſtate of the Church required, ſhould be effected, and not carrie ſome remembrance of them by whome it was procured. Wee ſee the ſinceritie of our Chriſtian profeſſion concerning the Sonne of God, (whome we acknowledge coeſſentiall, coequall, and coeternall with the Father,) cleered, and publiſhed in the *Nicen* Councell, was euer after, for diſtinction from the manifold turnings and windings of Heretikes, endeuouring to obſcure, corrupt, alter, and adulterate the ſame, called the *Nicene* faith.

That the Church needed reformation when *Luther* began, and that it was not neceſſary, nor behoouefull to expect the conſent of the whole Chriſtian world in a generall Councell, I will make it euident when I come to the third part of my firſt generall diuiſion. In the meane while, it is moſt cleere and euident, that the naming after the names of men is now no certaine note of Hereſie, or Schiſme. For if the naming after the names of men were a certaine note of Hereſie, or Schiſme, then ſhould all orders of Monkes and Friers, that are named after the names of their firſt authors, be prooued Heretikes: yea, the followers of *Thomas*, and *Scotus*, ſhould be conuinced of Hereſie: and all the Chriſtians that are named *Neſtorians*, ſhould bee found Heretikes; which they which knowe them beſt, doe denie; yea then, all the *Ambroſian* and *Gregorian* Churches, muſt be charged with Hereſie, and Schiſme.

THE THIRD BOOKE, OF THE TRVE CHVRCH DEMONSTRATED BY THE NOTES BEFORE AGREED VPON.

CHAP. 1.

Of the diuision of the Christian World into the Geeeke, Latine, Armenian, Æthiopian, *and* Nestorian *Churches.*

THus then, hauing sufficiently examined those things which concerne the notes of the Church, so that it is euident to all not wilfully contentious, which are the true notes whereby the Church may be knowen: it remaineth, that by application of them we seeke out, which among so many diuersities, and contrarieties in matters of religion, as are at this day found in the World, is the true; and Orthodox Church of God. And becauſe our controuersies are not with *Iewes*, nor Pagan Infidels, as in the times of the fathers, but with such as together with vs profesſe themselues Christians, letting passe all those notes which serue to proue the truth of Christian profession in generall, against heathenish and Iewish errors, let vs come to take viewe of the diuersities that are found among Christians, and, by direction of the notes agreede vppon, see which is the true Church of God.

The maine diuision of the Christian Church is presently, and was formerly for certaine hundreds of yeares, into the *Latine* and *Greeke*, as most principall; and besides these, into the *Armenian*, *Æthiopian*, and *Nestorian* Churches. [a] The diuision and separation betweene the *Greeke* and *Latine* Churches grewe out of the ambitious contentions

[a] *Annotatio Onuphrij in vitam Bonifacij, apud Platinam.*

of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Patriarch of *Constantinople* in this sorte. In the time of the *Nicen* Councell and before, as appeareth by the [b] acts of the Councell limiting their bounds, there were three principall Bishops or Patriarches of the Christian Church; namely, the Bishop of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*. After which time, *Constantinople* before named *Bizantium* made great by *Constantine*, & being the seate of the Emperours, the Bishop of this See, not only obtained to haue the dignitie of a Patriarch among the rest, [c] but in the second generall Councell holden at *Constantinople* was preferred before both the other of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and set in degree of honour next vnto the Bishop of *Rome*. [d] In the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, he was made equal with him, & to haue all equal rights, priuiledges, and prerogatiues, becaufe he was Bishop of newe *Rome*, as the other of olde. But not long contenting himselfe with this equalitie; the magnificencie, and glorie of his Citie dayly encreasing, making him proud, and insolent, hee challenged to be superiour, and would bee named vniuersall B. not challenging to himselfe to be B. alone, but incroaching vpon the right of all other, [e] & thereby declaring himselfe greater, and more honorable then any of the rest, and the chiefe Bishop of the whole world, becaufe his citie was the chiefe citie of the world. [f] About this, was the contention betweene *Gregorie* the first, and *Iohn* of *Constantinople*; which not being ended in the dayes of *Gregorie*, becaufe the Emperor *Mauritius* was averse from him, fauouring the claime of his aduersarie, [g] *Bonifacius* obtained of *Phocas* to haue the matter in such sort concluded betweene them, that the B. of *Rome* should haue the first and chiefe place in the Church of God, and the Patriarch of *Constantinople* the second: which conclusion was not of such force, but that the succeeding Bishops of *Constantinople* continued the same challenge their predeceffours made, and, as any opportunitie was offered, sought to aduance their pretended title, till at length there growing such difference betweene them in the matter of the proceeding of the holy Ghost, whome the *Latines* affirmed to proceede from the Father and the Sonne, the *GREEKES* from the Father onely, either pronounced the other to bee heretickes and schismatickes.

The [h] *Armenians* haue most constantly holden the christian profession a long time; neither could they euer be subiected to the tyranny of the curfed *Mahumetans*. These haue beene diuided from the rest of the Christian World, euer since the time of the Councell of *Chalcedon*; not for that they held the heresie of *Eutiches*, but for that they conceiued through false suggestion of such as vnderstood not what was concluded in that Councell, that the Councell did reuiue, and renew the heresie of *Nestorius* formerly condemned in the Councell of *Ephesus*.

The

[b] *Nicen. concil. can. 6.*

[c] *Sub Theodosio seniore can. 3. & Socrates lib. 5. cap. 8.*

[d] *Act. 16. can. 28 in Graecis Codicibus*

[e] *Caeterarum sedium priuilegia, & eorundem episcoporum consecrationem ad se vnum reuocare, eosq; in ordinem cogere, & sibi subdere conatus est. Leo Epist: ad Anatolium; si post consecrationem Antiocheni episcopi quam tibimet contra canonicam regulam vindicasti &c. Epist. 53.*

[f] *Gregori. li. 4. Epist. 76, 78, 82. li. 6. Epist. 168. 169.*

[g] *Beda in lib: de temporum ratione. Platina in vita Bonifacii, 3.*

[h] *In the decree of Eugenius in the councel of Florence, see how the diuision of the Armenians grew. Theotiani cum catholico Armeniorum colloquium tempore Manuelis imperatoris.*

The [i] *Æthiopians* receiued the faith by the preaching of *Philippe*; the Eunuch mentioned in the [k] Acts, being first conuerted, and baptised, and afterwardes the rest of that people. They are circumcised; not thinking circumcision to haue any force in the worke of saluation, but continuing it as an auncient obseruation, which had beene amongst them since the time of the Queene of *Sheba* that came to *Salomon*. They retaine the difference of meates prescribed by *Moses* lawe; by reason whereof, they are iudged by the Christians of *Europe* to be halfe *Iewes*. They receiue the first foure generall Councells, and hold the foundation, which is, Christ crucified for the sinnes of the Worlde. They haue noe priuate Masses, nor halfe communions; they haue neither eleuation, nor reseruation, nor circumgestation, as in the Church of *Rome*, nor adoration: sacraments of confirmation and extreame vnction they acknowledge not: the Lent fast they keepe most religiously, yet some of them on Saturdayes and Sondayes doe eate fleash; and from Easter till Whitsonside they fast not, but freely eate flesh at all times. Their Clergie men are married; but if their wiues die, they may not take a second, without speciall dispensation. They haue no vse of indulgences, neither doe they offer the sacrifice of the Lords bodie for the dead; they receiue the communion euerie weeke, but are neuer, in what weakenesse soeuer they be, permitted to receiue the Sacraments in their priuate houses.

[i] *Damianus à goes de moribus Æthiopū.*

[k] Act. 8.27.

In *Assyria*, *Persia*, and other of the Easterne prouinces, are innumerable Christians; the greater part whereof are called *Nestorians*, [l] from whom in this last age of the world, wee haue receiued the Syriacke new Testament, deliuered vnto them as they say, from *Marke* the Euangelist, and religiously preserued amongst them till our times; in which wee may see their feastes, and fasts, and what lessons, and portions of Scripture they vse to reade in their Churches. These, as appeareth by that which wee haue already noted of them out of [m] *Onuphrius*, hold not the heresie of *Nestorius*, nor any other heresie condemned by consent of the catholique Church of God. With these there are certaine other scattered Christians named *Iacobites*, *Maronites*, and *Cophti*. Thus then wee see, that, besides the *Latine* Church, there are sundrie other christian Churches in the World, of all which only the *Æthiopians*, and the Christians of *Russia*, who are a part of the *Greeke* Church, are free: the rest liue in bondage vnder the tyrannie of the *Turke* and the *Persian*.

[l] See the Syriack translation of the new Testament in the Kings Bibles; and the preface of *Guido Fabritius Baderitus*.

[m] *In vita Iuli.* 3

CHAP.

CHAP. 2.

Of the harsh and vnaduised censure of the Romanistes, *condemning all these Churches as Schismaticall, and heretical.*

ALL these Churches and societies of Christians, in number many, in extent large, in multitudes of men & people huge and great, in continuance most auncient, in defence of the Christian faith constant, and vndaunted (though enduring the malice and force, of cruell, bloudie, and potent enemies) the Bishop of *Rome* with his adherents iudgeth to be hereticks, or at least Schismatickes, and consequently, to haue no hope of eternall saluation; for that it is, on the perrill of euerlasting damnation, imposed vpon euerie soule, to bow, and do reuerence, at the sight of his triple crowne, to kisse his sacred feete, and to beleeue nothing, more, nor longer, then his holinesse shall decree, and define. And therefore the most part of the Christian world is plunged into hell, abandoned into vtter darkenesse, and reserued in chaines vnto the iudgement of the last day: euer since that schismaticall acte, of the base, ignoble, and contemptible Councell of 600. Bishops assembled at *Chalcedon*; who, forgetting themselues, presumed to equall another, B. to the peerelesse, and incomparable Vicar of Christ, his vicegerent generall on earth; in comparison of whose greatnesse, all other episcopall, and Patriarchicall dignitie, regall, or imperiall maiestie, is no more then the light of a candle at mid-day, when the sunne shineth in strength. But because wee haue not receiued the marke of this Antichrist and childe of perdition in our foreheades, nor sworne to take the foame of his impure mouth, and froath of his words of blasphemie, wherein hee extolleth himselfe aboue all that is named God, for oracles of infallible certaintie and the rule of our faith; Let vs therefore see what that heresie and schisme is, that cutteth off from the company of right beleeuers, in such sorte, that whosoeuer is conuinced of it, is thereby cleerely without all hope of eternall life.

a *In Concilio 2. Episcopus Constantinopolitanus fuit antepositus Alexandrino & Antiocheno in concilio Chalcedonensi actt. 3. & 6. ad istum canonem addiderunt oportere eum paria habere priuilegia cum Romano pontifice: sed cum a legatis reclamatū esset, non ausi sunt partum priuilegiorū mentionem facere. Bellar. 1. Tom. contro. generalis de pontifice. li. 2. cap. 18*

CHAP. 3.

Of the nature of heresie, of the diuers kindes of things wherein men erre, and what pertinacie it is that maketh an heretique.

HEresie is not euerie errour, but error in matter of faith; not euerie error in matter of faith; (For neither *Iewes*, nor Pagans, are saide to bee heretickes, though they erre most damnably in those things, which euerie one that will be saued must beleeue, and with all the malice, fury, and rage that can bee imagined impugn

impugne the Christian faith, and veritie) [a] but it is the errour of such as by some kinde of profession haue beene Christians; so that only such, as, by profession being Christians, depart from the truth of Christian religion, are named heretickes.

[a] *Occam dial. li. 3 partis cap. 2, 3.*

[b] These are of two sorts: For there are *hæretici scientes*, and there are *hæretici nescientes*; that is, there are some that are wittingly hereticks, some vnwittingly. For though no man do, or can wittingly erre, or bee deceiued; yet a man may wittingly be an hereticke: and though no man think that to be true which hee knoweth to be false, or that to bee false which he knoweth to be true, which were wittingly to erre; yet a man may forsake that which hee knoweth to be the profession of Christians, iudge it erronious, false, and impious, & choose some other kind of religion: which is wittingly to be an hereticke. Such are Apostates, which depart from that which they know to be the Christian faith.

[b] *Occam dial. li. 4. partis 1. cap. 3. tract. 1. 2. partis. cap. 10.*

Heretickes vnwittingly are such as thinke, that they doe most firmely cleaue to the doctrin of Christ, his blessed Apostles, and holy Church, and will not be induced to thinke the whole profession of Christians to be false, and erronious, as do Apostates; yet doe erre in many particulars that pertaine to the faith, and thinke that to be the only true Christian profession which indeede is not, as did the *Marcionites*, *Manichees*, and the rest of that sort.

[c] The things that pertaine to the Christian faith and religion, are of two sorts: for there are some things *explicitè*, some things *implicitè credenda*; that is, there are some things that must bee particularly and expressely knowen and beleeued, as that the father is God, the sonne is God and the holy Ghost God, and that yet they are not three Gods, but one God; And some other, which though all men, at all times, be not bound vpon the perill of damnation to know and beleeue expressely, yet whosoeuer will be saued must beleeue them at least *implicitè*, and in generalitie, as that *IOSEPH*, *MARIE*, and *IESVS* fledde into *Egypt*.

[c] *Occam dial. tract. 1, 2, partis cap. 10.*

Men are bound to know and beleeue things particularly, and expressely; either in respect of their office, and standing in the Church of God; in which consideration, the pastors, and guides of the Church, (who are to teach others) are bounde to know many things, which others of more priuate condition are not: or elsefor that they are particularly offered to their consideration; and so a lay-man, finding it written in the Scripture, that *Onesimus* was a fugitiue seruant and recommended to *Philemon* his maister by *Paule*, is bound particularly to beleeue it, which a great Bishop not obseruing, or not remembring, is not: or lastly, because they doe essentially and directly concerne the matter of our saluation. [d] He that erreth in those things which euerie one is bound particularly to beleeue, because they doe essentially, and directly concerne

[d] *Dubius in fide est Hæreticus & infidelis: quod vtique veritatem habet, cum quis de ijs dubitat quæ per traditionem sacræ scripturæ certè tenetur et explicitâ fide tenere: neque enim generalis sufficeret credulitas in multis. Gers. p. 3. li. 4. de consolat. prosa. 1.*

concerne the matter of our saluation, is without any farther enquirie to be pronounced an hereticke.

Neither neede wee to aske, whether he ioyne obstinacie to his error; for the verie error it selfe is damnable; as if a man shall deny Christ to be the sonne of God, coessentiall, coequall, and coeternall with his father, or that we haue remission of sinnes by the effusion of his bloud. But other things, that do not so neerely and directly touch the substance of the Christian faith, and which a man is not bound vpon the perill of damnation expressely to know and beleeue, but it sufficeth if he beleeue them *implicitè*, and *in præparatione animi*, that is, if hee carrie a minde prepared, and readie to yeeld assent vnto them, if once it shall appeare that they are included in, and by necessarie consequence to bee reduced from those things which expressely hee doth and must beleeue; e as that *Moses* saw the promised land, but entred not into it; f or, that the Queene of the South came from the vttermost endes of the world to hear the wisedome of *Salomon*; A man may bee ignorant of, and be deceiued in them, and yet without all touch of heresie, or perill of damnation, vnlesse hee adde pertinacie vnto error. Neither doth euery pertinacie ioyned with errors in this kinde, make them heresies: For all they are in some degree to be iudged pertinacious, that neglect the censure, and iudgement of them whome they should reuerence, and regard; & stand in defence of those errours; which if they had vsed that carefull diligence which they should, in searching out the the truth, they had not fallen into; but that only, when men erring in things of this kinde, they are so strongly carried with the streames of misperswasion, that rather than they will alter their opinion, or disclaime their error; they will deny some part of that which euerie one that will be saued, must know and beleeue.

e Deutero. 34. 4
f 1. King. 10.

g Socr. lib. 7. cap. 32.

8 So in the beginning, *Nestorius* did not erre, touching the vnitie of Christes person in the diuersitie of the natures of GOD and man: but only disliked, that *Marie* should bee called the mother of God: which forme of speaking, when some demonstrated to be verie fitting, and vnauoidable, if Christ were God and man in the vnitie of the same person, hee chose rather to denie the vnitie of Christs person, then to acknowledge his temeritie, and rashnesse, in reprouing that forme of speech, which the vse of the Church had aunciently receiued and allowed.

CHAP.

CHAP. 4.

Of those things which euerie one is bound expressely to know and beleeue; and wherein no man can erre, without note of heresie.

SEeing then the things which Christian men are bounde to beleeue, are of so different sort and kinde, let vs see which are those that do so neerely touch the very life & being of the Christian faith, and religion, that euerie one is bound particularly and expressely to know and beleeue them, vppon perill of eternall damnation. They may most aptly be reduced to these principall heads.

First, concerning God, whome to know is eternall life, wee must beleeue and acknowledge the vnitie of an infinite, incomprehensible, and eternall essence, full of righteousnesse, goodnesse, mercie and truth; The trinitie of persons subsisting in the same essence; the father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, coessentiall, coeternall, and coequall; the father not created, nor begotten, the sonne not created, but begotten, the holy ghost not created, nor begotten, but proceeding.

Secondly, wee must know, and beleeue, that God made all things of nothing, that in them hee might manifest his wisedome, power, and goodnesse; that hee made men and Angels capable of supernaturall blessednesse, consisting in the vision and enioying of himselfe; that he gaue them abilities to attaine thereunto, and lawes to guide them in the waies that lead vnto it; that nothing was made euill in the beginning; that all euill entred into the world by the voluntarie auersion of men and Angels from God their creator; that the sinne of Angels was not generall, but that some fell, and other continued in their first estate; that the sinne of those Angels that fell, is irremissible, and their fall irrecouerable; that these are become diuels and spirits of error, seeking the destruction of the sonnes of men: that by the misperswasion of these lying spirits, the first man that euer was in the world, fell from God by sinfull disobedience and apostasie; that the sinne of the first man is deriued to all his posteritie, not by imitation only, but by propagation and descent, subiecting all to curse and malediction; yet not without possibilitie, and hope of mercifull deliuerance.

Thirdly, wee must beleeue, that for the working of this deliuerance, the sonne of God assumed the nature of man into the vnitie of his diuine person; so that hee subsisteth in the nature of God, and man, without all corruption, confusion, or conuersion of one of them into another: that in the nature of man thus assumed hee suffered death, but being God could not bee holden of it, but rose againe, and triumphantly ascended into Heauen: that hee satisfied the wrath

of his father, obtained for vs remission of sinnes past, the grace of repentant conuersion, and a new conuersation, ioyned with assured hope, desire and expectation of eternall happinesse.

Fourthly, we must constantly beleeue, that God doth call, and gather to himselfe of the manifold confusions of erring, ignorant, & wretched men, whom he pleaseth, to be partakers of these pretious benefits of eternall saluation: the happie number and ioyfull societie of whome wee name the Church of God; whether they were before, or since the manifestation of Christ the sonne of God in our flesh. For both had the same faith, hope, and spirit of adoption, whereby they were sealed vnto eternall life; though there be a great difference in the degree, and measure of of knowledge, and the excellencie of the meanes, which God hath vouchsafed the one, more then the other.

Fiftly, wee must know, and beleeue, that for the publishing of this ioyfull deliuerance, and the cõmunicating of the benefits of the same, the son of God cõmitted to those his followers, whom he chose to be witnesses of all the things he did and suffered, not only the word of reconciliation, but also the dispensation of sacred and sacramentall assurances of his loue, set meanes of his gratious working: that those first messengers, whome hee sent with immediate commission, were infalliblie led into all truth, & left vnto posterities that summe of christian doctrine that must for euer be the rule of our faith: that these blessed messengers of so good and happie tidings, departing hence, left the ministerie of reconciliation to those, whom they appointed to succeede them, in the worke so happily begun by them.

Lastly, we must know, and be assuredly perswaded, that seeing the renouation of our spirites and mindes is not perfect, and the redemption of our bodies still remaining corruptible is not yet; therefore God hath appointed a time when Christ his sonne shall returne againe, raise vp the dead, and giue eternall life to all, that with repentant sorrowe, turne from their euill and wicked wayes, while it is yet the accepted time, and day of saluation; and contrarie wayes, cast out into vtter darknesse, and into the fire that neuer shall be quenched, all those that neglect, and despise so great saluation.

That all these things, and these only, do directly concerne the matter of eternall saluation, is euidently proued by vnaunswerable demonstration. For how should they attaine euerlasting happinesse, that know not God the originall cause and ende of all things, the obiect, matter, and cause of all happinesse? that knowe not of whome they were created, of what sorte, to what, whereof capable, and howe enabled to it, how farre they are fallen from that they originally were, and the hope of that which they were made to be, whence are those euils that make them miserable, and whence the deliuerance from

from them is to be looked for, by whome it is wrought, what the benefits of it are, the meanes whereby they are communicated, to whome, and what shall be the end both of them that partake, and partake not in them? We see then that all these things, and these onely essentially and directly touch the matter of eternall saluation.

Other things there are that attend on them, as consequents deduced from them, or some way appertaining to them: whereof some are of that sort, that a man cannot rightly be perswaded of these, but hee must needs see the necessary consequence, and deduction of them from these, if they be propounded vnto him: as that there are two wils in Christ; that there is no saluation, remission of sinnes, or hope of eternall life out of the Church; a that the matrimoniall societie of man and wife is not impure; as the *Marcionites*, *Tatianus*, and other supposed; nor any kinde of meates to bee reiected as vncleane by nature, as the *Manichees* and some other Heretikes fondly and impiously dreamed: other things there are that are not so clearly deduced from those indubitate principles of our Christian faith; as namely, concerning the place of the Fathers rest before the comming of our Saviour Christ; concerning the locall descending of Christ into the hell of the damned.

a *Theodoret. in epit. decretorum diuinorum. Aug. de moribus Manicheorum lib. 2. cap. 15 Tertul. contra Marcio. lib. 1.*

In the first sorte of things which are the principles that make the rule of faith, a man cannot be ignorant and be saued. In the second, which are so clearely deduced from those principles, that whoso aduisedly considereth them, cannot but see their consequence from them, and dependance of them, a man cannot erre and bee saued; because if hee beleeue those things which euery one that will be saued must particularlie knowe, and beleeue, he cannot erre in these. The third a man may be ignorant of, and erre in them without danger of damnation, if error bee not ioyned with pertinacie.

The principall grounds of Christian doctrine, aboue mentioned, are the whole platforme of all Christian Religion; The rule of faith so often mentioned by the Auncient, by the measure of which all the holy Fathers, Bishops and Pastors of the Church, made their Sermons, Commentaries, and Interpretations of Scripture. This rule (euery part whereof is prooued so neerely to concerne all them that looke for saluation) we make the rule to trie all doctrines by; and not such platformes of doctrine, as euery Sect-master by himselfe canne deduce out of the Scriptures vnderstood according to his owne priuate fancie, b as the *Rhemists* falsely charge vs. This rule is deliuered by c *Tertullian*, d *Ireneus*, and other of the Fathers: and with addition of conclusions most easily, cleerely, and vnauoidably deduced hence, by *Theodoret* in his *Epitome Dogmatum*.

b *Admon. to Rem 12.*

c *De præscriptionibus aduersus hæreticos & aduersus Praxeam.*

d *Ireneus lib. 3. cap. 3.*

CHAP. 5.

Of the nature of Schiſme, and the kinds of it, and that it no way appeareth that the Churches of Greece, *&c. are hereticall, or in damnable ſchiſme.*

OVt of this which hath been deliuered, it is eaſie to diſcerne what is hereſie, and what errours they are, that exclude from poſſibilitie of ſaluation. It remaineth to ſpeake of Schiſme and the kindes and degrees of it. Schiſme is a breach of the vnitie of the Church. The vnitie of the Church conſiſteth in three things: First, the ſubiection of people to their lawfull Paſtours; ſecondly, the connexion, and communion which many particular Churches, and the Paſtours of them, haue among themſelues; thirdly, in holding the ſame rule of faith. The vnitie of each particular Church depends of the vnitie of the Paſtour, who is one, to [a] whom an eminent and peculiar power is giuen, and whom all muſt obey: In reſpect of this firſt kinde of vnitie, conſiſting in the ſubiection of each people, or portion of the flocke of Chriſt to their lawfull Paſtours, if they who ſhould obey this one Paſtour, as being in the ſtead and place of Chriſt, doe either wholly withdrawe themſelues, refuſing to be ſubiect to any miniſterie, like [b] *Core* and his complices, pretending that all the people of God are holy, and that the guides of the Church take too much vpon them; or when one is elected, doe ſet vp an other againſt him, and forſaking the right, cleaue to him that hath no right. This is the firſt kind of Schiſme.

Secondly, becauſe there muſt bee [c] an vnitie, not onely among the parts of each particular Church, but alſo of many particular Churches, and the Paſtors, and guides of them among themſelues; the Churches, which forſake the communion of other Churches without iuſt cauſe, doe fall into Schiſme. And if they not onely refuſe to communicate with them, in the performance of the actes of religion, vpon cauſeleſſe diſlike, but ſwarue from the rule of faith, the other doe conſtantly hold; they become not onely ſchiſmaticall, but hereticall alſo.

Theſe are the ſeuerall kindes of Schiſme, of which one is much more dangerous than another. The forſaking the rule of faith or abſolute refuſall to be ſubiect to the holy miniſterie, ſaying as they did, *Are not all the people holy? you take too much vpon you &c.* is damnable Schiſme. In each Church, wherein there muſt be one Paſtour, hauing eminent, and peereleſſe power, when one is lawfully called, they who preſume to ſet vp another, if they know the former to bee lawfully poſſeſſed of the place, or their ignorance thereof be affected, or they bee ſo violently carried with the ſtreames of contention & faction, that they would not yeeld, though the right ſhould appeare vnto them, this Schiſme is likewiſe damnable. [d] But if it be doubtfull, and men carrie mindes ready to yeeld, when they ſhall ſee the right, it is not ſo.

[a] *Eccleſia ſalus in ſummi ſacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui ſi non exors quædam & ab omnibus eminens detur poteſtas, tot in Eccleſia efficientur ſchiſmata quot ſacerdotes.* Hiero. *contra Luciferianos.*

[b] Numb. 16. 1, 2, 3

[c] *Cyprian. de vnitate Eccleſiæ.*

[d] *In ſchiſmate praeſenti tam dubio, temerarium vitioſum & ſcandaloſum eſt, aſſerere* [illegible] *partem vel alteram* [illegible] *tis, vel* [illegible] *nabiliter de ſchiſmate ſuſpectos &c.* Ger. *de modo ſe habendi tempore ſchiſmatis.*

When whole Churches with their Pastors, and guides, diuide themselues from other, refusing to communicate with them, if this separation growe out of pride, and *Pharisaicall* conceit of fancied perfection, and absolute holinesse, as did the Schisme of *Nouatus*, *Donatus*, *Lucifer*, & others of that sort, it is damnable Schisme; but if out of ignorance, or error not ouerthrowing the rule of faith; or ouer earnest vrging of ceremonies, rites, and obseruations, as the [e] separation of *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, & the Churches of *Asia*, had been, if *Irenæus* had not interposed himselfe, or striuing for precedence; it is dangerous, but not damnable, vnlesse it bee ioyned with such pertinacie, that though it should appeare they were in error, or did amisse, and contrary to the rule of charitie, they would not yeeld.

[e] *Euseb. Eccles. hist. lib. 35. cap. 25.*

This being the nature of Schisme and Heresie, and these the kindes and degrees of them more or lesse dangerous; let vs in the next place see, what is to be thought of all those Churches of *Græcia*, *Armenia*, *Æthiopia*, *Russia* before mentioned; Euery of which is in some sorte rent, and diuided from other. Wee dare not, with the proud *Romanists*, condemne so famous Churches, as culpable of damnable Heresie and Schisme, and cast so many millions of soules into hell, for euery difference in matter of opinion, or rent from the other parts of the body of the Church.

All [f] these therefore holding the rule of faith, and beleeuing all those things, that are on the perill of eternall damnation to be particularly and expressly knowen and beleeued, and their separation not growing (for ought we knowe) out of *Pharisaicall* and damnable pride, as did that of *Nouatus*, *Donatus*, and the like, but out of error, not directly contrary to the rule of faith, or some other humane infirmitie, and defect; and in no way appearing that their obstinacie is such, that, though they knewe they did amisse, they would still continue so to doe; we accompt them in the number of the Churches of God, and doubt not but that innumerable liuing, and dying in them, notwithstanding their sundry defects, imperfections, and wants, are, and haue been saued. We conclude therefore, that their Schismes, and separations are sinfull, wicked, and dangerous, and their errours inexcusable, in hauing the consciences of many to endlesse perdition, and greatly endangering all that are, or haue been misse-led with them; but not damnable, excluding from all possibilitie of saluation. [g] Wee make a great difference betweene them, that were the first Authors, and beginners of these diuisions, and such as walke in the wayes, and insist in the steps of their misse-led, and seduced fathers; betweene such as are more, and such as are lesse deepely plunged into error.

[f] *Diligenter considerandū esset, quid dicere vellent; vel inueniendum esset medium expedient, vt omnia ponerētur ad concordiam, non persistendo in omnimodā probatione huius articuli contra eos; vix enim conuincerentur homines qui velint repugnare. Nota hic, quomodo aliqua determinationes Parisijs factæ dantaxat ligāt dioecesanos, & si sūr dici posset de Latinorū Ecclesiā. Nōnne, si de vno articulo fieri posset vnus articulus, ponēdo res in talem statum in quali erant ante determinationem, exemplum determinatio Bonifacij annihilata fuit per quendam*

cessorem eius. si Græci habeant consuetudinem conferendi beneficia &c. & ad hæc facit, quod dicunt aliqui, eos aliàs scripsisse Papæ, pœnitentiā recognoscimus, auaritiam tuam implere non possumus, visum est per vos Greg. par. 4. serm. de pace & vnitate Græcorū. [g] Qui seruitem suam quamuis falsam atque peruersam nullā pertinaci animositate defendant, præsertim quam non audacia suæ præsumptionis peperere, sed à studiu & in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quærentes autem tantā solicitudine veritatem, correcti parati, cum inuenerint, quamquam sint inter hæreticos deprædi. Aug. lib. 1. de Genes. Elench. &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. 6.

Of the Latine *Church, that it continued the true Church of God euen till our time, and that the errours wee condemne, were not the doctrines of that Church.*

TOuching the *Latine* Church likewise wee are of the same opinion, that it continued still a part of the Catholike Church, notwithstanding the manifold abuses and superstitions that in time crept into it, and the dangerous and damnable false doctrine that some taught, and defended in the middest of it. It is therefore most fond and friuolous, that some demand of vs where our Church was before *Luther* began? For we say, it was, where now it is: if they aske vs, which? wee answere, it was the knowen and apparant Church in the worlde, wherein all our Fathers liued and died; wherein *Luther* and the rest were baptized, receiued their Christianitie, ordination, and power of ministerie. If they replie, that that Church was theirs, and not ours, for that the doctrines they now teach, and we impugne, the ceremonies, customes, and obseruations, which they retaine and defend, and we haue abolished as fond, vaine, and superstitious, were taught, vsed, and practised in that Church wherein our fathers liued, and died; wee answere, that none of those points of false doctrine and errour which they now maintaine, & we condemne, were the doctrines of that Church constantly deliuered, or generally receiued by all them that were of it, but doubtfully broached, and deuised without all certaine resolution, or factiously defended by some certaine onely, who as a dangerous faction adulterated the sinceritie of the Christian veritie, and brought the Church into miserable bondage.

Touching the abuses and manifold superstitions which wee haue remoued; it is true they were in that Church wherein our fathers liued, but not without signification of their dislike of them, and earnest desire of reformation, as shall appeare by that which followeth. [a] As therefore the Churches of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, *Pergamus*, and *Thyatira*, had in them emulations, diuisions, neglect of discipline, cõtempt of the Apostles of Christ, some that denied the resurrection of the dead, that ioyned circumcision and the workes of the law with Christ in the worke of saluation, them that maintained the doctrine of the *Nicolaitans*, and suffered the woman *Iesabel*, which called her selfe a Prophetesse, to deceiue the people of God, and make them commit fornication, and eate things sacrificed vnto Idols, &c. yet it is not to be thought, that all that were of these Churches, with one consent denied the resurrection, and fell into all the errours, and euils aboue mentioned; For then doubtlesse these societies had ceased to be the true, and Catholike Churches of God: so though sundrie dange-

[a] *Epist. ad Corint. 1. epist. ad galatas. remot. 2. 12, 18.*

rous

rous, and damnable errours were broached in the midst of the Church and house of God, in the dayes of our Fathers, which did fret [b] as a canker, as *Gerson* confesseth, yet were they not with full approbation generally receiued, but doubted of, contradicted, refuted, & reiected, as vncertaine, dangerous, damnable, and hereticall. And as in the reformation of those Churches of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, *Pergamus*, and *Thyatira*, if some had still persisted in the maintenance of those errours and abuses reproued by the Spirit of God, and the blessed Apostles of our Sauiour Christ, whiles other moued by the admonition of the spirit of God, and the wordes of the holy Apostles, reformed themselues; and so a diuision or separation had growen, it had been a vaine challenge for the stiffe maintainers of errours and abuses, to challenge the reformed part for noueltie, to aske of them where their Church was before this reformation began, seeing it was euen the same, wherein in one communion they formerly liued together, with toleration of all those euils which the one part still retained, and the other iustly reiected: So when many Princes, Prelates, and great States of the Christian world, haue in our dayes shaken off that yoke of miserable bondage, whereof our fathers complayned, remooued those superstitious abuses they disliked, condemned those errours in matters of doctrine, which they acknowledged to bee daungerous, and damnable, fretting as a canker, and insnaring the consciences of many: It is no lesse vaine and friuolous for the Patrons of errour, to aske vs which, and where our Church was, before the reformation began; for it was that wherein all our Fathers liued, longing to see things brought backe to their first beginnings againe, in which their predecessours as a daungerous and wicked faction tyrannized ouer mens consciences, and peruerted all things, to the endlesse destruction of themselues and many others with whom they preuailed.

[b] *Gers. part. 1. de potestate eccles. consid. 12.*

If they shall further replie, that that Church wherein our fathers liued was not ours, because there were many things found in it, which we haue not; who seeth not, that this reason stands as strong against them, as against vs? For there are many errours and superstitions, which they haue reiected, and doe not retaine at this day, which were in being in the dayes of our Fathers. And besides, this obiection would haue serued the Patrons of errour in the Church of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, and the rest: For they might haue sayd, after those Churches were reformed, that they were newe, and not the same that were before; For that in the former, the resurrection of the dead was denied, circũcision vrged and practised, discipline neglected, and the Apostles of Christ contemned, which things afterwards were not found in them. As therfore this had beene a shamelesse obiection of those erring miscreants against the godly and well affected in those times; so it is in ours. And as those

errours were not generall in thoſe Churches, ſo were not they which we haue condemned, in the Churches wherein our Fathers liued. As thoſe errors & hereſies were not the doctrines of the Churches of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, and the reſt; but the lewde aſſertions of ſome, peruerting, and adulterating the doctrine of the Churches: ſo likewiſe the errours, which we condemne at this day, whereupon the difference groweth betweene the *Romiſh* faction, and vs, were neuer generally receiued, nor conſtantly deliuered, as the doctrines of the Church: but vncertainly, and doubtfully diſputed, and propoſed as the opinions of ſome men in the Church, not as the reſolued determinations of the whole Church.

CHAP. 7.

Of the ſeuerall points of difference betweene vs and our aduerſaries, wherein ſome in the Church erred, but not the whole Church.

FOr neither did that Church, wherein our Fathers liued, and died, holde that Canon of Scripture, which the *Romaniſts* now vrge; nor that inſufficiencie they now charge it with; nor corruption of the originals; nor neceſſitie of following the vulgar tranſlation; nor the hereſies touching mans creation brought into the Church by certaine barbarous ſchoolemen, as that there are three different eſtates of men; the firſt of pure nature, without addition of grace, or ſinne; and two other, the one of grace, the other of ſinne: That all thoſe euils, that are found in the nature of man, ſince his fall, as ignorance, concupiſcence, contrarietie betweene the better and meaner faculties of the ſoule, difficultie to doe well, and proneneſſe to doe euill, were all naturall, the conditions of pure nature, that is, of nature, as conſidered in it ſelfe it would come foorth from God: That theſe euils are not ſinfull, nor had their beginnings from ſinne; that they were the conſequents of Nature in the ſtate of creation, but reſtrained by addition of ſupernaturall grace, without which the integritie of nature was full and perfect: That men in the ſtate of pure nature, that is, as they might haue beene created of GOD in the integritie of nature without addition of grace, and in the eſtate of originall ſinne, differ no otherwiſe, but as they that neuer had, and they that haue loſt rich and precious clothing; ſo that originall ſinne is but the loſſe of that, without which natures integritie may ſtand: that no euils are brought in by the fall, but Nature left to her ſelfe to feele that which was before, but not felt, nor diſcerned while the addition of grace bettered nature. None of theſe errours touching the eſtate of mans creation were the doctrines of the Church, but the priuate fancies and conceits of men.

So likewiſe touching originall ſinne, there were that taught, that it

it is not inherent in each particular man borne of *Adam*, but that *Adams* perſonall ſinne is imputed onely: that the propagation of ſinne is not generall, *Marie* being conceiued without originall ſinne: That the puniſhment of it is not any ſenſible ſmart, or poſitiue euill, but priuatiue onely; and that therefore there is a third place, neither hell nor heauen, named *Limbus puerorum*; which is a place, where, as ſome thinke, they who are condemned thither, though they bee excluded from the kingdome of heauen, and all poſſibilitie of euer comming thither, yet are in a ſtate of naturall happineſſe, and doe enioy the ſweete content of eternall life. Theſe *Pelagian* hereſies were taught in the Church of God, but they were not the doctrines of the Church; being condemned, reiected, and refuted, as contrary to the Chriſtian veritie, by many worthy members and guides of the Church; who as they neuer receiued theſe parts of falſe doctrine; ſo likewiſe the Church, wherein they liued, neither knew, nor approoued that diſtinction and difference of veniall and mortall ſinnes, which the *Romaniſts* nowe teach; nor power of nature to do the works of the Lawe according to the ſubſtance of the things commanded, though not according to the intention of the Law-giuer; to loue God aboue all, and to doe actions morally good, or not ſinfull without concurrence of ſpeciall grace; nor election and reprobation depending on the foreſight of ſome thing in vs poſitiue or priuatiue; nor merit of congruence and condignitie; nor works of ſupererogation; nor counſels of perfection, as they now teach; nor iuſtification by perfection of inherent qualities; nor vncertaintie of grace; nor ſeuen ſacraments properly ſo named; nor locall preſence; nor Tranſubſtantiation; nor orall manducation of the bodie of Chriſt, nor reall ſacrificing of it for the quicke and the dead; nor remiſſion of ſinnes after this life; nor tormenting of the ſoules of men dying in the ſtate of ſaluation in a part of hel, hundred of yeeres, by diuels in corporall fire (out of which, prayer ſhould deliuer them) nor that the Saints heare our prayers, knowe or are acquainted with our particular wants; nor the groſſe Idolatrie in thoſe times committed, & intollerable abuſes found in the number, faſhion, & worſhip of their images; nor their abſolution, as now they define it; nor treaſure of the Church growing out of the ſuperfluitie of Saints merits not rewardable in themſelues, to bee diſpoſed by the Pope for ſupplie of other mens wants, to releaſe them out of Purgatorie by way of indulgence; nor the infallibilitie of the Popes iudgement, and plenitude of his power ſuch and ſo great that hee may depoſe Princes, and diſpoſe of their crownes, and dignities, and that whatſoeuer hee doeth hee may not bee brought into order, or depoſed by authoritie of the whole Chriſtian world in a generall Councell. Theſe are the errours which we condemne and our aduerſaries maintaine and defend; theſe, wee are well aſſured, were not the doctrines of that Church wherein our Fathers liued and dyed,

though wee doe not denie, but they were taught by some in that Church. All these we offer to proove to be errour in matter of our Christian faith, and that seeing wee could no longer haue peace with our aduersaries, but by approouing these impieties, wee had iust cause to diuide our selues from them, or (to speake more properly) to suffer our selues to bee accursed, anathematized, and reiected by them, rather than to subscribe to so many errours, and heresies, contrary to the Christian, and Catholike veritie.

CHAP. 8.

Of the true Church, which, and where it was before Luthers *time.*

THus then it appeareth, which we thinke to haue been the true Church of God before *Luther* or others of that sort were heard of in the world; namely that, wherein all our Fathers liued and died, wherein none of the errours, reproued by *Luther*, euer found generall, vniforme, and full approbation, in which all the abuses remooued by him were long before by all good men complained of, and a reformation desired. And therefore though we acknowledge *Wickliffe*, *Husse*, *Hierome* of *Prague*, and the like; who with great magnanimitie opposed themselues against the Tyrannie of the See of *Rome*, and the impietie of those who withheld the trueth of God in vnrighteousnesse, who being named Christians serued Antichrist (as *Bernard* complained of some in his time) to haue been the worthy seruants of God, and holy martyrs, and confessours, suffering in the cause of Christ against Antichrist; yet doe wee not thinke that the Church of God was found onely in them, or that there was no other appearance, or succession of Church and ministery, as *Stapleton* and other of that faction falsely impute vnto vs. For we most firmely beleeue, all the Churches in the world, wherein our Fathers liued and died, to haue been the true Churches of God, in which vndoubtedly saluation was to bee found: and that they which taught, embraced, and beleeued those damnable errors which the *Romanists* now defend against vs, were a faction onely in the Churches, as were they that denied the resurrection, vrged circumcision, and despised the Apostles of Christ, in the Churches of *Corinth* and *Galatia*.

a Serm 33. omnes amic. & omnes inimici, omnes necessarii & omnes aduersarii, omnes domestici & nulli pacifici, serui Christi seruiunt Anti christo.

If any of our men denie these Churches to haue been the true Churches of God, their meaning is limited in respect of the preuailing faction, that was in the Church, and including them and all the wicked impieties by any of them defended, in which sense their negatiue is to bee vnderstood. For howsoeuer the Church (which is not to be charged with the errors & faults of all, that in the midst of her did amisse) held a sauing profession of the trueth of God: yet there were many, and they carrying the greater

greateſt ſhewe of the Church, that erred damnably, and held not a ſauing profeſſion of diuine truth: whereupon [b] *Gerſon* ſaith, that before the Councell of *Conſtance*, the falſe opinions touching the power of the Pope did fret like a Canker, & preuailed ſo far, that he would hardly haue eſcaped the note of hereſie, that had ſaid but halfe ſo much, as was defined in the Councell of *Conſtance*, by the vniuerſall conſent of the whole Chriſtian world.

[b] *De poteſtate eccleſiaſtica conſid. 12.*

[c] *Gregorius Ariminenſis* ſheweth, that touching the power of nature to doe things morally good; and to fulfill the law without concurrence of ſpeciall grace, touching the workes of infidels, predeſtination, reprobation, and puniſhments of originall ſinne, the hereſies of *Pelagius* were taught in the Church: and that not by a few, or contemptible men, but ſo many and of ſo great place, that he almoſt feared to follow the doctrine of the fathers, and oppoſe himſelfe againſt them therein. The ſame doth [d] *Gerſon* report concerning ſundrie lewd aſſertions preiudiciall to the ſtates of Kings and Princes, which the Councell of *Conſtance* coulde not be induced to condemne, by reaſon of a mightie faction that preuailed in it, though many great ones much vrged it, and though they made no ſtay to condemne the poſitions of *Wicklife* and *Hus*, ſeeming to derogate from the ſtate of the Clergie, though many of them might carrie a good and Catholique ſenſe, if they might haue found a fauourable conſtruction. Whereupon hee breaketh out into a bitter complaint of the partialities, and vnequall courſes holden in the Church, and proteſteth, that he hath no hope of a reformation by a Counceil, things ſtanding as they then did.

[c] *L. 2. diſtinct. 26 q. 1, art: 1, diſt. 30 q. 3.*

[d] *Dial: Apolog: indicium de concilio Conſtantienſi.*

The like complaint did [e] *Contarenus* make in our time, that if any man did debaſe the nature of man, deiect the pride of ſinnefull fleſh, magnifie the riches of the grace of God, and vrge the neceſsitie of it, he was iudged a *Lutheran*, and pronounced an Hereticke; though they that gloried in the name of Catholickes, were themſelues *Pelagian* hereticks, if not worſe then *Pelagians*. Alas, ſaith [f] *Occam*, the time is come the bleſſed Apoſte Saint *Paule*, 2. Timoth. 4. prophecied of, *When men will not ſuffer wholeſome doctrine, but hauing their eares itching, after their owne luſtes, get them a heape of Teachers, turning their eares from the truth, and being giuen vnto fables*. This prophecie is altogether fulfilled in our dayes. For behold, there are many that peruert the holy ſcriptures, deny the ſaying of the holy Fathers, reiecte the Canons of the Church and ciuill conſtitutions of the Emperours, which moleſt, perſecute, bring into bondage, and without mercy torment and afflict euen vnto death, them that defende the truth; And, that I may conclude many thinges in fewe wordes, with harlottes foreheades, and execrable boldneſſe, doe endeuour to ſubuerte imperiall and regall power, and to ouerthrowe all lawes both of GOD and man.

[e] *In libro de predeſtinatione.*

[f] *Occam prok. contra err. Ioannis 22.*

Neither are these young men, or vnlearned, but they are the elders of the people, high priests, *Scribes*, *Pharises*, and doctors of the lawe, as they were that crucified Christ: so that wee may rightly say of our times, that which *Daniel* long since pronounced in his 13 chapter, *Iniquitie is gone out from* Babilon, *from the elders and iudges, which seemed to gouerne & rule the people*. For many that should be pillers in the Church of God, and defend the truth euen vnto bloud, doe cast themselues headlong into the pitte of heresies. Thus spake hee in his time of the corrupt state of the Church, wherein so damnable a faction preuailed, daungerously peruerting all things, that in the ende hee submitteth all his writings to the iudgement & correction of the true & Catholick Church; but not of the Church of malignant miscreants, heretickes, schismatickes, and their fauourers.

CHAP. 9.

Of an Apostasie of some in the Church.

THus then we thinke with [a] *Lira*, that as there was an Apostasie or reuolt of many kingdomes from the Romane Empire & of many Churches frō the cōmunion of the Romane Church; so there hath beene an Apostasie from the Catholicke faith in the midst of the Church: not for that all at any time did forsake the true faith, but for that many fell from the sinceritie of the faith, according to the saying of our Sauiour, when the time of Antichrist draweth on, *iniquitie shall abound, and the charitie of many shall wax cold*: and that 1. Timoth. 4. *In the last times some shall depart from the faith, attending to spirits of error*: and 2. Timoth. 3. *In the last dayes there shall be perillous times, men shall be louers of themselues, men of corrupt mindes, reprobate concerning the faith*. This he speaketh, of an Apostasie in the midst of the Church it selfe; aunswerably to that of [b] *Nazianzen*, who saith, that as when one taketh water into his hand, not only that which he taketh not vp, but that also which runneth forth and findeth passage betweene his fingers, is diuided and separated from that which he holdeth inclosed in his hand: so not only the open and professed enemies of the Catholick veritie, but they also that seeme to bee her best and greatest friends, are sometimes diuided one from another.

There is no cause then, why it should seeme so strange to our aduersaries, that our diuines affirme there hath beene an Apostasie from the faith, not of the whole Church, but of many in the Church, daungerously erring and adulterating the doctrine of faith deliuered by Christ and his blessed Apostles. And that some say this Apostasie beganne sooner some later: For if wee speake of those grossest illusions, wherwith men were abused in these later ages, surely that degree of Apostasie did not enter into the Church in former times. For there was no thought in any Christian

[a] *In 2. Thess: 2, nisi venerit discessio primùm, exponunt aliqui de discessione à Romano imperio, alij de recessu à Rom: ecclesia, à quâ tam diu est quòd recessit Graecia: sed salvo meliori iudicio, mihi videtur melius intelligendum de recessu à fide catholicâ: non tamen intelligendo, quòd omnes sint à fide catholicâ (sicut exponunt aliqui) recessuri, quia durabit in aliquibus vsq; ad finē mundi; sed quia maior pars credentium discedet ab eâ.*

[b] *Orat in laudem Athanasij.*

Christian man liuing sixe hundred yeeres agoe, [c] that the Pope could dispense the merits of the Saints, and giue pardons; [d] that hee might depose Princes for supposed heresie; [e] that the Sacrament not receiued, but eleuated, gazed on, and adored, is a sacrifice propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead; [f] that *Marie* was conceiued without originall sinne; that the people are to be partakers of the sacrament but onely in one kinde: and sundrie other things of like nature. But if wee speake of a declination from the sinceritie of the Christian faith; it is certaine it began long agoe, euen in the first ages of the Church.

Of this sorte was the errour, that the soules of the iust are in some part of hell till the last day, as [g] *Tertullian*, [h] *Irenæus*, and sundrie other of the auncient did imagine: [i] and that they see not God, nor enioye not heauens happinesse till the generall resurrection, which was the opinion of many of the Fathers.

That all catholike Christians, how wickedly soeuer they liue, yet holding the foundation of true Christian profession, shall in the ende, after great torments endured in the world to come, be saued as it were by fire. This was the errour of sundrie of the auncient, who durst not say, as *Origen*, that the Angels, that fell, shall in the ende be restored; nor as some other, mollifying the hardnesse of *Origens* opinion, that all men, whether Christians or Infidels; nor as a third sorte, that all Christians, howe damnably soeuer erring in matter of faith, shall in the end be saued; [k] but thought it most reasonable, that all right beleeuing Christians should find mercie, whatsoeuer their wickednesse were. This opinion was so generall in [l] *Augustines* time, that verie fearefully he opposed himselfe against it, and not daring wholly to impugne that which hee found to haue so great & reuerend authors, he qualified it, what he could, and so doubtingly broached that opinion, which gaue occasion to the Papists of their heresie touching Purgatorie. For, saith hee, if they would only haue vs thinke, that the soules of men liuing wickedly here in this World, may through the goodnesse of God, & the prayers of the liuing, finde some mitigation of their paines in hell, or haue their punishments suspended, and differred for a time, yet so, that they be confessed to bee eternall; I would not striue with them: yea, saith hee, it may be, that men for some lighter sinnes and imperfections cleauing to them while they liue here, may finde pardon and remission in the World to come, and bee saued as by fire: which whether it be so, or whether there bee no other purging but in this life by the fire of tribulation, hee pro-

c No mentiō of indulgences in *Peter Lumbard*, nor others of that time, and the schoolemen speak verie doubtfully of them.

d *Nimirum, vt pace omnium bonorum dixerim, hæc nouitas non dicam hæresis, necdum in mundo emerserat, vt sacerdotes illius qui regnare facit hypocritã propter peccata populi, docerent populum; quod malis regibus nullam debeat subiectionem, & licèt ijs sacramentum fidelitatis fecerit, nullam tamen debeat fidelitatem.* Sigebertus in chronico. Anno 1088.

e *Diu hæc consuetudo obtinuit, vt præsentibus omnibus Eucharistia distribueretur. Et certè tota sacræ precis quil canonem vocant compositio, publicè tantùm missa accõmodata videtur: quo fit, vt nonnulli veteris Rom: ordinis expositores, qui apud nos sunt, canonem in publica tantùm, non autẽ quotidianã & priuatis actione legendũ cõtendunt.* Cassander præfat. in li. ord: Rom: à se editi.

f Bonauentu. 3. distinct. 3. quæst. 2.

g *De anima cap. 32 habes etiam de paradiso à nobis libellũ quo constituimus omnem animam apud inferos seq estrariin diẽ Domini.*

h *Irenæus contra hæreses prope finem.*

i *Sixtus Senens. biblioth. li. 6, annot. 345.*

k *Sicut diabols & omnium negatorum & impiorum qui dixerunt in corde suo non est Deus, credidit æterna tormenta; sic peccatorum atque impiorum, quorum opera in igne probanda sunt, moderatam arbitramur & mixtam clementiæ sententiam iudicis. Hiero. in comment in Esaiæ 66. prope finem. Et contra Pelagianos li. 1. Christianos in peccato præuentos saluandos post mortem scribit. l Aug: de ciuitate Dei, li. 21. cap. 24, 25, 26, 27. proponit opinionem Origenis & aliorum, & enchiridio ad Laurentiũ. 67, ait eos, qui credunt Christianos impios & peccatores post pœnas saluandos, & tamen Catholicos esse, humanâ quadam benevolentiâ falli videri.*

fesseth

fesseth hee knoweth not, nor dareth not pronounce.

m Of this sort was the opinion of a double resurrection; the first of the good, who should liue in all happinesse on the earth, a thousand yeares before the wicked should be awaked out of the sleepe of death; and another after the thousand yeares expired, when the wicked also should rise and goe into euerlasting fire, and the good into euerlasting life, which they supposed to be the second resurrection. Howe generally this error spred it selfe in the true Church, they that haue but looked into the writings of the fathers, and monuments of antiquitie, cannot be ignorant.

n The opinion of the necessitie of infants receiuing the sacrament of the Lordes bodie and bloud, as well as Baptisme, did possesse the minds of many in the Church, for certaine hundreds of yeares, as appeareth by that *Augustine* writeth of it in his time, & o *Hugo de sancto victore*, so many hundred yeares after him; p yea, the *Greeke* and q *Æthiopian* Churches continue that error & the practise of communicating infants assone as they are baptized, euen vnto this day.

Touching predestination, how many obscurities, vncertainties, and contrarieties shall wee finde? r Surely before *Augustines* time, many great and worthy prelates, and doctors of the Church, not hauing occasion to enter into the exact handling of that part of Christian doctrine, did teach, that men are predestinate for the foresight of some thing in themselues. And *Augustine* himselfe, in the beginning of his conflicts with the *Pelagians*, was of opinion, that at the least for the foresight of faith, men are elected to eternall life; which s afterwards hee disclaimed as false, end erronious, and taught that mans saluation dependeth on the efficacie of that grace, which God giueth; and not his purpose of sauing, vpon the vncertaintie of mans will. This doctrine of *Augustine* was receiued & confirmed in the Church against the *Pelagians* and *Semi-Pelagians*. And t *Bellarmine* professeth that *Augustines* doctrine, in this case, is the doctrine of the Church; yet so, that many followed the former conceipt, as we u may easily see by the writings of the Schoolemen, many of which do teach that men are elected for the foresight of some thing positiue or priuatiue in themselues.

Howe farre some did *montanise* in the matter of second marriage, so farre disliking it, that they would not haue it blessed in the Church, but imposed penance on them that married a second wife after the death of the first; *HIEROME* against *Iouinian* and x certaine auncient prouinciall Councells, are proofes more then sufficient.

m Sixtus Senensis bibliotheca sancta 1. annotatione 233. vbi ostendit Hiero: & August: summa cum reuerentia dissentire, qui cum multis Ecclesiasticorum virorum et multis martyres Chiliastarum opinionem amplectebantur.

n Cyprianus de lapsis Aug: contra 2. Epistolas Pelag: ad Bonifacium lib. 1. cap. 22. Hispegno: li. 5. epist. 107. vitalis. Rhenanus in lib. Tertull. de corona militis ostendit baptizatos statim factæ communionis participes effectus. Maldonatus in 6. Ioh. Missam inquit facio Aug. & Innocentij 1. sententiam, quæ sexcentos circiter annos viguit in ecclesia, Eucharistiam etiam infantibus necessariam.

o Hugo de S. victo. eruditionis theolog. de sacramentis li. 2. cap, 20. Puerii recens nati idem sacramentum in specie sanguinis est ministrandum, digito sacerdotis, &c.

p Censura orientalis ecclesiæ cap, 9.

q Damianus agoes.

r Sixtus Senensis bibliothecæ sanctæ li. 6. annotatione 251.

s 1, Retractatio, cap 23. & de prædest. sanctorum cap, 3.

t Bellar. li: 2, cap, 11. de gratia & libero arbitrio.

u Refutat Grego. Arim. li, 1, distinct 40. q, 1. art 2.

x Presbyter in conuiuio secundarum nuptiarum interesse non debet, maximè cùm præcipiatur secundis nuptijs pœnitentiam tribuere: quis ergo erit presbyter, qui propter conuiuium illis consentiat nuptijs? concilium Neocesariense can. 7. Amb. in cap: 7. 1, ad Corin. Prime, inquit, nuptiæ fiebant benedictione dei celebrantur solenniter; secundæ etiam in præsenti carent gloria, id est, benedictione. Rhenanus in arg: in exhort: Tertul. ad castitatem: omnes (inquit) veteres, atque adeo Hiero: ipse matrimonio parum aquifuerunt; certè constat Hiero: hac de causa Romæ male audi-

Touching

Touching the ſtate of Saints departed, their generalitie of preſence in all places, their vniuerſall knowledge of all things, and admirable working euerie where, where their memories are ſolemnized; are not more confidently affirmed by [y] *Hierome* & [a] *Gregorie*, than they are modeſtly denied, and doubted of by [b] *Auguſtine*, [c] *Hugo de ſancto victore*, [d] the Author of the gloſſe and others.

That there were ſuperſtitions and abuſes in the primitiue Churches, wee haue ſuch witneſſes, as the *Romaniſtes* dare not except againſt. Doth not [e] *Hierome* confeſſe, that the burning of lights at noone day, vſed in ſome Churches, was an acte of zeale, but not according to knowledge? Did not a [f] Councell forbid thoſe pernoctations in the cemeteries and places of the Martyrs buriall; which when *Vigilantius* reproued, [g] *Hierome* with ſuch fierceneſſe and rage, as cannot well bee excuſed, traduced him as the vileſt monſter the earth did beare. [h] Are not theſe vigils long ſince aboliſhed?

Doth not [i] *Auguſtine* confeſſe, there were certaine *adoratores ſepulchrorum, et picturarum*, worſhippers of Tumbs and pictures in the Church in his time. It is therefore much to bee maruailed at, that our aduerſaries charge vs with I know not what impietie, for that we ſay, there hath been defection not only of heretikes from the Church, and faith, but alſo in the Church, of her owne children, from the ſinceritie of the heauenly truth, ſometimes more, & ſometimes leſſe; in ſome things by ſome, and in ſome other by others: That this defection began long agoe, but found greater & ſtronger oppoſition in the firſt ſixe hundred yeares then after; ther being in later times a great decay of the ancient pietie; whence came, that many moe & worſe errours then euer before were broached; & they which were in ſome beginnings before, were augmented, & more dangerouſly defended. In which ſenſe ſome of our men haue ſaide, that *Gregorie* was the laſt of the good Biſhops, & the firſt of the bad. For that things ſince his time, haue greatly decayed; and the ſtate of the Church growne much corrupted.

y *Hier: contra Vigilantium.*
a *Grego: dialog. 4. cap. 33.*
b *Aug: de cura pro mortuis. Si tanta patriarchæ quid ergo populi ab ijs procreatum ignorauerunt. &c.*
c *Hugo eruditionis theologicæ de ſacramentis fidei li: 2. part: 16. cap. 11.*
d *Gloſſa in Eſaiæ 63*
e *Hier: contra Vigilantium.*
f *Concilium Eliberitanum can: 34, 35.*
g *Hier: contra Vigilantium.*
h *Bellar: lib. 3. de cultu ſanctorũ. cap: 17. quoniã paulatim occaſione nocturnarum vigiliarum abuſus quidam irrepere cœperant, vel potiùs flagitia committi, placuit eccleſia nocturnos cõuentus & vigilias propriè dictas intermittere, ac ſolùm in ijſdẽ diebus ieiunia celebrare.*
i *Aug: de moribus eccleſiæ cath: li. 1. cap. 34. in ipſa vera religione quidam ſuperſtitioſi ſunt, &c.*
k *Greg: ita vixit, vt vſq; ad noſtra tẽpora neminem ex ſucceſſoribus parem habuerit. Platina in vitâ Greg: idem in vita Stephani 3. ſeueros & graues ei viros reformidat hic noſter clerus: quid ita? quia in tantâ licentia malunt viuere, quã bene monenti ant cõgenti obtemperare: ob eam rem (chriſtiana religio quotidie in peius labitur.*
a *Gerſ. declarat. defectum virorum eccleſiaſticorum.*

CHAP. 10.

Of their errour, who ſay, nothing can be amiſſe in the Church, either in reſpect of doctrine or diſcipline.

IT is vaine ſaith [a] *Gerſon*, that ſome obiecte, the Church is founded on a Rocke, and therefore nothing can be amiſſe either in the doctrine or diſcipline of it, nothing that ſhould neede any reformation. If it be ſo, ſaith he, then where is the obſeruation of that canon, that Clarkes goe not into Innes or tauernes? that Monks in their owne places attend only prayer, and faſting, without intermedling with eccleſiaſticall or ſecular buſines? whence

is the superfluous pomp & princely state of Cardinals and Bishops, making them forget that they are men? what say they to that abhomination, that one man holdeth two hundred or three hundred ecclesiasticall benefices? That the sword of excōmunication is so easily drawen out against the poore for euerie trifle, as for debts? and that the Lords of the Clergie vse it for the maintenance of their owne temporall states? That strangers are appointed by the Pope to haue cure of soules, not vnderstanding the language of them, ouer whom they are set, nor liuing amongst them?

Open your eyes, saith he, and see if the houses of Nuns be not stewes of filthie harlots: if the consecrated Monasteries be not faires, markets, and Innes; Cathedrall Churches, dens of theeues, and robbers; Priests, vnder pretence of maides, keep harlots: consider, whether so great varietie of pictures & images be fit, & whether it occasion not Idolatrie in the simple. Looke vpon the number & varietie of religious orders, the canonising of new Saints, though ther be too many alreadie, as *Briget* of *Suetia*, *Charles* of *Britaine*, the feasts of newe Saints being more religiously kept than of the blessed Apostles. Enquire, if there be not Apocryphall scriptures, hymnes, & prayers in processe of time, either of purpose, or of ignorance brought into the Church, to the great hurt of the Christian faith. Consider the diuersities of opinions, as of the conception of *Marie*, & sundrie other things. [b] See, if there be not intolerable superstition in the worshipping of Saints; innumerable obseruations without all ground of reason, vaine credulitie in beleeuing things concerning the Saints, reported in the vncertaine Legends of their liues: superstitious opinions of obtaining pardō & remissiō of sins, by saying so many *Pater nosters* in such a Church before such an Image: as if in the scriptures and authenticall writings of holy men, there were not sufficient direction for all acts of pietie and deuotion without these fabulous & friuolous additaments: nay, which is yet worse, see if these obseruations, in many Countries and Kingdomes of the world, be not more vrged than the lawes of God; euen as we shall find in the decrees and decretalls, a Monke more seuerely punished for going without his coule, then for committing adulterie or sacriledge.

[b] *Gerson de directione cordis cōsideratione 16. & sequentibus.*

CHAP. 11.

Of the causes of the manifolde confusions and euils, formerly found in the Church.

THese are the euils, deformities, & fores of the Church, which this worthie man in his time complained of: The causes whereof he thought to be principally two. First, the neglecting of the lawes of GOD, and direction of the Scriptures, and following humane inuentions: Secondly, the Ambition, pride, and co-

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touse-

ouſneſſe of the Biſhop of *Rome*. Touching the firſt, which is the neglect of diuine lawes, and infinite multiplying of humane inuentions, he pronounceth confidently, ther can be no generall reformatiõ of the Church, without the aboliſhing of ſundrie canons and ſtatutes, which neither are, nor reaſonably can be obſerued in theſe times, which do nothing elſe but ſnare the conſciences of men to their endleſſe perdition. [a] That no ongue is able ſufficiently to expreſſe, what euill, what danger, what conſion, the contempt of holy Scripture (which doubtleſſe is ſufficient for he gouernment of the Church, for otherwiſe Chriſt had beene an vnperect lawgiuer) and the following of humane inuentions hath brought nto the Church. For proofe hereof, ſaith hee, let vs conſider the ſtate of he clergie, to which heauenly wiſedome ſhould haue beene eſpouſed: ut they haue committed whoredome with that filthie harlot, earthly, arnall, and diueliſh wiſedome: ſo that the ſtate of the Church is become neerely brutiſh and monſtrous; heauen is below, and the earth aboue: the ſpirit obeyeth and the fleſh commandeth; the principall is eſteemed, but s acceſſarie, and the acceſſarie, as principall: yet ſome ſhame not to ſay hat the Church is better gouerned by humane inuentions, than by the diuine law, and the law of the Goſpell of Chriſt, which aſſertion is noſt blaſphemous. For the Euangelicall doctrine, by the profeſſours of it, did enlarge the bounds of the Church, and lifted her vp to heauen; which theſe ſonnes of *Hagar*, ſeeking out that wiſedome which is from he earth, haue caſt downe to the dounghill. And that it is not wholly allen, and vtterly ouerthrowen, and extinct, it is the great mercie of our God and Sauiour.

[a] *Gerſ: part. 1. ſerm. in die circumciſi. conſid. 1.*

Touching the ſecond cauſe of the Churches ruine, which is the ambiion, pride and couetouſnes of the Biſhop and Court of *Rome*, he boldly ffirmeth that wheras the Biſhops of *Rome* challenging the greateſt place n the Church, ſhould haue ſought the good of Gods people, they contraily ſought only to aduance themſelues: [b] *ad imitationem Luciferi adorari olunt vt dij, neq; reputant ſe ſubditos eſſe cuiquam, ſicut filij Belial ſine iugo; nec ibi poſſe dici, cur ita facis, nec Deum timent, nec homines reuerentur. In imiation of Lucifer, they will be adored and worſhipped as Gods. Neither doe they hinke themſelues ſubiect to any, but are as the ſonnes of* Beliall *that haue caſt off he yoke, not enduring what ſoeuer they doe, that any one ſhould aſke them why they oe ſo. They neither feare God, nor reuerence men.* [c] Wherevpon hee feareth ot to deliuer the opinion of many good and worthy men in his time: hat there being a Schiſme in the Church, by reaſon of the contention of he three Popes, which continued for a long time in that age wherein ee liued, it were good to take the aduantage of the time, and euer to reſtore to any Pope againe that vniuerſall adminiſtration f the temporalities of the Church, and ſwaying the iuriſdiction of he ſame; but that it were beſt, that all thinges were brought

[b] *Gerſ: poſt tractatulum de vnitate eccleſiæ addit 4. conſiderationes ad fulcimentum præmiſſorum in 4. habentur hæc verba.*

[c] *Gerſ: de concilio generali vtrum obedientiæ.*

backe to that state they were in the times of the Apostles, or at least in the times of *Sylvester* and *Gregorie*; when each prelate in his owne iurisdiction was permitted to gouern thē committed to his charge, and dispose of the temporalities belonging to the Church, without so many reseruations and exactions, as haue beene since brought in; [d] The Popes in time getting all into their owne hands, with so many abuses, fraudes, & Simonies, all seruing to maintaine the state of the Romish Court, and of that head thereof, which long since grewe too heauie for the bodie to beare.

d *Gers: part. 3. de potestate ecclesiæ, papa ita præsideat bonis Ecclesiasticis, vt de eis statum habeat sufficientem & decentem; sed non ita vt caput grauidum membra reliqua obruat molesuâ. De concilio generali vnius obedientiæ.*

Neither was this the priuate opinion and conceipt of *Gerson* only, but *Petrus de Aliaco*, *Cardinalis Cusanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and innumerable more of the best, wisest, and holiest men the Church had, sawe those abuses, errours, vncertainties, and barbarousnesse, wherewith the glorie of the Church was greatly blemished, and almost quite defaced, and wished and expected a reformation. [e] Yea, nothing was more certainely looked for, a longe time before *Luther* was borne, than the ruine of that pompous state of the Church, the staying of the furious, coueto and tyranous proceedings of the Court, and Bishop of *Rome*, and the freeing of the Church from that *Ægyptiacall* bondage, wherein was holden.

e *Gers: de signis ruinæ ecclesiæ. Moderno tempore vnusquisque interpretari & trahere non veretur sacram scripturā iuxta sanctorumque patrum institutа, ad libitum sue voluntatis, &c.*

CHAP. 12.

Of the desire and expectation of a reformation of the corrupt state of the Church; and that the alteration which hath beene, is a reformation.

[a] When the Pope resolued to accurse, Anathematise and excommunicate *Grostead* the renowned B. of *Lincolne*, because he contemned his papall Bulles and Letters (who was therefore in his time named *Romanorum malleus et contemptor*) The Cardinals opposed themselues, saying, hee was a right good man, and holier then any of them: the things he charged the Pope with, most true, and that therfore it was not safe thus to proceede, least some tumult should follow; especially, say they, seeing it is knowen there must be a departure from vs, & a forsaking of the *Romane* See. The same *Grosteade*, a little before his death, complayning of the wicked courses holden by the *Romanists*, whose scourge he was; said, the Church should neuer find any ease frō the oppressiue burdens laid, vpon her, nor be deliuered frō the Ægyptiacall bondage, she was holden in, till her deliuerāce were wrought *in ore gladij cruentandi*, in the mouth of the sword all bathed in bloud.

a *Innocentius 4 in Matheo Pariſi. in henrico 3. 844. nomine Rex Angloru nostri est vassallus & mancipiū &c. Pagin: 847. papā Antichristum pronunciat. Pagin: 848. eius auaritiæ totus non sufficit orbis, eius luxuriæ meretrix non sufficit annus.*

b *Philip de Comines. lib. 8, cap. 2. He preached that the state of the Church should be reformed by the sword, &c.*

[b] *Sauanorola*, holden by many for a prophet, surely a renowned man for pietie and learning, tould the French King *Charles* the eight, hee should haue great prosperitie in his voyage into *Italy*, and that God would

would giue the sword into his hand: and all this, to the end hee should reforme the corrupt state of the Church, which if he did not performe, he should returne home againe with dishonour, and God would reserue the honour of this worke for some other; and so it fell out. [c] At that time, when *Luther* began to reproue the abuses of the Church of *Rome*, things were in so bad state, that not onely the blood of Christ was prophaned, the power of the keyes by abuse made contemptible, and the redemption of soules out of purgatory, set as a stake at dice by the pardon-sellers to be played for: but so many grieuances there were besides, that all the worlde sighed vnder the burden of them, and wished that some man of heroicall magnanimitie would oppose himselfe. When God had stirred vp so worthy an Instrument, what did the Pope and his adherents: Surely, as *Guicciardin* reports, there were that yeere many meetings in *Rome*, to consult what was best to be done. The more wise and moderate sorte wished the Pope to reforme things apparantly amisse, and not to persecute *Luther*, least continuing those intolerable disorders, abuses, and villanies whereof all good men complained, and persecuting him, that reproued them with so great applause of the whole Christian world, men should thinke innocencie, vertue, and pietie in him to be persecuted and oppressed, and so be incensed against so pertinacious and stiffe maintainers of the Churches confusions. This counsaile would not be followed; whence ensued this alteration of things we nowe see, resisted by the Pope and Papists, set forward by many Christian countreys, kingdomes, and states, and long before wished for and foretold, before it came to passe. For what is now done in this reformation, which *Cameracensis*, *Picus*, *Sauanorola*, *Gerson* & innumerable other worthy guides of Gods Church long before thought not necessary to be done, as appeareth by that wee haue already deliuered touching that matter. [d] Thus then it being euident, that the number of lawes, canons, and customes formerly in vse, and by vs taken away, was a burthen to the Church, and insnaring of mens consciences: That in the feasts, fasts, holy dayes, worship of God, and honor of his saints, there were abuses in that very kinde, which we haue reprehended, and that a reformation was wished for, and the Popes were so farre from setting it forward, that when they saw the States of the world ready to accomplish it, euen with diuision of themselues from them, they would in no sort consent vnto it (though the wisest about them perswaded them to it as the likeliest way to keepe all in quietnesse:) seeing it was necessary for the good of the Church, to free it selfe from that bondage it was formerly holden in vnder the Pope, taking all into his owne hands by innumerable sleights, and treading downe vnder his feete the crownes of Kings, and iurisdictions of Bishops, as hath been shewed, and proued out of authors not to bee excepted against: seeing in matters of doctrine, wherein we dissent from them, wee found vncertaintie, contradiction

[c] *Guicciardin. Hist. Lib. 13.*

[d] *Reformatio ecclesiæ fieri non potest sine abolitione statutorum multorum super excommunicationibus & ceteris traditionibus nimis multiplicatis &c. Gers. de Concilio vnius obedientiæ.*

tradiction, and contrarietie, some saying that wee nowe say, and others that which they defend, and the things they defend, not hauing the consenting testimonie of other Churches in the world, as of *Armenia*, *Grecia*, *Æthiopia*, &c. nor the certaine approbation of antiquitie; and the places of Scripture, on which they were grounded, being most apparantly mistaken, as nowe in this light of the world themselues are forced to confesse: e seeing it is certaine, there was great ignorance of tongues and all parts of good learning, f neglect of the studie of Scripture, and mixture without all iudgement of things profane with diuine, g seeing innumerable errors, superstitions, barbarismes, and tautologies were crept into the prayers of the Church: h seeing there was great corruption, ignorant mistaking, and shameless forgeries, of the monuments of antiquitie, and writings of ecclesiastical authors, in fauour of errours then maintained, which haue been detected in this age wherein learning is reuiued, and with, and out of learning, the puritie of Religion: seeing it was long before resolued, the Church must be reformed: i that this reformation was neuer likely to be obtained in a general Councell, and that therefore seuerall kingdomes were to reforme themselues: seeing it was than feared the proceeding in this reformation thus seuerally without generall consent, would breede too great difference in the courses that would be takē, as we see it hath now fallen out, to the great griefe of all well affected, who mourne for the breaches of *Sion*: seeing, notwithstanding this disaduantage, in that one part of Christendome knew not what another did in this worke of reformation, nor consulted with other, that so they might proceede in the same, in one and the same sort; yet it so fell out by the happie prouidence of God that there is no essentiall, fundamentall, or materiall difference among those of the reformed religion, whose confessions of faith are published to the view of the world: (howsoeuer the heate, ignorant mistaking, and inconsiderate writings of some particular men, and the diuersitie of ceremonies, rites, and obseruations, make shewe of a greater diuision, than indeede there is) it is most vndoubtedly cleare, and euident, if we be not wilfully blinded, that this alteration of things in our times, was a reformation, and not, as our aduersaries blaphemously traduce it, an heretical innouation.

e *Picus Theorematе 8. loquens de erratu glossatorū, non mirum est, inquit, etatis vitium fuit: perierunt enim tum & in desuetudinem abierunt bonæ literæ & exculciores disciplinæ pessundabantur. Hæc non referrem, nisi coduceret in cōmune notari scriptorum huiusmodi, non dicam, imperitiam, sed arrogantem impudentiam, perinde, quasi pecudibus aut truncis scribant, non hominibus. Eraſm. in scholijs in præfat. Hier. in pentateuchum Moſi.* f *Bonauentura recedat à curioſitate quantum poteſt, non immiſcens poſitiones extraneas vel doctrinas ſeculares dialecticas aut Philoſophicas terminis theologicis obumbratas, more multorū; vnde factum eſt, vt ab indeuoto ſcholaſticis, quorum (proh dolor) maior eſt numerus, ipſe minùs extiterit frequentatus. Gerſ. de exam. doctr.* g *Multa quæ in decretis numerantur apocrypha, & ita apud Hiero. habentur, nihilominus in officijs diuinis leguntur: multa item quæ apud nonnullos vera non creduntur. Picus theo. 6. Propter barbariem neſcio quam latinitatis & compoſitionis additam abhorrent viri docti à lectione officij. Platina in vitâ Greger. 1. Sunt meo iudicio illa de Conſtantino Apocrypha, ſicut fortaſſis quædam alia longa & magna ſcripta Sanctis Clementi & Anacleto Papæ attributa; in quibus volentes Romanam ſedem pluſquam eccleſia expedit, exaltare, ſæpenitus fundant. Cuſan. concord. cath. lib 3. cap. 2.* See the censure of *Eraſmus* and others vpon the bookes falsely attributed to *Ambr. Ier. Auguſt.* and the rest.

b *Gerſ. part. 3. d. al. apolog. iudicium de Concilio Cōſtancienſi.* i *Remotiones ſtatutorum & canonum antiquorum aut additiones nouorum fieri nequeunt rationabiliter pro totâ eccleſiâ, ſine communi conſenſu; aliàs poſſet eſſe ibidem nimia diuerſitas: nolo tamen dicere, quia in multis partibus poſſet eccleſia per ſuas partes reformari; immò hoc neceſſe eſſet, & ad hoc ſufficerent Cōcilia prouincialia. Gerſ. de concilio vnius obedientiæ.*

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CHAP. 13.

Of the first reason brought to proue that the Church of Rome *holdeth the faith first deliuered; because the precise time, wherein errours began in it, cannot be noted.*

NOtwithstanding, to stop the mouthes of our aduersaries, who a spirit of contradiction hath possessed, and to satisfie all such as bee any way doubtfull, I will by application of the notes of the Church formerly agreed vpon, examine the matter of doubt, and answere all such reasons as from thence are taken, and by them vrged against vs, either for proofe of their profession and faith, and the soundnesse of their owne Church, or reproofe of ours. The first note assigned by them is Antiquitie; by which they vnderstand not simply and absolutely long continuance in the profession of Christianitie, but the retaining and hauing that faith which was first deliuered to the Saints by the Apostles, the immediate and prime witnesses of the truth which is in Christ. Let vs therefore see, how they indeuour to make proofe that they now hold that ancient profession. This they indeuor to demonstrate three wayes: First, it being confessed the Church of *Rome* was the true Church, established in the faith by the blessed Apostles, and the *faith thereof commended and renowned thorowout the worlde*; they thinke they can prooue there hath been no chaunge, alteration, or departure from that sinceritie which sometimes was found in it. Secondly, they offer to shewe the consent and agreement of that forme of doctrine they now teach, and that the Fathers of the Primitiue Church did teach in their times, and commended to posteritie in their writings. Thirdly, they presume they can shewe, that our doctrine, who dissent from them, is nothing else but the renewing of olde heresies long since condemned, in the best times of the Church, by consent of the whole Christian world: If they could as easily prooue these things, as they confidently vndertake it, there were no resisting against them. But seeing they faile herein so much, that very children may discerne their weakenesse, therefore I wil propose whatsoeuer I find alleaged by any of them in this kind, that carrieth any shew of probabilitie, that all men may see, how weakely their perswasion is grounded in these things which are of greatest consequence. First therefore let vs see, how they prooue there hath been no change in the doctrine, discipline, profession, and state of the Romane Church since the Apostles times.

[a] In euery great and notable mutation, say they, may bee obserued the author, the time, place, beginnings, encreasings, and resistance made against it. But the Protestants are not able to note these circumstances of that mutation in matters of Religion, which they suppose hath been in

[a] *Bellar. Tom. 1. contro. 4. lib. 4. cap. 5. de nota antiquitatis.*

in the Church of *Rome*. Therefore it is euidently conuinced, there hath been no such mutation. For the more full answering of this obiection we must obserue, that there are 4. kinds of mutation, or change in matters of
1 religion: The first, when the whole essence of religion is changed; such is the change from Paganisme to Christianitie, or from Christianity to Pa-
2 ganisme. The second, when the essence remaining the same, the state is changed; such was the change of Iudaisme into Christianitie, there being in the later, new sacraments, ceremonies, and a new ministerie, that was not in the former, and the performance of that which was
3 but in expectation only before. The third is, when not the whole essence and state of religion, but some parts of it onely are so changed, that some impugning, and denying those things, which others alwayes did and do hold most certaine, the opposition is so great, that there groweth an apparant separation betweene them, the one sort refusing to communicate with the other. As when the *Arrians* denied the Sonne of God to be coessential, coequall, and coeternall with his Father. The fourth, when men
4 so bring in new opinions, and obseruations into the Church, that yet both they and other not led away in the same error, hold communion still. In the three first kinds of mutation, all those circumstances they speake of may bee noted, but not alwayes in the fourth. Nowe the mutation in matters of faith and religion wich hath been in the Romane Church, is of the fourth and last sort. For the errours thereof were so brought in, that both they that were the authors of them, and others that neuer fell into them, were both of one communion, as I will make it most cleare and euident in that which followeth. And therefore it is most absurde to require vs to shewe these circumstances they speake of.

Secondly, for the better clearing of this matter, wee must note, that the aberration which hath been in the Church of *Rome* from her auncient
1 puritie and simplicitie, consisteth in foure things: First, in certaine canons,
2 lawes, and traditions, euill and hurtfull from the beginning. Secondly, in the multitude of lawes & canons, in respect of the number growing to
3 be a burden. Thirdly, in that the state of things, and conditions of men altering, the same constitutions and ordinances become hurtfull, that were formerly good; or in that, things instituted to one ende, are in processe of time applied to another; or euill and dangerous opinions, corrupting the vse of that which was not wholly to be misliked in the beginning, are
4 newly added. Fourthly, in errours in matter of faith. Touching that aberration of the Church of *Rome*, which consisteth in the bringing in of lawes, canons, and constitutions hurtfull from the beginning, we can note the beginning of it, and assigne who were the authors of such lawes. But when the lawes themselues are not euill, but the number of lawes, canons and constitutions is a burden to the Church, and the euill complained of it is most foolish to vrge vs to shew the first Author thereof. As likewise
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when lawes not euill in the beginning, by alteration of times growe hurtfull, or when things from one vse growe to an other. [b] *Hugo de sancto Victore*, noteth that the custome was to communicate little children in the Sacrament of the Lords body and bloud: which beeing in time ceased, yet still they continued in his time to giue wine though not consecrated, to children new baptized, which he confesseth to be a superstitious and foolish custome; yet it is not possible to shew the beginning of it. The errationō in the Church of *Rome*, in matters of doctrine, was in such things, and so carried in the beginnings, that the Authors of those newe and false opinions, were not disclaimed and noted as damnable heretickes, as were those that erred in things most cleerely resolued before: or that erred with such pertinacy, that they diuided themselues from all that thought otherwise; But the Authors of these errors, and they that were free from them, were, notwithstanding these differences, both of one communion. And therefore the circumstances by them required in these mutations, cannot be shewed, as it will easily appeare by these instances following.

[b] *Eruditionis theologicæ de sacramentis lib. 1. cap. 20.*

CHAP. 14.

Of diuers particular errors which haue bin in the Church; whose first Author cannot be named.

THe opinion of two resurrections of mens bodies, the first of the good, the second of the wicked, (there being betweene the one and the other a thousand yeares) was an error; but the Author of it is not knowen. For I hope the *Romanists* will not say, the Fathers learned it of any heretick the first author of it. The opinion that the soules of the iust are in hell, and see not God till the generall resurrection, was an errour; but they cannot tell who was the first author of it. The opinion that all Catholique Christians how wicked soeuer shall in the ende be saued as by fire, was an errour; but the Author is not knowen. The opinion that men are elected for the foresight of some thing in themselues, is an errour; or else the doctrine of *Austine*, who was of that opinion sometimes, but afterwards condemned it himselfe and others. The opinion that infants could not be saued, vnlesse they were not onely baptized, but did receiue the Sacrament of the Lords bodie, was an errour; but the author of it is not knowen. The opinions, that the bookes of *Wisdome*, *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Machabees*, and the rest, are *Apocriphall*, and that they are canonicall, are contradictory, and that one of them an errour in matter of faith; yet is not the author of that errour knowne. The innumerable contradictory opinions holden in the Church of *Rome*, touching matters of faith, [a] as that the Pope is Soueraigne temporall Lord of all the World, and all Kings and Princes holde

See the ninth cha. of this booke; where they are named that defend these erronious opinions, whose Authors and first deuisers are not knowen.

[a] *Bellar. lib 5. de potestate temporali pontificis cap. 1. Waldēsis doctrinalis fidei l. 2. ar. 3. c. 7 & 8 negat potestatem Papæ quoad regna Principum. & Sigebertus in Chronico anno 1088. & Stapleton. contr 3. q. 4 proponit contrarias opiniones de infallibili Papæ iudicio, & ait, non esse de fide quid non possit errare.*

hold of him in fee, and that he is not: that he may depose Kings erring in faith, and persecuting the faithfull, and that he may not: that papally he cannot erre, and that he may, and sometimes doth; and many other like, must needes be errours on the one side or other; yet is not the author of those errours to be nominated.

b It was doubtlesse, in the confession of the aduersaries, the custome of the Westerne or *Latine* Church aswell as of the rest, to cõmunicate in both kindes: when and where that custome of communicating the Lay-people onely in one kind began, cannot be precisely noted. c It was the custome to impose penance first, & after the performance of it, to giue absolution: now, absolutiõ is first giuen, & then penance imposed to be performed afterwards: whẽ this alteration began, it cannot be noted. d It was the generall opinion, that *Marie* was conceiued in sinne: it grew afterwards to be generally thought, she was not. The first author of this later opinion cannot bee knowen, nor of the former neither, as I suppose. e The custome was to graunt indulgences or relaxations onely from inioyned penance: the forme of these was afterwards altered: I thinke it can hardly be noted by whom &c. f The custome was on the dayes which they kept as fasting dayes, not to eate till three a clocke in the afternoone, or till the euen; so that to dine and not to fast were Synonymies in the Primitiue Church; but in the Romish Church they did dine on their fasting dayes, and therefore sayd their Euensong betweene tenne and eleuen a clocke in the morning: I thinke it hard to note precisely the time when this alteration beganne. Thus then wee see there may be and haue been many alterations in the state of religion, and matters of faith in the Church of *Rome*, though all those circumstances they vrge vs to shewe, cannot bee noted in them. And therefore the first reason brought to prooue that the Romish Church is not departed from her first and originall puritie, is found too weake.

b *Liquet ex lectione antiquorum, eucharistiam laicis in manus datam olim, nunc in oris olim dominicum sanguinem fistulis hauriebant, & etiam Rom. pontifex quoties publicè sacrificat, aureo calamo sugit sanguinem dominicum è calice cum diacono & subdiacono.* Rhenanus in annot. in li. Tertul. de coronâ militis.

c *Apud veteres absolutio nisi satisfactione purgatu ferè nõ impertiebatur.* Lindan. panoplia lib. 4. cap. 70.

d Bonauent. lib. 3 distinct. 3. q. 2.

e Caiet. opusculorũ tom. 1. tract. 15. cap. 7. *seruauit ecclesia multo tempore hunc stilũ, vt exprimeret in literis relaxationem ab iniuncto pœnitentiæ &c. in tantum vt dubitet an Papa dederit aliquando indulgentiã non solum ab iniuncto, sed à quomodolibet debito pœnæ pro peccatis: & tamẽ sitetur Petrum Paludanum & Iohannem Monachum in extrauagant. Bonifacij de vsibus explosione, male aliquid referre, & formã plenariæ indulgentiæ tale aliquid probare agnoscit: sed ait editã illã formã secundũ aliam opinionem saltẽ vt videtur communem, scilicet quod indulgentia liberat ab iniunctis & non iniuncto pœnæ.*

f Lindan. Panopli. lib. 3. cap. 1.

CHAP. 15.

Of the second reason brought to proue that they hold the auncient faith; because our men, dissenting from them, confesse they dissent from the Fathers; where sundry instances are examined.

LEt vs see the other. The other way, whereby they indeuour to prooue the antiquitie of their faith and religion, is by shewing the agreement and consent betweene it, and the doctrine of the Primitiue Fathers. This, they say, they cannot doe, but either by proposing the seuerall parts of Christian doctrine deliuered by the Fathers, and comparing the doctrine of their Church with it, or out of our owne confession. The first course they think

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would bee too tedious, and therefore they indeuour to prooue by our owne confession, that the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and of the auncient Fathers, is all one.

The greatest Diuines, say they, of the reformed Churches, when they impugne the assertions of the *Romanists*, confesse they goe against the streame of all Antiquitie. Therefore they are forced to confesse the doctrines of the fathers, and of the Church of *Rome* to bee all one. This is a vile and wicked calumniation: neither are they able to iustifie it. [a] But let vs see what they say: *Caluine* (they say) in the article of free will condemning the Romane Church of errour, is forced to reiect, and refuse the iudgement of all Antiquitie. For the clearing of this, wee must obserue, that the will of man may bee sayd to be free in diuers sorts. First from necessitie of seeking and hauing diuine support, helpe, and assistance: secondly, from diuine direction, and ordering: thirdly, from sinne: fourthly, from miserie: fiftly, limitation of desire, naturall necessitie, and constraint. These being the diuers kindes that may bee conceiued of the freedome of mans will, *Caluine* denieth the will of man to bee, or euer to haue been free, from the necessitie of seeking, and hauing diuine support, helpe, and generall assistance, without which it hath no force or facultie at all. Secondly, he denieth it to be free from diuine direction, ordering, and guidance: For in this sorte, neither the willes of men, nor Angels, were so free in the day of their creation, as to exempt themselues from the ordering of the diuine prouidence, which most sweetely disposeth all things. Thirdly, from miserie there is no freedome in this worlde, nor from the bondage of sinne, without the benefite of grace making free. *Habemus* (sayth [b] *Bernard*) *liberum arbitrium, sed nec cautum à peccato, nec tutum à miseriâ. We haue*, sayth *Bernard*, *free will, but neither so wary as to auoide sinne, nor so safe, as to be free from danger*. From limitation of desire, naturall necessity, and constraint, he confesseth the will to bee free, though it be subiect to a conditionall or morall necessitie, which by *Bernard* is most aptly named *malè libera necessitas*. The will of man being thus ouer-ruled by diuine prouidence, and in so diuers sorts inthralled to sinne and miserie, *Caluine* thinketh the titles of αὐτεξούσιον and *liberum arbitrium*, taken from the Philosophers, and vsed by the Fathers, to be too glorious to expresse a thing so weake and miserable; and that in his opinion it is not safe to vse these words, vnlesse we adde, for the clearing of our meaning, the limitations with which the Fathers doe restraine them; which yet many will not so carefully obserue, as they will vnaduisedly sucke the poyson of errour out of the words themselues. Thus then we see *Caluine* confesseth, the Fathers vsed these words in a good and godly sort.

But, sayth *Bellarmine*, hee feareth not to pronounce, that all the Fathers (*Augustine* excepted) are so vncertaine, perplexed, and doubtful in the deliuering of this point, that a man can gather no certaintie out of them

[a] *Bellar: lib. 4. cap. 9. de conciliis & Ecclesia Caluin. institut. li. 2. cap. 2. §.*

[b] *De Gratia & libero arbitrio.*

them: Surely it is most true that hee sayth of them, they are doubtfu and vncertaine in this point; yet so, that it appeares, that in this ambi guitie ascribing little or nothing to the power of mans will, they giue a the prayse of well doing to the holy Spirit of God. [c] To this purpose he alleageth sundry excellent sentences out of *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, and *Chrysostome*, and concludes, that it was the drift of these Fathers, how soeuer they seeme sometimes too much to amplifie the power of man will, yet wholly to driue men from the confidence in their own strength to seeke their strength in God. This then is all that *Caluine* sayth, that before *Augustine* was stirred by the *Pelagians*, exactly to examine these things that concerne the grace of God, and power of nature, the fathers deliuered not this point so distinctly, as afterwards it was, nor so fully, but that some things were found in their writings not so fitte as was to bee wished. [d] That this is most true, the writings of the Fa thers themselues will witnesse, and the Testimonies alleaged out of them by the *Pelagians* against *Augustine*, will sufficiently proue it; which are no otherwise aunswered by him, than they are by *Caluine*, [e] that their drifte was to deiect the pride of sinfull flesh, and extoll the great nesse of Gods mercie and goodnesse; That if they spake some things not so distinctly and fully as men did afterwards, it is not to bee mar ueiled at, seeing they did not purposely enter into the examination of these things, before the *Pelagian* heretikes (whose heresie was in these things) were knowen in the world.

For the farther iustifying of *Caluines* censure, let the Reader con sulte [f] *Sixtus Senensis*, alleaging many testimonies out of the Fathers, af firming, that men are elected to eternall life, for the foresight of some thing in themselues. And surely this should not seeme incredible, that many of the Fathers were in this errour; seeing *Austine* himselfe was of this opinion, before hee entred into the conflicte with the *Pelagians*, which errour when hee corrected, most men disliked his doctrine tou ching election, the grace of God, and power of nature, as it appeareth by the Epistles of *Prosper* and *Hilarius*, for that hee seemed vnto them to at cribe so much vnto the grace of God, and detracte so much from the po wer of mans will, that they greatly feared his doctrine would weaken that carefulnesse that should bee in men to arise from sinne, discourage them from all good indeauours, and giue an occasion of negligence, and carelesse slouthfulnesse. That which *Bellarmine* addeth, that *Caluin* dis liketh that saying of *Austine* that *mans will concurreth with grace, not as pre cedent vnto it, but as following after it, and as a handmaide attending on it*, is most false. For [g] hee approueth the saying of *Austine*, but reproueth the *Master of sentences* for misseunderstanding and misseapplying it.

[h] That which followeth, that *Caluin* dissēteth frō *Augustine* in the matter of iustificatiō, is of the same nature. For he saith only, that, though nothing be

[c] *Caluin. instit. lib. 2. cap. 2. 9.*

[d] *Prosper. in epist. ad Aug. de reliquijs Pelagianæ hæreseos: obstinationem suam vetustate defendunt; vt ea, quæ de epist. ad Romanos, ad manifestationem Dei gratiæ prauersētis electorū merita proferuntur, à nullo vnquam ecclesiasticorum ita esse intellecta, vt nunc sentiuntur, affirmant.*

[e] *Aug. de prædestinatione sanctorū cap. 14. quid opus est vt eorum scrutemur opuscula qui priusquam ista hæresis oriretur non habuerunt necessitatē in hac difficili ad soluendum quæstione versari &c. eodē modo respōdet. Bell. li 2. de gratia & libero arbitrio. cap. 14.*

[f] *Bibliothecæ sanctæ li 6 annot. 25. & epist. Prosperi & Hilarij inter opera Aug.*

[g] *Calu. instit. li. 2 cap. 3. 7.*

[h] *Ibidem. Cal. lib 3. cap. 11. sect. 5*

be to be misliked in the matter it selfe deliuered by *Augustine*, for[i] that it is plaine, that acknowledging the imperfection of inherent iustice, and thinking it our greatest perfection to know our owne imperfections, and seeke remission of our sinnefull defects, he cannot but acknowledge the imputation of Christs righteousnesse to bee that, in confidence whereof we stand in the sight of God: yet his manner of deliuering this Article is not so full, perfect, and exact, as wee are forced to require in these times, against the errors of the *Romanists*: For that, when hee speaketh of grace, hee seemeth for the most part to vnderstande nothing else thereby, but that sanctification whereby the holy spirit of God changeth vs to become newe creatures; seldome mentioning the imputation of the righteousnesse of Christ.

[k] That which *Bellarmine* chargeth *Caluin* with, in the next place, argueth his intolerable impudencie. *Caluin* (saith hee) doth thinke, that the sonne of God is subiect to the father in respect of his deitie: which because all the Fathers deny, he pronounceth they all erred, and that their errour cannot be excused. Let the reader peruse the place, and hee shall find that *Caluin* saith no such thing, but the cleane contrarie.

Indeede *Hugo de S. Victore* in his questions on the 1. Epist. to the *Corinth.* 15. saith, that Christ is subiect to his father according to his diuine nature, and sheweth that many haue beene of that opinion. But *Caluin* saith no such thing; neither doth hee charge the Fathers with any errour touching the distinction of the natures of God and man in Christ, or the vnitie of his person: but saith only, that some of them applying those things distinctly to one of the natures of Christ, which are applicable to the whole person of the Mediator, entangle themselues in some doubts, which otherwise might easily be cleared; which will easily appeare by that place of *Hugo* before mentioned. The kingdome (saith *Hugo*) which Christ shall deliuer to his father, and so become subiect vnto him, either was giuen vnto him in that hee was God, and then hee cannot resigne it, nor become subiect to his father; because in that respect he is equall vnto him, whence we say, *æqualis patri secundum diuinitatem, minor patre secundum humanitatem*: Or in that hee was man; and that seemeth not conceiuable; For the nature of man is not capable of that infinite power, that is implyed in the kingdome which God gaue his sonne. Hee answereth, that he may be said to bee subiect to his father, in that he is God, because though hee haue the same essence with him, yet hee hath receiued it from him. How aptly this may be said, I will not now examine: but how in this sense he may be said to giue vp his kingdome to his father, is yet more hard to conceiue.

[l] *Ambrose* saith, hee may bee said to giue it vp, not by reall resigning of that hee had, but by bringing vs to his father, and shewing vs that fountaine whence hee receiued it, and all that fulnesse whereof wee are

[i] *In Psalm. 142, & in libro de perfectione iustitiæ cùm rex iustus sederit in throno quis gloriabitur castum se habere cor? aut quis gloriabitur se mundum esse à peccato? nisi fortè qui volunt in suâ iustitiâ non in ipsius iudicu misericordiâ gloriari, & Hieron. contra Pelagianos, lib. 1. tunc iusti sumus cùm nos peccatores fatemur, & iustitia nostra non ex proprio merito, sed ex Dei constitit misericordiâ.*

[k] *Ibid. Lib. 2. 14. 3.*

[l] *In prim. Corint. 15. Filius ostendet non se esse ex quo omnia, sed per quē sunt omnia; & hoc erit tradere regnum Deo & patri.*

partakers: These are doubts, which *Calvin* saith, that the Fathers doe not cleare, attributing the kingdome of Christ vnto him distinctly, in respect of this or that nature. But hee affirming, that the kingdome of Christ doth not agree vnto him distinctly or seuerally in respect of this or that nature, but to the whole person considered in both natures, easily expresseth himselfe. For, saith hee, God gaue to his sonne, by eternall generation, the same essence hee had in himselfe, and with it the same power and kingdome, and this hee shall neuer resigne. [m] Secondly, he gaue to the nature of man not by formal transfusion, but in the person of his son, (which in the admirable worke of the incarnation hee bestowed on it, to support and sustaine it) all that power hee had originally in himselfe, and eternally gaue his sonne: so that the sonne of God, after the taking of our nature into the vnitie of his person, administreth not his kingdome, without the vnion, knowledge, assent, and cooperation of the nature of man, which hee shall continue to doe, while wee neede mediation, and till hee haue brought vs to his fathers presence, and to the cleare viewe, and sight of his maiestie. Then shall he cease to rule in this sort any more: his humane nature shall not neede to be interposed any longer, but he shall appeare in the glorie of his Godhead: then shall hee bee subiect to his father in the nature of man, in more speciall sort then now hee is; because though now he be inferiour vnto God in that hee is man, and so subiect to him, yet that nature of man intermeddleth with the administration of the kingdome in such sort, as then it shall cease to doe, though it shall neuer lose that power and kingdome which in the person of the sonne of God it is honoured with.

[m] Hereunto agreeeth *Hugo* in the place aboue mentioned, saying, *Secundũ humanã naturã ed equalitatẽ patris sublimatus est dum verbo consubstantiali patri in vnã personã humana natura vnita est.*

CHAP. 16.

Of Lymbus patrum, *concupiscence, and satisfaction, touching which* Caluine *is falsely charged to confesse, that hee dissenteth from the Fathers.*

THe [a] next imputation is touching *Lymbus patrum*, supposed to be a place below in the earth neere hell, if not a part of hell, which *Caluin* pronounceth to be but a fable, though it haue great authors and patrons; as if this were so strange a thing, that a fable and meere fancie should finde approbation among some of the Fathers. The opinion of the *Millenaries*, I suppose, *Bellarmine* thinketh but a meere fancy; yet had it great and reuerend patrons. If hee say, that all the Fathers did hold the opinion of *Lymbus*, and that *Caluin* opposeth himselfe against them all, hee is clearely refuted by [b] *Augustine*, who doubted of it. Besides that their popish *Lymbus* supposed to haue beene a receptacle for the soules of the Patriarches, but only till the death

[a] *Ibid. lib. 2, 16, 9*

[b] *In Epist. 99. ad Euodium, vnde illũ iustũ qui in sinu Abrahæ erant cum ille ad inferna descenderet nondũ quid contulisset inuenit, à quibus secundum beatificam præsentiam diuinitatis nunquã video recessisse. & ibid. Quanè ipsos quidẽ miseros vspiã scripturarum locu in bono appellatos potui reperire. Quod si nusquã in diuinis authoritatibus legitur, non vtiq; sinus ille Abrahæ, id est secreta cuiusdam quietis habitatio aliqua pars inferorũ credenda est.*

nd resurrection of Christ, as being then emptied by him, is a meere pri-
ate conceite of their owne, wanting the testimonies of the most auncient
Fathers. * For *Tertullian*, *Irenæus*, and others did thinke the soules of all * Supra cap. 9
en to bee holden in hell till the last day. And if it were resolued that
ere was such a [c] *Lymbus*, as they fancie, yet their Schoolemen
e not agreed of the place; neither dare they affirme, that it was
lowe in the earth, though they seeme most inclineable to that opi-
on.

[c] The next false reporte that *Bellarmine* maketh of *Caluin*, is, that c *Ibid. lib. 3. 3. 10.*
e opposeth him against all Antiquitie, in the question whether concu-
scence in the regenerate be sinne or not. This hee endeoureth to make
ood in this sort. *Caluin* (saith he) professeth, that *Augustine* hath true-
y and faithfully gathered the opinions of all the Fathers, and that his
udgement is their iudgement; but he opposeth himself against *Augustine*;
therefore against all the Fathers.

This assumption we deny. For *Caluin* no way dissenteth from *Augu-*
stine, but saith only, it may seeme, that there should bee some little diffe-
rence betweene *Augustine* and vs; For that wee affirme concupiscence in
the regenerate to bee sinne, but hee is fearefull to call it sinne, vnlesse it
be consented vnto; naming it rather an euill, sickenesse, infirmitie, or the
like. But elsewhere taking away this doubt, he saith, that *Augustine* feareth
not some times to call it sin: wherby the consent and agreement betweene
Augustine & *Caluin* appeareth. It were easie to shew, that not only *Augu-*
stine, but the Fathers generally were of the same opinion, that wee are of,
and that the Popish opinion is a most dangerous and damnable error, if
this were a fitte place to enter into the exacte handling of that que-
stion.

But let vs see the rest of his obiections. *Caluin* (saith hee) in the mat-
ter of [d] satisfaction, chargeth all the Fathers with errour. This is as true, d *Ibid. lib. 3. 4. 38*
as the rest. For *Caluin* doth not say, they erred in this matter of satisfa-
ction; for hee sheweth plainely, they were farre from the absurditie
of the Popish conceipt: but hee saith disiunctiuely only, that either
they erred, or at least vsed some phrases and formes of speech that
may seeme harde, and neede a good, and fauourable construction;
rather than to bee wrested to a worse sense then they were vttered in,
as the manner of the Popish Sophisters is to deale with the writings of
the Fathers.

For the clearing of this matter wee must obserue, that, in sinne, there
are two things; the sinfulnesse, & the punishmēt which for it the iustice of
God inflicteth. Both these are taken away by Christ, but in a different
sort. The sinfulnes, by the operatiō, working, & infusion of grace; & the
punishment by the imputation of Christes sufferings, who suffering that
he deserued not, freeth vs from that we were deseruedly to haue suffered.

From

From one of these wee cannot bee freed, vnlesse also wee bee freede from the other; and in what degree wee are deliuered from the one, we are discharged from the other: if wee be freed only from the dominion of sinne, we are only discharged from the condemnation of eternall death; if from all sinnefulnesse, wee are discharged from all touch of any punishment.

e Pœna æterna in temporalẽ in remissione culpæ, temporalis magna & supra vires, in temporalem quæ viribus competit, in sacerdotio absolutione commutatur. Alex. de Hales part. 4. q. 21 memb. 2. art. 1. 2. God vpon our repentance pardoning the sin and the eternall punishment due vnto it, through Christ, doth exact of euery man a temporall satisfaction answerable to the fault commited. Reformat. of a deformed Cathol. by D.B.P. cap. 6. of satisfaction.

e But the *Romanists* do teach touching sinnes committed after Baptisme, that God contenteth not himselfe, with the most perfect abolishing and extinguishment of all sinnefulnesse, by working of Diuine grace, and the satisfaction of Christs sufferings, but that hee doth require that we suffer the extremitie of that we haue deserued, only some little mitigation procured by the bloudshead of Christ, and the eternitie excepted, from which our ceasing from sinne doth free vs: the punishment of sinne being eternall, because sinne is eternall.

Hence it commeth, that they teach, that if wee will not suffer and endure the extremitie of punishment wee haue deserued, wee must make some other recompense to Gods iustice for it. This is a blasphemous assertion, and contrarie to the doctrine of all the Fathers, who know and teach as wee doe, that the iustice of God, and his wrath against sinne is satisfied in Christ; that this satisfaction is imputed to vs, not continuing in, but ceasing from sinne; that according to the degree of our ceasing from sinne, this satisfaction is diuersly imputed; f So that if wee cease from sinne only so, that it hath no more dominion ouer vs, it is imputed in such sort as it dischargeth vs only from condemnation: but if wee wholly cease from sinne, it is so imputed vnto vs, as that it freeth vs from all punishment whatsoeuer. So that if there were found in any of vs a perfect leauing and forsaking of sinne, GODS iustice would lay no punishment vppon vs. But the *Romanistes* thinke it might and would for precedent sinne, though nowe wholly forsaken and quite abolished.

f Sanè vbi prorsus de medio factum fuerit omne peccatũ, causa quidem omnino sublatâ, nec ipse quidẽ datus eps manebit effectus. Ber. in Psal. Qui habitat. Serm. 10.

It is true indeed, that the Fathers sometimes vsed the name of satisfaction in their writings, but to another purpose than the *Romanists* doe. They knew, that euills are cured by contraries, and therefore in the curing of sinfull soules they prescribed that, which *Caluin* also doth, that men hauing offended in yeelding too much to their own desires, pleasures, delights, and profits, should, for the freeing of themselues from the euill of sinne, deny something to themselues which otherwise they might lawfully enioy: which if they doe not, they shall in the punishments which God will bring vpon them, tasle the bitternesse of that that seemed sweete vnto them in sinne. This exercise of repentant mortification, the Fathers called satisfaction; not as if the iustice of God were not satisfied in Christ, or wee were tied, yea though wee should wholly forsake sinne, yet to satisfie for that is past, by suffering so much as our sinnes haue deserued; or else to doe some painefull thing equiualent to

fuc

ich ſufferings, which is the popiſh errour: But becauſe wee muſt doe hat in this kind of repentant mortification, which may be ſufficient, for e finding out of the depth of that wound which ſinne hath made in the ule, for remouing the cauſes of it, the extinguiſhment of that remai- th of it, the taking away the occaſions, and the preuenting of the re- trance of it againe. This if wee doe, wee ſhall preuent the hand of od, which otherwiſe would ſmite vs, not to be ſatisfied in the courſe his iuſtice, (which at our hands cannot bee looked for, and which is oundantly ſatisfied in Chriſt, and would not touch vs for any thing ſt, if by perfect forſaking of ſinne we were fully ioyned vnto him) but driue vs by bitter ſorrow to purge out that ſinfulneſſe, & thoſe remain- rs which our precedent ſinnes left behind them, in reſpect whereof e are not yet fully ioyned to Chriſt. Theſe remainders of ſinne, if we diſlike, caſt off, and forſake, and iudge and condemne our ſelues, as the poſtle ſpeaketh, we ſhall not bee iudged of the Lord for them. This ppie courſe of preuenting the hand of God, and turning away his pu- ſhments by bitter and afflictiue recounting of our ſinnes, the Fathers ll Satisfaction. Some ſayings of the Fathers it may be there are which e hard, & muſt with a fauourable conſtruction be reduced to the ſenſe we haue expreſſed: and that is all that *Caluin* ſaith; for which, how iuſtly is blamed, let the Reader iudge.

CHAP. 17.

Of Prayer for the dead, and Merite.

He next calumniation is cõcerning prayer for the dead. Let the Reader obſerue, what it is that *Bellarmine* is to proue, and he ſhall finde that hee doth nothing but trifle. For, hee is to proue, that *Caluin* confeſſeth, that more then a thowſand and three hundreds of yeares ſince, the Popiſh doctrin, and cuſtome of pray- for the dead did preuaile, and was generally receiued in the whole urch of God throughout the world. This if hee will proue, hee muſt ſõ thus. The cuſtome of praying to deliuer the ſoules of men out of the ins of Purgatory, is the cuſtome & practiſe which the *Romane* Church fendeth, and *Caluin* impugneth: but this cuſtome *Caluin* confeſſeth to ue been in vſe more then a thouſand and three hundred of yeares ſince: refore he acknowledgeth the doctrine and practiſe of the *Romane* urch to be moſt auncient, and to haue beene receiued a thouſand and ee hundred yeares agoe. The Minor propoſition of this reaſon is falſe: *Caluin*, in the place cited by *Bellarmine*, proteſteth againſt it, moſt con- tly affirming, that the Fathers knew nothing of Purgatorie, & ther- much leſſe of prayer to deliuer men from thence. But *Bellarmine* will

[a] *Ibid. lib. 3, 5, 10.*

reply that the custome of praying for the dead, was most auncient. We answere, The custome of remēbring the departed, naming their names at the holy table in the time of the holy mysteries and offering the Eucharist (that is the sacrifice of prayse) for them, was a most ancient & godly custome, neither is it any way disliked by vs. [b] And surely it appeares this was the cause that *Aërius* was condemned of heriticall rashnesse, in that hee durst condemne this laudable and auncient custome of the commemoration of the dead. [c] In this sort they did most religiously observe & keepe, at the Lords table, the commemoration of al the Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles, Euangelists, Martyrs, and Confessours, yea of *Marie* the mother of our Lord, to whom it cannot be cōceiued, that by prayer they did wish deliuerance out of Purgatorie, sith no man euer thought them to be there: but if they wished any thing, it was the deliuerance from the power of death, which as yet tyrannise thouer one part of them; the speedie destroying of the last enemy, which is death, the hastning of the resurrection, and ioyfull publique acquitall of them in that great day wherein they shall stand to be iudged before the iudge of the quicke and dead. This was the practise of the whole Church, and this the meaning of their commemorations and prayers, which was good and now to be disliked. Notwithstanding, it is most certaine that many particular men extended the meaning of these prayers farther, and out of their owne priuate errours and fancies vsed such prayers for the dead, as the *Romanists* themselues (I think) dare not iustifie: & so it is true, that *Caluin* saith, that many of the Fathers were led into error in this matter of prayer for the dead, and not that all, as if the whole Church had fallen from the truth, as *Bellarmine* falsely imputeth vnto *Caluin*, who saith no such thing.

First, therefore it was an opinion of many of the Fathers, that there is no iudgement to passe vpon men till the last day; that all men are hidden either in some place vnder the earth, or else in some other place appointed for that purpose, so that they come not into heauen, nor receiue the reward of their labours, till the generall iudgement. Out of this conceipt grew that prayer in [d] *Iames* his Liturgie, that God would remember all the faithfull that are fallen asleepe in the sleepe of death, since *Abel* the iust, till this present day, that he would place them in the land of the liuing, &c. And the like are found in the masse booke. [e] Of this opinion was *Iustin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Romanus*, *Lactantius*, *Victorius Martyr*, *Ambrose*, [f] *Iohannes Romanus Pontifex*, and sundry other.

The second opinion was, that men may be deliuered from the punishments of sinne after this life, if they die in the profession of the true faith, how wickedly soeuer they liued: or at least, if the punishments such be eternall and cannot be ended, yet it may be deferred, or mitigated

[b] *Epipha. hæres. 75*

[c] *Liturgia Chrysostomi.* Wee offer this reasonable seruice, that is the Eucharist of praise & thankesgiuing, to thee O Lord for all that are at rest in the faith of Christ, euen for the Patriarkes Prophets, &c.

[d] *Liturgia Iacobi*

[e] *Sixtus Senensis bibliothec. sanct. lib. 6. annot. 345.*

[f] *Gerson. serm. in festo paschæ. Hodie inquit Christus mecum eris in paradiso. Luc. 23. Propter quod insuper apparet falsitas doctrinæ Papæ Iohan. 22. quæ damnata fuit cum sono buccinarum vel tubarū coram Philippo auunculo suo per theologos Parisiēses de virgine beata, & credidit potius theologis Parisiensibus quam furiæ.*

How many of the Fathers were in this error, and made prayers for the dead vpon this false perswasion, that all Christians, how wickedly soeuer they liued, may find mercie at Gods hands in the world to come, at the entreatie of the liuing, they that haue read any thing can soone report.

Thirdly, whereas there are three estates of the soules of men, the first in the bodie; the second, when they are seuered from the bodie, and stand before God immediatly and instantly vpon the dissolution; and the third, after they haue receiued their particular iudgement; the [h] godly doe not only recommend them vnto God while they are yet in their bodies; but when departing thence, they goe to stand before the iudgement seate of God, they accompany them with their prayers and best good wishes, even to the presence of the Lord. Hence were all those prayers, that were vsed on the dayes of the obites of the Saints, conceiued respectiuely to their passage out of this world, and the daungers they doe by the goodnesse of God escape in that fearefull hower of their dissolution, which prayers were againe repeated in the anniuersarie remembrances of their obites. [i] Of this sort was that prayer in the Masse booke: *Libera domine animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de pœnis inferni, & de profundo lacu: libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum: &c. Deliuer, O Lord, the soules of all faithfull ones departed, from the paines of hell, and the deepe Lake; deliuer them from the mouth of the Lion, that hell swallow them not vp, and that they fall not in the dungeons of vtter darkenesse.* How hard this was, to vse these prayers in a set course, in the dayes wherein they did only commemorate, and represent the dayes of mens departures hence, and so to pray for them long after their death, as if they were but euen then in the passage, and in daunger of falling into the hands of their ghostly enemies, and not yet secure and assured of their eternall future state; ([k] which yet *Bellarmine* confesseth, is the best construction can be made of them) I leaue to the consideration of the wise. These are the seuerall kinds of praying for the dead, all which I hope *Bellarmine* dareth not iustifie: but for the *Romish* manner of praying for the dead, it hath no certaine testimony of Antiquitie, no man euer thinking of Purgatorie, till *Augustine*, to auoide a worse errour, did doubtingly runne into it; after whom many in the *Latine* Church imbraced the same opinion; but the *Greeke* Church neuer receiued it to this day. Thus then we see how vniustly *Caluin* is traduced by *Bellarmine*, in this matter of praying for the dead, and how weakely he proues, that it is confessed, that their opinion and the doctrine of Antiquitie is the same. His next challenge is scarce woorth the mentioning, much lesse the refuting. *Thirdly* saith, the Fathers were farre from the popish errour touching dites, and that yet they vsed the word, whence men haue since taken occasion

[1] Supra pag. 92.

[h] Preces pro commendatione animæ apud Cassandrū in lib. Precū Ecclesiast.

[i] Officium pro defunctis in Anniuersariis

[k] Bellar. lib. 2. cap. 5. de Purgatorio.

[l] Lib. 3. cap. 2.

occasion of errour. Therefore hee dissenteth from all Antiquitie, and acknowledgeth the *Romane* faith to bee the auncient faith and religion. Truely, I am wearie in following of him in these senselesse fooleries.

CHAP. 18.

Of the Fathers strictnes in admitting men into the ministerie: of single life, and of their seueritie in the discipline of repentance.

THat[a] which followeth is altogether of the same kind: *Caluin* saith, the Fathers were too seuere, in that they required more in them, that were to be ordained to serue in the holy ministerie of the Church, than the blessed Apostle Saint *Paule* doth require; Therefore saith *Bellarmine* hee dissenteth from all Antiquity, and confesseth the Romish doctrine and practise to be most ancient. This consequence is verie weake. For the Romanists retaine nothing of that ancient seueritie, but breake all the Canons of discipline that the Fathers obserued, by their ordinarie dispensatiõs, or rather dissipations of all order, and neglect of all rules of orderly gouernment. [b]For where is that Canon obserued, that no man attaine to the order and degree of a Presbiter, till he be thirtie yeares of age; that no man be ordained loosely or at randome, but to bee imployed in some certaine charge of ministery; that [d]one man haue not title, interest, and liuing in two Churches; whereas, in the Church of *Rome*, one man hath two hundred, or three hundred ecclesiasticall liuings; [e]that men ambitiously and couetously goe not from one Church, because it is meaner, to another because it is greater? *Caluin* therfore was not so ignorãt as to think the Romanists to be too seuere in the obseruation of discipline, and therin to be like the primitiue Fathers; he saith therefore the cleane contrarie to that which *Bellarmine* imputeth vnto him; that in the choise of such as were to be admitted into the holy Ministerie, the Fathers of the Primitiue Church followed the prescription of Saint *Paule*, & the examples of the blessed Apostles, that they proceeded therin with very great and religious reuerence, & inuocation of the name of God, that they had a set forme of triall and examination, according to which they made inquirie both into the life and doctrine of them that were to be chosen; but that contrariwise in the Church of *Rome* there haue beene verie few found to be chosen for the space of an hundred yeares last past, that the old Canons reiect not as wholly vnworthy of ecclesiastical honor & imploym3t, as drunkardes, Adulterers, Sodomites, and the like Monsters, to passe by lesse matters, as that boyes of tenne yeeres of age, by the Popes dispensation haue been admitted to Bishoprickes. The Church of *Rome* then, by her practise, condemneth the whole course of proceeding, in former times which

a *Ibid. lib. 4, 4, 10.*

b *Synodus. sex. can. 14. & Nœocesariensis can. 11.*

c *Synodus Chalcedonensis can. 6.*

d *Gerson. declarat. defectuum virorum Ecclesiasticorum.*

e *Synodus Sardicẽsis. can. 1, Gers. ibid.*

hich *Calvin* reuerenceth as moſt religious, and wiſheth that things were ought backe to that ancient order againe. Only he ſayth, that the Fa-ers of thoſe times may ſeeme a little to haue exceeded, in too much ſe-ritie, in that they required more things in them that were to bee elected, n the bleſſed Apoſtle Saint *Paul* doth. This cenſure neede not ſeeme ſtrange vnto vs, if we remember [f] that ſuch as had been baptized by retikes, or when they were in feare and danger of death, which were med *Clinici* in thoſe times, might not (vnleſſe their conuerſation, lear-ng and deſerts afterwards were very highly approoued) bee admitted to the miniſtery; [g] that he which had married a widow though he were w free, ſhe being dead, might not enter into the degree and order of iniſtery; that hee which had one wife, yea, though it were before hee came a Chriſtian, or were baptized, and after his being a Chriſtian, his firſt wife being dead, married another, was iudged vncapable of Miniſteriall order; againſt which *Ierome* declaimeth in his Epiſtle to *eanus: Behold*, ſayth hee, *Men ſuppoſe Adulteries, whoredomes, Inceſts, domitries, Paricides, impieties againſt God, and whatſoeuer things are ſo wic-, that they are not to be named, are waſhed away in Baptiſme, and that after theſe horrible crimes a man may be admitted to the Miniſtery, as being waſhed m them in the lauer of new birth: but if a man had a wife before, which was crime, and after his Baptiſme ſhee being dead, marrie another, hee may not.* us, ſayth he, *theſe hypocrites* (for ſo in the heate of his paſſion he calles m) *doe ſtraine at a gnat, and ſwallow a Camell.* For this, *Ruffinus* challen-h him, as a contemner of the conſtitutions and decrees of the Fathers, ugh he ſhewe that innumerable not onely Presbyters, but Biſhops, re in all the parts of the world admitted, contrary to the preſcript of ſe pretended Canons. That which *Caluine* addeth, that in proceſſe ime they forbade marriage, and forced all them that would enter into holy Miniſtery to liue ſingle, was neuer generall, nor in one ſort.

[h] In the Councell of *Nice*, *Paphnutius* diſſwaded the Biſhops from ting thoſe of the Clergie from the matrimoniall ſocietie of their wiues, rming that marriage is honourable among all men and the bedde vn-iled, and that the forcing of ſingle life would bring many euils into Church. This counſell and perſwaſion of *Paphnutius* was not onely lded vnto by the Fathers of that Councell, but [i] in the ſixt generall uncell, the Fathers there aſſembled condemned the practice of the mane Church in forbidding marriage, not onely as hard, iniuri-, and being an occaſion of many euils, but as contrary to the Canons e Apoſtles of Chriſt; from whence it is, that all the Churches of worlde (the Church of *Rome* onely excepted) admit married men, tinuing in the ſtate of marriage, into the holy miniſtery: as, the Chur-s of *Armenia, Gracia, Syria, Æthiopia, Ruſſia*, and whatſoeuer Chri-ns there are in any part of the world.

[f] *Concilium Neo-ceſarie Cano* 12. *Euſebius lib.6, cap.* 42. *Cornelius* ſpeaking of *Nouatus* his ordina-tion ſayth many withſtood the fact, affirming that none baptized in bed, as hee was, ſhould be admit-ted into Eccle-ſiaſticall order.

[g] *Concilium To-lenſe canon.* 5. *Leo in Epiſt. epiſ-copis per Campaniã & c. ne viduarum mariti.*

[h] *Socrates lib.1.c.8*

[i] *Can.* 13.

O 3 [k] How-

k How long it was before this decree of forced single life preuailed in the *Latine* Church, and what resistance there was made against Pope *Hildebrand* for the same, by the whole Clergie of Christendome, calling him heretike, monster, and enemy of mankind, author of all mischiefe, impurity, and confusion; the histories of those times report; affirming, that vpon the publishing of that his decree, there followed such disturbance of the peace of the Church, such confusions, indignities, contempts, and profanations of all holy things, as that the Church was neuer so grieuously and dangerously afflicted in any of her most bloody persecutions vnder the heathen Emperours, nor in her greatest conflicts with heretikes. What good successe this decree had after it preuailed, & what a pure & holy Clergie it represented to the world, let l *Gerson* reporte, who acknowledgeth that the places of holy Ministery were possessed by adulterers, wantons, Sodomites, and such like monsters: that the number of the offenders in this kinde was so great, as that there was no proceeding against them; that the canons against Concubinaries notoriously so knowne, requiring all men to refraine from communicating with them, could not now be continued; that it were best to permitte them to keepe harlots, for the auoiding of greater euills, and to tolerate their wickednesse in that kinde, as the stewes are permitted.

k *Sigebertus in Chronico 1074. Greg. Papa celebrat à Synodo vxoratos sacerdotes à diuino officio remouit, & Laicu missam eorum audire interdixit: ex quâ re tam grauis oritur scandalum, vt nullum hæresis tempore, Sancta ecclesia grauiori schismate scissa sit: pauci continentiam tenentibus, aliquibus eam causâ quæstus & vanitatis simulantibus, multis incontinentiâ periurio aut multiplici adulterio cumulantibus &c. Laici sacra mysteria temerant, baptisant infantes, sordido aurium humore pro sacro chrismate vtentes. Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, Fol. 201 sic Scribit: Hildebrandus Papa cum Episcopis Italiæ decreuerat, vt sacerdotes non haberent vxores, habentes aut dimittant, aut deponantur. Aduersus hoc decretum vehementer insremuit tota facies clericorum, hominem planè hæreticum & vesani dogmatis esse &c. Hildebrandus moriens confessus est Deo, Sancto Petro, & toti Ecclesiæ, se valdè peccasse in curâ pastorali, & suadente diabolo contra humanum genus odium & iram concitasse. Sige. in Chron. Anno 1088.*

l *Gers. de vitâ spirituali animæ lect. 4, Corroler. 14, & part. 4, de exterminatione schismatis.*

Thus then I hope it doth appeare to be true that *Caluin* saith, that they did ill deserue of the Church, that forced her Ministers to single life; m and that the speech of Pope *Pius* the second, was most true, that what reason soeuer they had that forbade marriage in former times, there were more reason in our times to leaue it free againe. Now n let vs proceed to consider his next exception against *Caluin*; in proposing whereof he reasoneth thus. *Caluin* thinketh that all the Fathers were of opinion, that after the remission of sinne men must suffer the punishment their sinnes deserue, to satisfie Gods Iustice; and that therefore they were so seuere in imposing penaunce on them that had offended: but this is the opinion of the Romanists, which *Caluin* so much disliketh; therefore he confesseth the doctrine of the Romanists to haue beene the doctrine of all the Fathers. The Maior or first proposition of this reason is a most vile calumniation: for *Caluin* denieth that the Fathers were of that opinion the Romanists are of, touching the punishments of sin after remission of them, as hath been sufficiently cleared already. Neither doth he dislike the Fathers seueritie vpon that ground; for then he should condemne their imposing of

m *Platina in vita Pij 2.*

n *Ibid. lib. 4. 12, &c.*

of penaunce, absolutely, as a thing wholly vnlawful; which he doth not, but most highly commendeth it, onely whereas the ende of these penitentiall corrections was, and is, to remoone and take away ill examples, to prouide that neither Gods name be blasphemed, nor others prouoked and incouraged to doe euill, by seeing them that offend to escape without condigne punishment, and that the sinner may bee brought to a right sense, knowledge, dislike, and forsaking of his sinne: when it appeareth that the sinner is truely penitent, and carefully indeuoureth to satisfie the Church which was scandalized by him, there must be great consideration had, least hee be swallowed vp of ouermuch heauinesse, and so fall into desperation. In this respect, *Caluine* thinketh those courses of auncient discipline, in putting men from the communion of the Church, for the space of three, foure, or seuen yeeres, and sometimes for the whole time of their life, to haue been very daungerous, vnlesse they were wisely moderated by the discretion of the Pastours, as he confesseth they were: without which moderation, who doth not see they were *carnificina conscientiarum*; a cruell, bloody, and mercilesse tormenting, and murthering of the soules of men? Now as the seueritie of the Primitiue Fathers was very great in the prescription of these Canons, yet mixed, tempered, and sweetned with good moderation in the execution of them, and therefore not to bee disliked; [o] so their extreame seueritie towards those that fell after penitencie, whom they ejected, and cast out of the Church, without hope of a second reconciliation, cannot wel be excused. This denying of reconciliation to such as fell after they had once before done open & publike penance, the [p] Papists restraine to solemne penitencie; which they distinguish from publike and open, as being imposed for sinnes of the highest nature; otherwise confessing, that the Fathers seuerity cannot be excused. But this distinction of publike and solemne penitencie, is a meere deuise of their owne, without any ground of authority or shewe of proofe. For, how doth *Bellarmine* proue the difference of these two kinds of penitencie? Surely he sayth, solemne penitencie is imposed onely for the most grieuous Crimes; publike, for those that are not so grieuous; but proueth it not. Further hee addeth, that solemne penitencie could not bee twise imposed, publike might, and they that had done it bee admitted into the Clergie; that solemne penitencie could not be imposed vpon maried folks without consent, nor vpon yong folks, publike might; that none but Bishops might reconcile those that were enioyned solēne penitencie, but those that had been enioyned publike penitēcie, others of a meaner cōditiō might absolue. [q] These fained distinctiōs

o *August. epist. ad Macedonium 54, Concil. Tolletan. 6, Can. 8.*

Erasmus in epitaphio Fabiole ait August. semel lapsō aperire Ecclesia fores, relapso claudere; nec tamen hunc claudere fores cali, cui claudit fores templi.

Ambros. de pœnitentiâ lib. 2, ca. 10 Si verè ageret pœnitentiam, iterandā posse à non putarēt: quia sicut vnum baptisma, ita vna pœnitentia; quæ tamen publicè agitur. nam quotidiani nos debet pœnitere delicti; sed hæc delictorum leuiorum, illa grauiorum.

p *Bellar. lib. 1 de pœnitentiâ cap. 21. Lindan. Panop. lib. 4 cap. 62. vbi re-*

chendit Rhenanum, qui dicit nonnullos veteres in hac fuisse opinione, & inter eos August. q *August. Seleucia epist. 109 distinguit tem pœnitentiā: quorum i. agitur ante baptismum: secundam agunt homines, si post baptismum ita peccauerint vt excommunicā rē pellā reconciliari mereantur; est etiam pœnitentia, bonorum & humilium pene quotidiana, in quā pectora tundimus, dicentes, dimitte &c. illa vtique quæ humanæ fragilitati quamuis parua tamen crebra subrepunt.*

of

of theirs betweene ſolemne and publike penitencie haue no teſtimonie of Antiquitie, but it is cleare and euident they were all one: and therefore ſeeing they miſlike the denying of reconciliation generally to ſuch as fell after publike penitencie, they cannot iuſtifie the Fathers who did ſo denie it.

CHAP. 19.

Of the Lent faſt, of Lay-mens Baptiſme, and of the ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

THe [a] next allegation is touching the Lent faſt: wherein, as in the former, *Caluin* is charged to condemne the iudgement and practice of al antiquitie. That the falſehood of this allegation may the better appeare, wee will lay downe what *Caluine* liketh or diſliketh in the matter of faſting in generall, and particularly in the ſette Faſt of fortie dayes, aunciently obſerued in the Church before the ioyfull ſolemnities of the reſurrection of Chriſt. Firſt therefore he acknowledgeth the vſe and neceſſitie of faſting, to be continued amongſt Chriſtians to the ende of the world, as well as formerly it was amongſt the Iewes. Secondly, he ſheweth that faſting is not a thing that God requireth in reſpect of it ſelfe, but reſpectiuely to certaine ends, and as ſeruing to expreſſe, and ſet forward the inward affections of the heart. Thirdly, he ſheweth what thoſe ends are; namely, to tame the fleſh, to giue a greater edge vnto our prayers, to teſtifie, expreſſe, and ſet forward what may bee our diſlike of ſinne, and of our ſelues for ſinne, to teſtifie our humiliation and dolour proceeding from the fearefull apprehenſion of Gods diſpleaſure, to make it appeare wee take no pleaſure in anie thing till God be reconciled to vs, to amerce and puniſh our ſelues for our manifold abuſes of Gods good creatures, and laſtly to ſhewe that in holy meditations and contemplations wee foretaſte the ſweeteneſſe of that heauenly *Manna*, which maketh vs for a time to forbeare to taſte of any ſweeteneſſe of corporall meates; thereby ſhewing the excellencie of that ſpirituall life, which we ſhall liue in heauen, without any of theſe outward nouriſhments, being filled with the happie fruition, viſion, and enioying of him that is the fountaine of life.

[a] *Ibid. Lib. 4. c. 12. §. 20.*

The faults, he findeth, are, when men ſeuer this outward exerciſe from the inward affection, when they thinke it a thing for it ſelfe reſpected, and commanded by almighty God, and a matter of rare and ſpeciall vertue, and merit in it owne nature. The Fathers, hee confeſſeth, did rightly and truely deliuer the nature of religious faſting; yet ſo, that, by their exceeding great admiration and commendation of it, they may ſeeme to haue giuen ſome occaſion of that eronious perſwaſion, that it is in it ſelfe highly pleaſing to God. This, ſayth *Caluine*, I doe the rather thinke, for that there was, & appeared ſuperſtitiō euen in their times, in the obſeruing of

of that principall fast of fortie dayes, in that both the common people thought the keeping thereof in it owne nature a thing highly pleasing God, (whereas no fast is accepted, but respectiuely to the ends aboue mentioned;) and the Fathers commended it vnder the name of an Imitation of Christ; [b] whereas it is plaine, that Christ did not fast principally for that ende, that wee should follow his example, but to beginne the new lawe, as *Moses* did the olde: and therefore to take it as imposed vpon vs, by Christs example, in the nature of a precept, and to bee done in imitation of Christ, and as being in it selfe a thing pleasing vnto GOD, for that it is an imitation of his Sonnes action, is κακοζηλία, as *Caluine* rightly noteth, and not voide of superstition, and errour.

b *Iansenius comment. in concordiã euangelicam cap. 1. in illa verba cùm ieiunasset quadragenta dies.*

Nowe that the Fathers either erred themselues in this sort, or sought to abuse others, neither *Caluine*, nor wee euer thought. For they neuer imagined, that the principall reason that mooued the authours and beginners of this fast to prescribe it, was the onely imitation of Christs fast, or because they thought it in it owne nature a thing respected by God, meerely as an imitation of his Sonnes action; but that, whereas it is very fit, there bee a solemne time at least once in the yeare, wherein men may call themselues to an account for all their negligences, repent them of all their euill doings, and with prayers, fastings, and mournings turne vnto the Lord; this [c] time was chosen as fittest, both becaus that herein wee remember the sufferings of Christ for our sinnes, which is the strongest and most preuailing motiue that may be to make vs hate sinne, and with teares of repentant sorrowe bewayle it (which could no other way bee taken away but by the bloodshed of the Sonne of God) as also for that after this meditation of the sufferings of Christ, and conforming our selues to them, his ioyfull resurrection for our iustification, doeth immediately present it selfe vnto vs, in the dayes following; in the solemnities whereof, men were wont with great deuotion to approach to the Lords table, and they which were not yet baptized, were by baptisme admitted into the Church. Thus then it was not without great consideration, that men made choice of this time, wherein to recount all their negligences, sinnes, and transgressions, and to prepare themselues by this solemne acte of fasting, both for the better performance of their owne dueties in those ensuing dayes of ioyfull solemnitie, as also to obtaine at Gods hands, the gracious acceptance of such as they offered vnto him to bee entred into his couenant. For [d] the maner was in the Primitiue Church, neuer to present any vnto Baptisme, vnlesse it were in case of necessitie and danger, but onely in the Feasts of Easter, and Pentecost. Thus

c *Bellar. lib. 2. cap. 16. de bonis operibus in particulari. ostendit istas fuisse rationes instituendæ quadragesimæ.*

d *Synod. Antisiodorensis Can. 18. Leo epist. 4. ad vniuersos episcopos per Siciliam constitutos prohibet baptizare nisi tantùm in festo Paschatis & Pentecostes, nec permittit in festo Epiphaniæ, licèt eo die Christus putetur baptizatus à Iohanne. Rhena. in lib. de coronatione per tempora Caroli Magni & Ludouici Augusti nominem, excepto mortis articulo, præterquam in Pascha & Pentecoste, vindicant leges ab illis sancitæ prohibentes alijs temporibus baptismum celebrari.*

then these being the reasons mouing to institute a set and solemne fast, and to appoint it at this time and season of the yeare, rather than any other; for the limitation of the number of dayes, men had an eye, as to a conuenient direction, to Christs fast of fortie dayes in [e] the dedication of the newe couenant, which number also *Moses*, as being the giuer, and *Elias*, as being the restorer of the olde lawe, kept and obserued before him: not as if they had beene precisely and absolutely tyed by force of these examples; for then they would precisely haue kept that number, which yet they did not: for the Saturdaies and Sondayes deducted, which [f] were not auinciently fasted, neither in the *Greeke* Church, nor in some of the *Latine* Churches, there remaine not fortie daies; and if only the Sondaies be deducted, as in the *Latine* Church, there will want of the number: for those in *capite Ieiunij*, which being added to the rest, make vp the number of 40. were not obserued from the beginning, [g] but added afterwards.

e Mat. 4, 2. Exod 34, 28 Kings. 1. 9. 8

Our Diuines therefore do teach, that fasting is commanded by Almightie God, not as a thing in it selfe regarded, but respectiuely to those ends before mentioned; that God hath set no certaine times of fasting, but that the Church may appoint vpon set and ordinarie, or speciall and extraordinarie occasions and causes, times of fasting, and that men are bound to obey.

The fast of Lent they doe not dislike, but thinke it may be kept as a conuenient tradition of antiquitie, (dispensable by authoritie of the Church, vpon due considerations of times and persons,) so that no false nor superstitious opinions be added; but the practise of the *Romanists* they condemne: for that whereas they pretend to follow the auncient custome of fasting, and to be tyed vnto it, they retaine no [h] shewe of the auncient fast, but make a meere mock of God and man, as their owne best friends are forced to confesse, besides their erronious opinions of merit and satisfaction, and grosse superstition in the difference of meates. Thus then we did not put downe the true and right vse and exercise of fasting, but the mockery of it, & do wish that in the full establishmēt of the Churches, the auncient discipline of fasting, due consideration had of times and conditions of men, may be restored againe. If any of our Diuines seeme to dislike that there should be any set fastes, as being Iewish, it is not the generall resolution of the reformed Churches, but the priuate opinion only of some particular men, who were carried with the hate of the *Romish* errors and superstition in the set fasts, to dislike them wholly; which aduisedly I see not how they could doe, and I am well assured many of very great esteeme, do allow and approue the vse of them.

f *Ambrosius in li. de Eliá & ieiunio. cap. 10. Quadragesimá, totis, prater Sabbatum & dominicum, ieiunatur diebus.*

g *Hanc additionem esse valdè antiquã in Latiná ecclesiá, patet ex Alcuino, inquit Bellar. lib. 2, cap. 15, de bonis operibus in particulari. Greg. homil. 16. dicit ieiunium quadragesimae constare 36. diebus: tametsi enim non ignoraret addi solere 4. dies ad numerum 40. perficiendum, tamen sciebat etiam quadragesimam propriè dictam non vltra 36 dies extendi. Bellar. lib. 2. cap. 16. de bonis operibus in particulari.*

h *Ieiunia nostra quae & vini copiá natant, & piscium varietate carnis superant delicias, adeóq; etiam Deo ludere videntur, dum pro intercepto, quae ex ouis oritur [illegible], [illegible] vini [illegible], omnisq; generis aromatum ignes inferunt stomacho, veteribus Christianis omnibus fuisse non modò incognita, sed & intolerabilia, adeóq; abominanda constat; vmbra tantùm veri ieiunij cernitur in catholicá Ecclesiá; ieiunatur, quod antè non nisi ad horam tertiam pomeridianam solebatur, ante meridiem [illegible]; atque in eam rem non modò mysteria, sed vespere suum [illegible] tempus anticipantur. Lindan. Panopl. lib. 3. cap. 11.*

The nexte obiection is moſt friuolous. *Caluin* ſayth, Lay men long ſince preſumed in times of neceſsitie to baptize; wherein, whether they did well or not, the Fathers in thoſe times, wherein they were ſuffered thus to doe, coulde not, nor did not reſolue: what can be inferred of this? Whether they did well or not, *Caluin* ſayth, the Fathers were not reſolute, and hee thinketh their doing can hardly be excuſed from vſurpation of that which no way pertained to them; therefore, ſaith *Bellarmine*, he diſſenteth from all antiquitie, and confeſſeth the doctrine of the *Romiſh* Church to be moſt auncient. Let *Bellarmine* giue vs leaue to reaſon from his ſpeeches in the ſame ſort, & he wil ſoon perceiue he hath wronged *Caluin*. *i Ibid. Li.4,15.12.*

k Bellarmine ſayth, the Fathers were doubtfull, whether, if men not yet baptized, ſhould attempt to baptize, it were baptiſme or not; he pronounceth peremptorily it is; therefore hee diſſenteth from all antiquitie. As likewiſe they [l] doubted, whether Baptiſme adminiſtred ſportingly, were true Baptiſme or not: hee and his conſorts make no queſtion of it; therefore they diſſent from all antiquitie. *k Lib.1, de ſacramento baptiſmi c.7*

l Aug. lib.7, de bapt. cap.53. non audet definire, ſed ait expectandam Dei reuelationem: as Bellar. de ſacramentis in genere, lib.1. cap.28. ait definitum in conciliis, ſcilicet Florentino & Tridentino.

But [m] let vs proceede to the next allegation. *Caluin* ſayth, it is moſt certaine, that all antiquitie is cleerely againſt the *Romiſh* doctrine of the reall ſacrificing of Chriſt in the bleſſed Sacrament, and that the Fathers did moſt rightly conceaue of this ſacred myſtery, without derogating any way from the ſufficiencie and plenitude of Chriſts ſacrifice. A man woulde hardely thinke any man woulde alleadge this place, to prooue that *Caluin* confeſſeth the doctrine of the Fathers, and the opinion of the *Romaniſts* are all one: and yet this doth the Ieſuite; ſo forcible and powerfull hee is in reaſoning, that what a man moſt conſtantly denieth, hee can proue he affirmeth. But hee will ſay, that *Caluin* in the ſame place dooth excepte againſt the Fathers. Surely hee ſayth, hee thinketh they cannot be altogether excuſed, in that they ſo much vrged the myſticall ſacrificing of Chriſts bodie in the Sacrament, and thereby made it carry a kinde of ſhew of a new, and newely repeated ſacrifice; for that by miſconſtruction of that they meant well, others turned the Sacrament into a newe offering of the Sonne of God for the quicke and deade. The reaſon doubtleſſe, that mooued the Fathers ſo much to vrge that myſticall ſacrificing of CHRIST in the bleſſed Sacrament, was, for that they liued in the middeſt of *Iewes* and *Gentiles*; both whoſe religiō cōſiſted principally in ſacrifice: the Fathers therefore to ſhew that Chriſtian Religion is not without ſacrifice, and that of a more excellent nature than theirs were, did much vrge that Chriſt once offered for the ſinnes of the World vpon the aultar of his Croſſe, is dayly in myſterie offered, ſlaine, and his blood powred out, on the holy Table; and that this ſacrifice of Chriſt, ſlaine for the ſinnes of the World, thus continually repreſented, and liuing in our memories, is the ſacrifice of Chriſtians. If any man ſhall alleadge, that theſe were reaſons ſufficient to *m Ibid. Li.4,18,24.*

moue the Fathers to speake as they did, notwithstanding any occasions of errour that might by ignorant men be taken, *Caluine* doth not pertinatiously resist, for hee sayd onely what he thought, not peremptorily iudging, or condemning those, whome so iust and good causes haue made honourable in the Church for euer.

CHAP. 20.

Of the inuocation and adoration of Saints; touching which the Century-writers *are wrongfully charged to dissent from the Fathers.*

THus then I hope it appeareth, That *Caluine* doeth not confesse that the doctrine of the Romanists hath any testimony, or approbation of antiquitie. [a] *Bellarmine* therefore passeth from him, to the writers of the *Centuries*, in whom hee hopeth to finde something for his purpose; but they stead him as little as *Caluine* did. Let vs therfore take a viewe of that he sayth. Touching free-will, iustification, merits and the like, there is nothing in them, but that which hath been sufficiently, I hope, cleared in *Caluine*; the things they say, being the same. [b] Onely two things I finde imputed to them by *Bellarmine*, and not to *Caluine*: For first, they are supposed to acknowledge the Popish inuocation of Saints, to haue been in the time of the Fathers, and allowed, by them. [c] Secondly, they are charged to blame the Fathers, for magnifying too much the excellencie of Martyrdome, the prayses whereof *Bellarmine* sayth they dislike, because they will not admit that Martyrdome is a kinde of Baptisme, seruing for the expiation, and washing away of sinne.

[a] *Ibid.*

[b] *Centur. 3, cap. 4 col. 83.*

[c] *Centur. 3, 4; col. 85.*

Touching the inuocation of Saints, it is euident it was not knowen in the first ages of the Church, nor approoued by the Primitiue Fathers: but because it hath mightily preuayled in these later times, and the superstition and Idolatry therein committed, hath been such as cannot be excused; therefore for the better answering of *Bellarmines* cauils, and the satisfying of our selues and others, let vs consider from what grounds, and by what degrees it entred into the Church.

First, there was in the Church from the beginning, a true and certaine resolution, that the Saints departed doe in generall tender, respect, and wish well vnto their brethren, and fellowe seruaunts, whom they haue left behinde them, in the warfare of Christ in this worlde. Secondly, men grew afterwards to thinke, that men departing out of this worlde, carry with them the remembrance of the state of things, wherein, departing hence, they leaue them; and that out of their loue which neuer falleth away, they doe most carefully recommend vnto God the particular necessities of their brethren made knowen

vnto

vnto them while they liued there. [d] Thirdly, from hence it came, that men entreated their friends yet liuing, that if they preuented them, and came before them into Christ their maisters ioyfull and happie presence, being freed from the daungers, miseries, and euils of this present life, they would not forget to recommend them vnto God, that are in them still. Fourthly, wheras by an auncient custome, they did remember the names of the departed, at the Lords table, giuing thankes vnto God that had made them so glorious in their life and death through his goodnesse, and praying him by their examples to frame them to the like, and besides kept the anniuersarie remembrances of the dayes of their death, as if they had beene their birth-dayes, with all tokens of ioy: in the orations they [e] made to set forth the goodnesse of God towards them, and to propose their examples for imitation, they did some times by way of *Apostrophe* speake vnto them, as if they had beene present, and had sense and apprehension of that they spake (wherof yet they were doubtfull, as appeareth by [f] *Gregorie Nazianzen*, [g] *Hierome*, and others; and not contented thus to commune with them, they entreated them, if they had any sense or knowledge of things in this world, to bee remembrancers for them, and the Church here below. This was a kinde of doubtfull compellation and soliciting of them, If their state were such, as that they could take notice of these things, that they would not forget to procure the good of their brethren; but was no inuocation, which is a retyring of our selues in all our needes, necessities, and distresses, with assured hope of helpe, to him that wee knowe can stede vs in what distresse soeuer wee be.

Thus then, though the Fathers did sometimes, when they had particular occasions to remember the Saints, and to speake of them, by way of *Apostrophe* turne themselues vnto them, and vse wordes of doubtfull compellation, praying them, if they haue any sense of these inferior things to bee remembrancers to God for them, yet shall our aduersaries neuer proue, that they did prostrate their bodies, bow their knees, or make prayers to them, in a set course of deuotion, but this both adoration & inuocation of Saints and Angels, was directly condemned by them. We honor the Saints, saith [h] *Ierome*, but do not worship or adore any creature, neither Angels, Archangels, nor any name that is named in this world, or that which is to come. [i] The Councell of *Laodicea*, reported by *Theodoret*, directly condemneth this kind of adoration and inuocation,

d *Si quis istuc nostrum prior diuinæ dignationis celeritate præcesserit, persequeretur apud Dominũ nostra dilectio pro fratribus & sororibus nostris, apud misericordiam patris non cesset oratio.* Cyp: epistola 57.

e *Nos autem Martyribus nostris non templa sicut dijs & erigimus nec sacrificamus Martyribus, sed vni Deo & Martyrum & nostro sacrificiũ immolamus; ad quod sacrificium, sicut homines Dei qui in mundum in cõfessione eius vicerũt suo loco & ordine nominantur: non tamen à sacerdote qui sacrificat inuocantur.* Augustin: de ciuitate Dei li. 22. cap. 10. *Sacrificia pro eis semper vt meminimus offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones & dies anniuersarius commemorationi celebramus.* Cyp. Epist. 34.

f *Oratione in laudẽ Gorgoniæ; Si hoc præmium sanctis animabus à Deo cõferetur, vt ista persentiscant &c: & in Iulianum alloquitur pias animas Imperatorum, dicens, si quid mortuis sensus, &c.*

g *In Epitaphio Nepotiani: stupet animus, maxus tremet, caligant oculi, balbutit lingua, quicquid dixere; quia ille non audit, mutum videtur.*

h *Aduersus Vigilantiũ ad Riparium*

Presbyterum no. i *Theodoret: in Epist: ad Coloss: qui legem defendebant eos etiam ad angelos colendos inducebant, dicentes; fuisse legem per illos datam. Manfit autem diu hoc vitium in Phrygia & Pysidia; quocirca Synodus quoque quæ conuenit Laodicea, quæ est Phrygiæ metropolis, lege prohibuit ne precarentur Angelos: & in hodiernum vsque diem licet videre apud illos & eorum finitimos oratoria sancti Michaelis. Illi ergo hoc consulebant, vtig humilitate vtentes dicentes, vniuersorum Deum nec cerni, nec comprehendi, nec ad eum peruenire posse, & oportere per angelos diuinam conciliare benevolentiam: hoc autem dixit in humilitate & cultu Angelorum.* k *Epiphanius contra Collyridianos hæres. 79. omnem adorationem creaturarum damnat.*

not of Saints only, but of Angels also.

The popish distinction of *Latria* and *Dulia*, doth not answere these authorities and testimonies of Antiquitie: for those erring miscreants mentioned by *Paule*, the Councell of *Laodicea*, *Theodoret*, *Epiphanius*, and others, did not thinke the Angels to be God, or equall to the most high, neither did they worshippe them in such sort, as to ascribe infinite greatnesse vnto them, which the Papists meane by their *Latria*: but they gaue spirituall worshippe and adoration vnto them, in an inferiour and lower degree, such as the Papists call *Dulia*: because they thought them to mediate betweene God and mortall men in verie high and excellent sort. Either then the Fathers condemned these without cause for worshipping creatures, or they meant to restraine more than that adoration, which ascribeth infinite greatnesse to him that is adored; which vndoubtedly they did, euen the least and lowest degree of spirituall worshippe, or worship in spirite and truth. This most cleerely appeareth to be so, by that of the seuenth [l] generall Councell, which though it did not only confirme the placing of pictures in the Church, but prescribed that they should be worshipped, yet the Fathers of that Councel expounded themselues, that they meant nothing else thereby, but a reuerent vsage of them, approching to them, embracing and kissing of them, in such sort as men vse to doe to the bookes of holy scriptures, and all sacred vessels, and things consecrated to the vse of Gods seruice; but permitte not any the least part of spirituall worship, or worshippe in spirit and truth the scripture speaketh of, to be giuen vnto them; for if it be, they iudge it Idolatrie. But the *Romanists* at this day giue spiritual worship to creatures, and thinke they sinne not, if it be not in so high a degree, as to ascribe vnto them infinite greatnesse.

l Concilium Nicenum 2.

[m] Adoration implyeth in it three actes. First, an apprehension of the excellencie of that which is adored. Secondly, an acte of the will, desiring to doe some thing to testifie our acknowledgement of this greatnes, and our subiection and inferioritie. Thirdly, an outward acte expressing the same. We say therefore that Adoration proceeding out of the apprehension of the excellencie of that is worshipped, and the desire to testifie our acknowledgement of it, is of two sorts or kinds: for either it is limited to certaine times, places and things, when, where, and wherein, the excellencie of that we worship, presents it selfe vnto vs, and requireth our acknowledgement of it; as is the worshippe of Kings, Princes, Prelates and Prophets in their kingdomes, Courts, Churches, and Schooles, ruling, guiding, teaching, and instructing: or else it is spirituall, which in all

m Dicunt Waldenses & Hæretici, venerari, est animo reputare magna bona quæ quis videt aut existimat esse in alio, parum pendendo in comparatione eorum bona quæ considerat in seipso: honorare est reuerentiam existentem in sui animâ, opere externis indicare; hinc est, quòd honor dicitur exhibitio reuerentiæ in testimonium virtutum eius qui reuerentur; laudare est honorare. cum pro bonis quæ in ipso sunt alijs commendare; glorificare autem, est laudes honorati largè latèq; præconizare; propter quod dicitur esse gloria frequens fama cum laude; adoratio est, in id, quod reuerendum laudandum honorandum glorificandum est propter eminentiam seu dignitatem & virtutem, totam spem ac fiduciam subijciendo illi projicere, propter quod adoratio dicitur cultus propter diligentem intentionem erga id quod adoratur: illud enim colit dicitur, cum quis studiosè intendit operam suam illi exhibendo. Waldensis tom 3. titulo 12. de sacramentalibus, cap. 128.

all places, at all times, and in all things causeth him that worshippeth to bow himselfe before that hee worshippeth, and thereby to testifie his acknowledgement of the excellency of it, which hee findeth in euerie time, place, and thing to present it selfe vnto him. This kinde of Adoration, subiecteth not only the bodie, but the spirit and minde also, to him whose greatnesse it thus acknowledgeth. This worshippe, wee say, is proper to God: for he only at all times, and in all places and things, seeth, behouldeth, guideth, and taketh care of vs, and ruling, disposing, and commanding vs, inwardly and outwardly, worketh our good.

But the *Romanists* say, the Saints doe so likewise, though not in so excellent sort as God doth: for they suppose, that they knowe all things that concerne vs, that they watch ouer vs with a carefull and vigilant eye, that they carry vs in their hands, and by their mediation procure our good frō God, the fountaine of all good; and therefore they worshippe them with spirituall worship. The miracles that God wrought in times past by them made many to attribute more to them, than was fitte, as if they had a generalitie of presence, knowledge, and working: but the wisest, and best aduised neuer durst attribute any such thing vnto them.

n Whether, saith *Augustine*, the Saints be present euerie where, or at least wheresoeuer their memorials are kept, or, whether they remaine in one place only, and praying onely in generall for the Militant Church, God do worke by himselfe, or his Angels, that which is fit for the confirmation of the faith they professed, and the good of such as remember them, I dare not pronounce. And who knoweth not, that hee inclineth to that opinion, that they doe not particularly see, know, & intermeddle with humane things, and confirmeth this his iudgement with sundrie excellent reasons and authorities? This opinion did the o *Author of the glosse* follow, and p *Hugo de sancto victore*, and the Church of God neuer defined otherwise: howsoeuer *Ierome* in his passion against *Vigilantius* seeme to say the contrarie, & q *Gregorie* endeuour to confirme it, saying hee that seeth God, who seeth all things, cannot but see all things in him. But r *Occam*, and sundrie other excellent Schoolemen, reiect this saying of *Gregorie*; & s *Gregorius Ariminensis* resolueth peremptorily, that neither Saints, nor Angels know the secrets of our hearts, but that this is reserued as peculiar to God alone.

If then the Saints (for ought we know) do not see, know, and intermeddle with our particular affaires, but pray only in generall, there remaineth nothing else safely to bee donne by vs, but to seeke vnto GOD; and then all these both Saints and Angels shall loue vs in him, and what in them lieth procure our good. t *Beholde*, saith

n *August. de cura pro mortuis.*

o *Interlinearis glossa in Esaie 63*

p *Hugo de sancto victore erudit. Theolog. de sacramentis fidei lib. 2. part. 16 cap. 11. quærunt nonnulli de animabus carne solutis, vtrùm cognitionem habeāt eorum quæ in hac vitâ geruntur, & an preces supplicātium audiant; difficile est de huiusmodi dijudicare: quidā ex patribus quædā dixerunt, quasi nihil sit quod non videant, qui vident omnia videntem; sed ego non præsumo ita iudicare &c.*

q *Greg. dial. 4. cap. 33.*

r *Occam tract. 1, part. 2, cap. 3. vbi confutat Iohannem 22. hæresem esse pronunciat dicere videntes Deum nulla ignorare &c. Magister lib. 2. distinct. 11. accipiendū dicit dictum Greg. de his quorum cognitio beatum facit cognitorem, vt sunt ea quæ pertinent ad mysteria trinitatis &c. sed hæc explicatio verbis Greg. non sequenti mora. 12. cap. 13. nullo modo credendum est quia foris sit aliquid quod ignorem.*

... 2. Paral. p. ex dicto Salomonis, Tu solus nosti corda filiorū hominum. & ex libro de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus, secreta cordis ille solus nouit, et probat nullam creaturam cognoscere cogitationes cordium nostrorum.

s *Greg. Arimi. li 2 distinct. 9. 10. q 1.*

t *August. de vera religione cap. 55.*

Augustine,

Augustine, I worship one God, one beginning of all things, that fountaine of wisedome and happinesse whence all things that are wise and happie haue their wisedome and happinesse; whichsoeuer of the Angels loueth this God, I am sure hee loueth mee; whosoeuer abideth in him, and can heare the prayers, and take notice of the wants of mortall men, I am well assured, hee doth heare me, when I pray to God, and endeuoureth to giue mee the best furtherance hee can. Let therefore those *Adoratores partium mundi*, worshippers of parts and portions of the world, tell me, what good Saint or Angell hee doth not assure vnto himselfe, which worshippeth that one God, whom euerie one that is good doth loue and desire to please. Hence it came, that though some particular men did aunciently, at sometimes, when they had occasion to speake of them, doubtfully solicite the Saintes, and desire them, if they had any apprehension of these inferiour things, to be remembrancers for them vnto God; yet no man prayed vnto them with bowed knees, in set courses of deuotion and prayer. Neither was there any forme of inuocation of Saints brought into the seruice of the Church for a long time, as appeareth by that of [a] *Augustine*, who saith, *they are are named by the Minister in the time of the holy mysteries, but not inuocated.*

[a] De ciuitate dei li. 22. cap. 10.

For how could there bee any inuocation of them generally receiued and allowed, or constantly resolued on and vsed, in the set courses of the prayers of those primitiue Christians; when they knew not, nor were not certainely resolued, whether the Saints do know, or intermeddle with the particular affaires of men in this world: seeing the Romanists themselues confesse, it were not fitte nor safe to pray to Saints, if they did not heare vs? Now it is no way likely, that any generall opinion was holden in those times, of the vniuersall presence, knowledge, and habilitie of Saints to steade them that seeke vnto them, seeing it was a long time doubtful in the Church, whether the faithful, departing out of this world, bee immediately receiued into heauen, and enioy the happie presence of God, or whether they remaine, or stay in *Abrahams* bosome, or some place of rest, till the day of the resurrection. Yea it is knowen to all that haue perused the monumẽts of Antiquitie, that [x] *Irenæus, Iustin Martyr, Tertullian*, and sundrie others were of opinion, that none of the iust are in Heauen till the ende and consummation of all things, but that they are below in some part of hell, or in some hidden and inuisible place, sequestred from the presence of God, till the second cõming of the sonne of man. Now seeing the inuocation of Saints presupposeth that they pray for vs in particular, and particular prayer for vs knowledge of our wants, which the presence and sight of God is supposed to affoord them; if they doe not yet enioy the presence of God, as many of the aunci-ent (though falsely) did thinke, we see not how in their iudgement there should be any safe and fruitfull inuocating of them. [y] For the absence

[x] See cap. 9.

[y] Bellar. li. 1. de sanctorum beatitudine cap. 20.

from

from God, and the not enioying of his sight and presence, is the reason alleadged by our aduersaries, why the Fathers in the time before Christ, neither prayed in particular for the Church on earth, nor were prayed vnto, as being in *Lymbus*, and not in heauen.

Howsoeuer, it is most certaine, if wee looke into the auncient practise of the Church, that the Saints in their anniuersarie solemnities and holy dayes, were not prayed vnto, but remembred only, proposed for imitation, and rather prayed for, then prayed vnto, as it appeareth by that [a] *Innocentius* reporteth, that in the feast of blessed *Leo*, the auncient custome was, to pray that the solemnitie of that day, and the oblations then offered might be auaileable to his soule, for the encrease and consummation of his glorie; which since hath beene altered, and the prayer is now, that by his mediation this festiuall solemnitie may auaile, and be to the good of them that obserue and keepe it. So that it cannot be shewed by our aduersaries, [b] that, before the auncient Liturgies were abandoned, and those brought in by *Gregorie* had gotten into their place, there was any inuocation of the Saints found in the publike prayers of the Church; but when their names were remembred, men prayed only to God, that hee would giue them grace to follow their examples, and make them partakers of that happinesse, which those blessed ones alreadie enioy. And at that time, when this alteration beganne, the inuocation was not brought into the Liturgie & publike prayers of the Church, in direct forme, but men prayed still vnto God only, though desiring him the rather to respect them, for that not only their brethren on earth, but they also that are in heauen, cease not (prostrate before his sacred Maiestie) to pray for them. Neither is there any other forme of prayer found in the Missall, [c] but in the sequences and Litanies onely.

[a] *Biel lect. 85. in canonem missæ.*

[b] See how the auncient missals were abandoned, *in præfat. Cassandri in librum Romani ordinis à se edit. & in vitâ Greg. 1 apud Voraginensem.*

[c] *Abbas Nocherius de sancto Gallo sequentias pro pneumis composuisse dicitur, quas Nicholaus Papa ad missã cantari concessit. Hugo de sancto Victore erudit. theol. de officijs ecclesiast. lib. 2. ca. 11. Durãd. rational. diuinorum offic. lib. 4. ait Nocherium sequentias pro pneumis alleluia composuisse, sed alios post plerasq; addidisse.*

Wherefore to conclude this matter concerning the inuocation and adoration of Saints and Angels, seeing the Fathers did not in their sette courses of deuotion make prayers to the Saints; but, when they had particular occasions to speake or thinke of them, vsed doubtfull compellations, desiring them, if they had sense of these things, to be remembrancers for them vnto God; seeing for ought wee know, the Saints are not particularly acquainted with the state of things here belowe; seeing no degree of spirituall worship is to bee giuen to any creature; we inuocate them not, but pray vnto God only, assluring our selues, that if they can heare vs, or any way further our suites, they will do it, when we pray vnto God, as *Augustine* rightly obserueth.

[d] We adore thē not, but rest in the iudgement of the same *Augustine*, that the Saints are to be honored for imitation, but not to be adored for religion; that they do not seeke, desire, or accept any such honour, but will haue vs to worshippe God only, being glad, that wee are their fellow seruants

[d] *Aug. de verâ religione 55.*

in well doing. The *Romanists* euasion, that God is only to be adored with that highest kinde of religious worshippe which is named *Latria*, which yeeldeth to him that is worshipped infinite greatnesse; but that the Saints may be adored with an inferior kinde of religious worshippe named *Doulia*, is directly contrarie to [e] *Augustine*, who speaking of Saints and Angels, saith, *Honoramus eos charitate, non seruitute: We honor them with the honor of loue, but not of Doulia*, or seruice. If they say, they haue this distinction from *Augustine*, it is true: but hee doth not vse it, to this purpose, to make a difference of two sortes of religious or spirituall worshippe, the highest degree whereof should be *Latria*, the lowest *Doulia*; neither doth hee any where call the honour giuen to Saints *Doulia*, but nameth it the honor of loue and fellowshippe; but hee vseth it to distinguish religious worshippe (euerie degree wherof he calleth *Latria*) from that externall and ciuill worship, dutie, and seruice, that men yeeld to their Princes, Maisters, and Rulers, which is fitly named *Doulia*, a seruice; but it is [f] *seruitus corporis, non animæ*, a seruice of the body, and not of the minde. For men, notwithstanding this seruitude, haue their mindes and their thoughts free, as being knowen to none, nor ouer-ruled by none but God only. But the seruice of the spirit and minde, in the lowest degree that can be imagined, is due vnto God only, & not to be giuen to any creature; for no creature knoweth the secrets of our harts; no creature can prescribe lawes touching the inward actions & thoughts of the minde, not hauing knowledge of them, nor power to punish them that should offend.

[e] *De vera religione, cap. 55.*

[f] *De vera religione 55.*

It is therefore an impious conceipt of the *Papists*, that the Saints both can and do know all our inward actions and secret thoughts, approuing or reprouing, excusing or accusing them; and that as presidents of our whole life & conuersation; and that therfore they are to be honored & worshipped, with spirituall seruice, or seruice of the spirit & minde. Thus then it is is true the *Centurie writers* reporte, that in the third and fourth age after Christ, there were some beginnings of that superstition, which afterwards grew to be intolerable in the adoration and inuocation of Saints and Angels; but neither they, nor we are so ignorant, as to thinke, that the inuocation of Saints, or the adoration of them preuailed in the Church within the compasse of the first sixe hundred yeares; neither do they (as *Bellarmine* is pleased to slaunder them) taxe that, as idolatry in the *Romane* Church, which they find to haue been the practise of all the Fathers; for they finde nothing of the *Romish* Idolatry in those glorious lights of the Christian world,

CHAP.

CHAP. 21.

Of Martyrdome, and the exceſſiue prayſes thereof found in the Fathers.

THe next allegation, againſt them, is touching Martyrdome; which, *Bellarmine* ſaith, they ſuppoſe the Fathers did too immoderately and exceſſiuely magnifie and extoll. The reaſon of this their cenſure, he thinketh, is, becauſe they will not admitte it to be a kinde of Baptiſme, and to waſh away ſinne, as both the *Romaniſts* and the Fathers teach. For the better cleering of this point, and the aunſwering of this obiection, wee muſt remember, that whereas the ordinarie and ſet meanes of ſaluation is Baptiſme, ſo that no man careleſſely neglecting, or wilfully contemning it, can be ſaued; The Fathers notwithſtanding doe conſtantly teach, that if men bee excluded by ineuitable impoſsibilitie, they may be ſaued without it; and that faith and the inward conuerſion of the heart, flying vnto GOD in Chriſt, through the gratious inſtinct and ſweete motion of the ſanctifying ſpirit, may be reckoned a kinde of Baptiſme: becauſe thereby they obtaine all that which ſhould haue beene ſought in the Baptiſme of water: and becauſe if an ordinarie degree of faith doe ſometime obtaine ſaluation without the Baptiſme of Water, much more that which maketh men willing to ſuffer death for CHRIST; therefore they affirme, that Martyrdome, and the conſtant ſuffering for Chriſt, is alſo fitly named Baptiſme.

So that there are three kinds of Baptiſme: *Flaminis, Fluminis, Sanguinis*; of water, of the ſpirit, and blood.

It appeareth by [a] *Barnards* Epiſtle to *Hugo de ſancto victore*, of this Argument, that there were ſome in his time, who, though they thought that Martyrdome doth ſupply the defecte of Baptiſme, yet would not grant, that faith, and the inwarde conuerſion of the heart, without ſuch ſuffering, doth ſo; and therefore though they confeſſed that Martyrs, not baptiſed with the Baptiſme of water, may bee ſaued, yet they denied, that others, though repenting, beleeuing, and conuerting vnto God, can poſsiblie obtaine remiſsion of their ſinnes without the ſacramentall waſhing. Againſt theſe, *Barnarde* reaſoneth in this ſort. *If Martyrdome doe ſupply the defect of Baptiſme, it is not* pœna, *but* fides; *not the ſuffering, but the faith of the ſufferer that makes it bee of ſo great force. Nam abſque fide, quid eſt Martyrium, niſi pœna? For were it not for faith, what were the paſſions of Martyrs, but bitter and vncomfortable torments onely? Shall then that which maketh Martyrdome bee eſteemed in ſteade of Baptiſme, be ſo infirme and weake, that what it giues to another thing, it ſhall bee denied to haue it ſelfe?*

[a] *Epiſt. 77.*

the sheading of our blood for Christ, is an vndoubted proofe and demonstration of a verie great, constant, and vnmoueable faith; but it is not God, but men that take notice of faith by these proofes. For GOD doth often see and pronounce the faith of a man dying in peace, to bee as great, as the faith of a Martyr: for that though it bee not proued by Martyrdome, it is readie for Martyrdome, and animates him that hath it, to suffer any thing if neede should require.

This which *Barnarde* hath thus deliuered touching this point, is the constant doctrine of the Fathers; neither doe we, or the Authors of the *Centuries* dislike any thing in it: but wee condemne the vaine and idle disputes of the Romish Schooles, touching these three kindes of Baptisme,[b] especially in that they teach concerning Martyrdome, that it giueth grace *ex opere operato*; so that if a man not iustified, nor yet in the state of grace come vnto it, and doe not *ponere obicem*, he shall by vertue therof obtaine grace, and haue the effects of it wrought in him, in such sort as in the Baptisme of water. This not only we condemne, but many amongst themselues, affirming that Martyrdome hath no force to worke or procure our good, farther then the greatnesse of our faith and loue, which is therein tried, approued, and made manifest, doth worke it.

The *Centurie writers* reproue not the Fathers for any such errour, as the Papists doe maintaine, touching the force of Martyrdome, but they dislike that the Fathers did vse so many *Hyperboles*, and Rhetoricall amplifications, in the praysings of Martyrdome, (though in a good sense:) that the Romish Sophisters haue from thence taken occasion of their error, touching the merite, satisfaction, and expiation of sinnes, which they fancie to be in the blood of Martyrs, of which impietie the Fathers neuer thought. Thus then it doth not appeare by any thing which *Bellarmine* hath or can alleadge, that wee confesse the faith of the *Romanists* to be the auncient profession of the primitiue Christians, but rather the contrarie is constantly defended by all our Diuines in the places produced by him.

[b] *Bellar. li. 1. de sacr. Bapt. cap. 6. Non desunt theologi, vt Dominicus à Soto, Martinus Ledes. in 4. d. 3. q. vnic. art. 11 qui docent martyrium non dare gratiam ex opere operato, nec dare vllum gradum gratiæ, præterquam qui respondet merito charitatis ipsius martyris. Probabilior sententia est, martyrium, ex opere operato conferre primam gratiam, ita vt si quis ad martyrium accedat adhuc in peccatis ex silentio tamen sine affectu ad aliquod peccatum, & cum fide & dilectione inchoata, & cum intentione tali qualis requiritur ad baptismum aquæ, in virtute martyrij iustificabitur.*

CHAP. 22.

Wherein is examined their proofe of the Antiquitie of their doctrine taken from a false supposall, that our doctrine is nothing else but heresie long since condemned.

[a] *Iouin.*

LEt [a] vs therefore come to his third part, wherein hee vndertaketh to proue that the doctrine of the reformed Churches, opposite to the faith and profession of *Rome*, is the same with the olde heresies long since condemned by the vniuersall consent of the whole Christian world. In this part hee is so shameless, that I

blush

bluſh at the very thought of that he ſo doctrally and grauely deliuereth, as if it were truer than trueth it ſelfe; whereas in his conſcience he knoweth it to be an vntrueth, ſo groſſe and apparant, that the diuell himſelfe will bee aſhamed of it. Hee reckoneth twenty ſeuerall hereſies of damned Arch-heretikes, euery of which hee pronounceth, that we ſilly men defend and imbrace as the ſacred trueth of God.

Let vs for our better ſatisfaction and refutation of ſo vile a ſlaunder, take a viewe of the particulars. He placeth in the front the hereſie of *Simon Magus*, and his diſciples, [b] which was, that the Angels made the worlde, that the Prophets were inſpired from them, and deliuered their pleaſure, not the will and pleaſure of the high God, and that therefore the things commanded by them, were not in themſelues good, or to be reſpected; that God was diſpleaſed with their gouernment, and would exempt his owne from it, and haue them free to doe what they liſt, for that men are ſaued by his fauour, and not in doing thoſe things, which though they were commanded and impoſed as good, by *Moyſes* and the Prophets miſſe-ledde by the Angels, yet were not naturally ſo, but by accident onely. This, he ſayth, is the error of the Proteſtants; for they thinke God made the worlde, and not the Angels, that *Moyſes* and the Prophets ſpake as they were inſpired of him, that the things they commaunded are iuſt and holy, that there is no way of ſaluation, but by hauing that righteouſneſſe the law of *Moſes* preſcribeth, which all they that are ſaued, haue; Firſt, by imputation of that perfect righteouſneſſe and obedience to *Moyſes* law which was found in Chriſt, to merit our good; and ſecondly, by the operation and infuſion of ſanctifying grace from him, making them to hate ſinne, to loue righteouſneſſe, and walke in the wayes of Gods commaundements; ſo that ſinne hath no more dominion ouer them. Surely, I thinke, if the diuell himſelfe ſate as Iudge in this caſe, hee could not but condemne the impudencie of this his ſhameleſſe diſciple.

[b] *Irenæus lib. 1 contra hæreſes cap. 20.*

[c] But hee addeth; *Eunomius* taught, that if a man would imbrace his profeſſion, he ſhould bee ſaued, though he continued without repentance and remorſe in all maner of moſt damnable wickedneſſe; and that others, whom *Auguſtine* refuteth in his booke, *De fide & operibus*, were of opinion, that all Chriſtians, how damnably ſoeuer they liue, holding the trueth of Chriſtian profeſſion, may and ſhall bee ſaued. This, he ſayth, is the doctrine of the Proteſtants. If any of vs euer wrote, ſpake, or thought any ſuch thing, let God forget euer to doe good vnto vs, and let our prayers bee reiected from his preſence: but if this be as vile a ſlander, as euer Sataniſt deuiſed, the Lord reward them that haue beene the Authours and deuiſers of it, according to their workes. But let vs ſee, doth he make no ſhew of proof? doutleſſe he doeth.

[c] *Ibid.*

[d] *Luther*, ſayth hee, pronounceth that there is no way to haue acceſſe

[d] *De captiuitate Babylonica. cap. de Euchariſtia.*

ceſſe vnto God, to treate with him touching reconciliation, & acceptation into his fauour, but by faith; that God regardeth not workes; that a true Christian is so rich in faith, that he cannot periſh though hee would, nor how wickedly ſoeuer he liue, vnleſſe he refuſe and ceaſe to beleeue.

For the cleering of theſe places of *Luther*, wee muſt remember that which [c] *Illiricus* hath fitly noted to this purpoſe: that there are two Courts of Gods iudgements and moſt righteous proceeding towards the ſonnes of men; the one he calleth, *forum iuſtificationis*, the other *nouæ obedientiæ*: In the firſt, he ſayth, God requireth perfect righteouſneſſe, fully anſwering that his law preſcribeth; which being no where to bee found but in Chriſt, no way apprehended, but by faith: in this reſpect, and ſitting in this Court of exact tryall, hee regardeth no workes, vertues, or qualities, finding nothing of worth, or worthy to bee reſpected, but looketh to our faith onely, and for Chriſts ſake onely, at the ſole and onely ſute of faith, forgiueth ſinne, and imputeth righteouſneſſe. Notwithſtanding, becauſe he neuer ſayth to any ſinner, *Thy ſinnes are remitted*, but that hee addeth, *goe and ſinne no more*, and that vpon perill of forfeiting the benefite receiued, and that ſome worſe thing ſhould betide vnto him, therefore there is another Court, wherein hee ſitteth and giueth commandement for new obedience and workes of righteouſneſſe, though not requiring ſo ſtrictly that perfection which formerly hee did, but accepting our weake indeuours, and ſtudie of well doing: and in this ſorte it is, that hee will iudge vs in the laſt day according to our workes.

[c] *In Clauē ſcripturæ, de variâ operum predicatione. tractat. 6. titulo, Duplex iuſtitia & iuſtificatio.*

Thus then wee ſee, how that, though faith bee neuer alone, yet in procuring vs acceptation with God, it is alone; and that though God regard none of our vertues, actions, and qualities, as being of anie worth in the ſtrictneſſe of his Iudgement, but reiect them as vnpure, and vncleane, and reſpect nothing but the humble ſute and petition of faith, for the purpoſe of iuſtification; yet when wee are iuſtified, hee requireth of vs a newe obedience, iudgeth vs according to it, and crowneth vs for it. That which *Luther* addeth, that a man cannot periſh though he would, and howe wickedly ſoeuer hee liue, vnleſſe hee ceaſe to beleeue, may ſeeme hard at the firſt ſight, but not to them that doe knowe, that *Luther* is farre from thinking that men may bee ſaued, how wickedly ſoeuer they liue; for hee conſtantly teacheth, that iuſtifying faith cannot remaine in that man, that ſinneth with full conſent nor bee found in that ſoule wherein are *peccata vaſtantia conſcientiam*, (as *Melanchthon* ſpeaketh, following *Auguſtine*) that is raging, ruling, preuailing, laying waſte and deſtroying the integritie of the conſcience, which ſhould reſiſt againſt euill and condemne it.

This is all then that *Luther* ſayth, that no wickedneſſe with which faith may ſtand, can hurt vs, ſo long as faith continueth: but if ſinne

once

once become regnant, and so exclude faith, wee are in the state of damnation. Against this doctrine of *Luther*, or any part thereof, neither *Bellarmine*, nor the gates of hell shall euer be able to preuaile. We see then how iustly wee are charged with the heresies of the *Simonians*, *Eunomians*, and the like monsters; surely euen as iustly, as *Bellarmine* may be charged with true and honest dealing, in this imputation and other that followe.

CHAP. 23.

Of the heresie of Florinus, *making God the author of sinne, falsely imputed to* Caluine *and others.*

THe [a] next heresie which they say wee are fallen into, is the heresie of *Florinus*; who taught that God is the cause and author of sinne. This, hee say th, *Caluine*, *Luther*, *Martyr*, and sundry other of the greatest Diuines of the reformed Churches haue defended in their writings. Of this sinfull, wicked, and lying report, wee are sure God is not the Author, but the diuell; and therefore wee doe not fully accord with *Florinus*. But that it may appeare, howe truely these men write, and speake of things of so great moment, I will onely positiuely lay downe what we thinke of this matter, and the aduersaries slaunders will bee sufficiently refuted. For the clearing of our iudgement touching this point, wee must note, that sinne may be considered either in the first entrance, or after it is entred. [a] *Ibid.*

Touching the first entrance of sinne, there bee two wayes whereby God may bee thought to bee the author of it; the first, by impelling, perswading, and enclining the will to euill, before it haue any thought of it, or inclination to it. The second, by subtraction, and deniall of grace. The first, *Caluine* and wee all holde to bee hellish blasphemie. Touching the second, there is a double subtraction of grace; The first, of that without which man could not but fall, and without which hee could not continue in his integritie: The second, of that grace without which God sawe he would not continue, though both in duety he ought, and in respect of abilitie he might if hee would. The first kinde of subtraction, or deniall of grace, cannot bee imagined, but wee must make GOD the author of sinne, neither is there any of vs that doth ascribe it to God; [b] but contrariwise *Caluine*, whome *Bellarmine* seemeth most to challenge, noteth fitly to this purpose out of *Augustine*, that GOD gaue *Adam posse si vellet, sed non velle quod potuit*, *Power to stand and continue in his vprightnesse if hee would, though hee did not inseparably holde him to it, but left him to his owne choyce*: whence followed that euill wee now complaine of. The second kind of deniall

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[b] *Caluin. Instit. li. 1. 15, 8, 1, 3, 13. citat. Aug. de correptione & gratia.*

of

of grace, not onely wee teach, but our aduerſaries alſo are forced to acknowledge: For who doubteth but that God could haue giuen grace to *Adam*, in ſuch degree, meaſure, and kinde, as would infallibly haue preſerued him from all poſsibilitie of falling, and haue holden him inſeparably to himſelfe for euer: which while hee denied, he gaue waie vnto the fall.

Thus then we may reſolue touching the entrance of ſinne. Firſt, God purpoſed eternally to make man a rationall and intellectuall creature, indued with knowledge of all things, and facultie and power to make choiſe of what hee would. Secondly, Man could not be thus made, and be naturally free from poſsibilitie and danger of making an euill choiſe, diſpoſing amiſſe of himſelfe, and offending againſt the lawes of his righteous Creator. Thirdly, God wanted not gracious meanes whereby to holde him inſeparably to himſelfe, and to preſerue him infallibly from falling away, though he were not, nor coulde not be, naturally free from poſsibility of falling. Fourthly, God foreſaw, that, if man were ſo created and left to himſelfe as afterwards he was, he would ſinfully depart from him. Fiftly, hee ſaw that it was beſt to create and leaue him ſo, and that if ſinne ſhould enter, he could take an occaſion thereby of the manifeſtation of greater good, then the World otherwiſe could euer know. Sixthly, ſeeing the determination of mans will, that if hee ſhould bee thus created and left, he would auerte from him and ſinne would enter, he determined ſo to create him and leaue him, and to giue way that ſinne might enter. Thus then wee doe not ſay that God did abſolutely, without all preſcience of the determination of mans will, determine and decree that ſinne ſhould enter; but that, foreſeeing what would be the determination of his will, if he were ſo created and left to himſelfe, as in his diuine wiſdome he ſawe it to be fitteſt, he determined ſo to create and leaue him, and purpoſed by ſubtraction of grace to giue way vnto the ſinne of auerſion, or omiſsion, & permiſsiuely to ſuffer it for to enter; and by a poſitiue decree reſolued, that auerting himſelfe from the fountaine of all goodneſſe and the rule of all righteouſneſſe, hee ſhould run into innumerable dangerous euils, and grieuous ſinnes of commiſsion.

Occam in ſentent. lib. 3. queſt. 12.

All ſinnes, ſayth *Occam*, are either of omiſsion or commiſsion. Of omiſsion, when men neglect to do that they are bound to doe, and of this there is no poſitiue cauſe, it ſelfe beeing a priuation; neither needeth wee to ſeeke any higher ſpring of it, then the will of the creature, which being made of nothing, is defectiue, and doth not alwayes neceſſarily attend to the rule it ſhould conforme it ſelfe vnto. This kinde of ſinne God purpoſeth no otherwiſe but only by ſubtractiō of that grace, without which he knoweth the creature will auert & turne from him, and it is in order of nature before any other ſinne. For a man falleth firſt from the loue of God, and the fellowſhip and coniunction with him, before he can inordinately loue the deſi-

desire any other thing. Sinne of commission is some positiue acte done, which the will should not consent to doe, neither is the substance of this acte one thing, and the difformitie another: But the very acte it selfe, which should not be done, is out of forme, order, and rule, and is repugnant to the rule of righteousnesse. This kinde of sinne (sayth hee) being positiue, hath a positiue cause: Neither is the will of man onely the cause of it, but God also, euen of the difformitie of it, as well as the substance; Seeing the difformitie in a sinne of commission, is nothing else but the very substance of the acte which is done, but ought not to bee done. Neither is *Occam* onely of this opinion, but many other great Doctours in the Romane Schoole, who say, that, God willeth, decreeth, and worketh euen the difformitie that is found in the sinnes of commission, not by his antecedent will, whereby he worketh things out of his owne liking, but by his consequent and condicionall wil, whereby, presupposing the purpose of suffering his creatures to auerte and turne from him, hee still intendeth to mooue, impell, and carrie them forward; though, being by their owne fault out of the way, hee carrieth them thither, whither they should not goe. This hee doeth without all fault of his, who must not therefore cease to doe his worke of mooving, and carying forward all things with restlesse motions; though by their owne fault, being turned from that they should adhere vnto, they doe not attaine their wished good, but runne themselues into endlesse euils.

*Thus then God did onely by subtraction of grace, vpon the withdrawing whereof he saw the creature would turne from him, purpose to suffer the sinne of auersion or omission to enter; But presupposing this purpose, and foreseeing that which would follow e vpon it, in his consequent and conditionall will, he positiuely decreed the other, which is of commission. For seeing man must needes seeke an infinite good, and loue it infinitely, and if he seeke it not in God, must seeke it in himselfe, God did decree, that man, not continuing to adhere vnto him, should fall into self-loue, pride, and all euils of that kinde. This is the opinion of these great Rabbines in the Romane Church. And this is that, *Zuinglius*, *Caluine*, *Beza*, and the rest meant, if any where they affirmed, that God did effectually moue, impell, and incline to those things that are euill.

But *Bellarmine* will say, *Caluine* denieth that Gods determination, decreeing what shall bee, dependeth on his prescience, and that his prescience presupposeth his purpose and decree. For answere hereunto wee must remember, that there is a double prescience; *simplicis intelligentiæ*, and

Respectu peccati commissionis duplex est difformitas prima carentia rectitudinis debitæ inesse voluntati elicienti actum quē non debet: secunda est ipse actus elicitus quem Deus prohibet. Occam in sentent. lib. 3. quæst. 12.

Other Diuines vnderstand, by the difformitie found in sinne, the want of rectitude, or omissiō of due circumstances: and therupon say, there is no cause of it but priuatiue only: but *Occam* vnderstandeth, by the difformitie of a sin of commissiō, the act it selfe done without due circumstances, without which it should not be done; and so seeketh a positiue cause of it.

d Cameracensis in lib sententiarum, lib. 1 q. 13. art. 1. & lib. 1. q. 14. c. Hugo de S. victore erudit. theologica de sacramentis lib. 1. part. 4. cap. 12, & 13.

Scotus li. 1. dist. 41 quæst. vnica sola permissio alicuius actus, & certitudo de permissione non facit certitudinem de illo actu, quia oportet habere aliquam causam effectiuam: igitur ex hoc quod Deus præscit se velle permittere Luciferum peccare, ex hoc, inquam, solo non vi-

detur quod sciat Luciferum peccaturum. Soluitur hæc obiectio, quia Deus non solùm scit se permissurum, sed etiam scit se non cooperaturum ei ad actum necessarium, & per consequens omittet; & scit se cooperaturum ad substantiam actus prohibiti sine debitis circumstantijs, & per consequens committet. This explication of *Scotus* cleareth the meaning of *Caluine* and *Beza*, when they say, *God cannot foreknowe future things, vnlesse hee concurre otherwise than by bare permission.* See the places obiected by *Bellarmine*, *lib. 2. cap. 4. de remissione gratiæ & statu peccati.*

visionis. The first is of all those things that are possible, and which vpon any supposed condition may be; as was that prescience of God, whereby hee foreknewe, that if in *Tyrus* and *Sidon* those things should bee done, which afterwards were done among the Iewes, they would repent. This doeth not presuppose the decree of God, but extendeth to many things God doth not decree, nor purpose to bee, as it appeareth in the example proposed. The other is of those things onely which hereafter shall bee; and this presupposeth some acte of Gods will. For seeing nothing can bee, vnlesse some acte of Gods will doe passe vpon it, at least not to hinder the being of it, nothing can be thus foreseene, as being hereafter for to bee, vnlesse some decree of God doe passe vpon it. Of this kind of prescience, *Caluine* speaketh, and not of the other. For that first kind of prescience what the creature would doe, if it were so created, and left to it selfe, as afterwards it was, was before any decree of God, or determination what he would doe. But that other, to wit, what hereafter shall be, not so; and therefore *Caluine* rightly affirmeth, that Gods foresight of the entrance of sinne, presupposed his decree that it should enter.

Thus I see not what can be disliked by our aduersaries in our doctrine thus deliuered, nor what difference can be imagined betweene them and vs, touching the entrance of sinne. But, [c] sayth *Bellarmine*, *Caluine* affirmeth, that the end, for which God purposed to make man, was the manifestation of the seueritie of his iustice, and the riches of his mercie; and that the consideration of this ende, was the first thing that was found in God, when he thought of creating man: so that this purpose was before, and without respect vnto the prescience of any thing that afterwards might or would bee in man; And that because there was not any thing wherein hee could shewe either mercie or Iustice, vnlesse sinne did enter, therefore secondly hee purposed, that sinne should enter. So that first hee purposed to punish before he saw any cause, and then purposed the entrance of sinne, that there might be cause; which is no lesse excusable from iniustice, cruelty, and tyranny, than if he should purpose to punish, and so doe, without any cause at all. Thus, sayth he, it should seeme, that the first originall and spring of sinne, is from the will of God, according to *Caluines* opinion.

[c] *Lib. 3. cap. 17. de amissione gratiæ & statu peccati.*

For answere hereunto wee must note, that *Caluine* doeth no where say, that God did purpose the manifestation of his mercie and Iustice before all prescience, but only before that, which is named *præscientia visionis.* Secondly, that *Caluine* doeth no where pronounce, that simply and absolutely the end wherefore God purposed to make man, was the manifestation of the seueritie of his Iustice, and the riches of his mercie, or that hee might saue some, and condemne others; But as I conceiue according to *Caluines* opinon, foure things are implied in Gods purpose of creating man. First, what hee meant to bestowe vpon him.

Secondly, what hee meant to denie vnto him. Thirdly, the foreknowledge what would fall out, vpon the bestowing of such benefits onely, and the denying of others, namely, Sinne, and Apostasie. Fourthly, his purpose, notwithstanding his foreknowledge, to bestowe vpon him only such benefites of his rich and abundant goodnesse, and no other. So then the ende of those benefits, which God purposed in such sort, and in such degree and measure, to bestow vpon man in his creation, was not the manifestation of his mercie and Iustice; neither did hee purpose the entrance of sinne originally out of his owne liking, that hee might haue matter of punishment, as *Bellarmine* most iniuriously chargeth *Caluine* to affirme; But the end of his purpose of bestowing such benefites onely, and no other, notwithstanding his foreknowledge what would fall out, if so hee did, was, that he might shewe his mercie and Iustice in sauing and condemning whome hee would. And against this, *Bellarmine* neither doeth, nor can except. 3 4

Thus hauing cleared those doubts that occurre in the doctrine of the Diuines of the reformed Churches, touching the entrance of sinne; Let vs come to the second part, and see what it is that they attribute vnto God, when sinne is entred. The actions they attribute to God, when sinne is entred, are three: Limitation, direction, and condigne punishing of one sinne with another. For the first, that God setteth bounds to wicked men in their wickednesse, not onely in respect of the effect and euent, but also of the very inward purpose, affections, and designes, and at his pleasure stoppeth them when hee will; I thinke none of our aduersaries will make any question. For, the diuell himselfe was limited how farre he should proceede in afflicting [f] *Iob*: and could not enter into an herde of swine, without leaue obtained. For though the will to doe euill, be not of God, yet the power is; for there is no power that is not of God.

f Iob ca. 1. 12. Matth. 8. 31.

Touching the second, which is direction, though God be not the Authour and causer of euill, nor may bee thought without impiety to put it into men, yet when he findeth it in them, he directeth it, not onely in respect of the kind wherin, the persons against whom, and the time when it shall breake foorth; But also in respect of the end and effect: in which sense it is that [g] *Bellarmine* and *Stapleton* both say, that though GOD incline not simply and absolutely vnto euill, yet hee inclineth and bendeth the willes of them that be wicked, that they shall bee wicked in this sort, rather than that; at this time, than at some other; against such men, rather than against those they more maligne and desire to despite, if they were left to themselues. [h] This God doth in that he openeth the passage, and maketh way for wickednesse to come foorth and shewe it selfe in what sort he pleaseth, and stoppeth all other. Euen as a man being in a high Tower, and desiring to cast himselfe downe, there being many passages thorough which hee might cast himselfe out, if a man

g *Li. 3. cap. 13, de amissione gratiæ & statu peccati,*

h *Hugo de s. victore lib. 1. de sacramentis part. 5. cap. 29.*

should stop all but one, though he might not iustly be sayd to be the cause of the fall of him that should thus cast away himselfe, [i] yet might he rightly be sayd to be the cause, why he fell rather this way, and out of this window or passage, then any other: So doth God order, dispose, and direct the wickednes of men, to break out in what sort, at what time, and against what persons he pleaseth, and no otherwise; and is author *ordinis in malo*, though not *mali*.

i *Ibid. Hugo. Qui præcipiti quâ vult ad ruinam viam aperit, quodammodo ipsum actionis, non impellendo, sed permittendo, & non retinendo; nec auctor illius est ruendi, sed procedendi ordinator.*

When we say he openeth the way and passage for wickednesse to break forth, we must vnderstand that he doth this in two sorts; either [k] by not hindring it from breaking forth in some one kinde, which he suffereth no otherwise to shew it selfe; or in that he positiuely inclineth it hither rather then thither, not by way of cause but of occasion offered. In which sense it is, that *Dauid* sayth, [l] *God commaunded Shemei to curse him*, not as if God had eyther inwardly or outwardly perswaded him so to doe; But because, finding him full of malice against *Dauid*, he so prospered *Dauid* before, that hee durst not reuile him, nor had no cause to insult vpon him: But now he presented him to his eyes in such a miserable estate, forsaken of many, and pursued by his owne sonne, as hee knew would occasion these wordes of insultation and bitter malediction. Thus then GOD commaunded *Shemei* to curse *Dauid*, not by precepte, outwardly requiring him so to doe, nor by perswasion, inwardly inclining him to so vile an action; but by direction, inclining him, by wordes of malediction to expresse his bitter affection (which long before desired to vent it selfe) now at this time, and for the punishment of *Dauids* sinnes, rather than at an other time, and in another sorte.

k *Thomas in comment. c. 9. ad Rom. citatur à Bellar. li 2 cap. 13. de amissione gratiæ & statu peccati.*

l 2. Sam. 16. 10

So when wicked men had spoyled [m] *Iob*, hee sayd, *The Lord hath giuen, and the Lord hath taken away*, imputing it to God; not as if hee had made them to become Robbers, but for that being such, hee directed their wickednesse, and vsed it to the tryall of his seruant, opening a passage for their wickednesse, and presenting to them such things, as hee knew would occasion this outrage. [n] As likewise the *Iewes*, in crucifying Christ, are sayde to haue done nothing but that which GOD had before resolutely determined; not as if God had purposed their wickednesse, but only because knowing what was in them, he was pleased to direct guide and, turne their wickednesse and furious malice, to the effecting of his owne purposes.

m Iob 1. 21

n Act. 2. 23

The third action, that we attribute vnto God, is, that he punisheth one sinne by another. In punishments, [o] *Hugo de sancto victore* noteth three things: The matter, with which a man is punished; the contrariete betweene it, and the partie punished; and the order of consequence, that where such an offence went before, such an euill shall follow, to make the party offending feele the smart of it. In those punishments which be

o *In annotationibus breuiatoriis quæstionum in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos, 1 cap. illa verba, Tradidit illos Deus.*

punishments

punishments only, and not sinnes, God is the author and cause of all these three things implyed in the nature of punishments; in those which bee punishments, and sinnes, God is author only of the order of consequence, and the contrarietie betweene them, and the nature of the parts punished; not of the matter wherwith they are afflicted and punished. As for example; Pride is punished by enuie; Enuie is not of God, but the contrarietie betweene it, & the soule of man, which maketh it bitter and afflictiue, is; And the order of consequence, that where pride went before, enuie must follow. Neither doth God only punish one sinne with another, when there is such a dependance of one vpon the other, that where one goeth before, the other must follow; But oftentimes, when there is no such necessarie dependance, yet hee withdraweth his grace, and for the punishment of one sinne, letteth men runne into another. In this sense, there are three things attributed to God, in the punishment of wicked and godlesse men: The blinding of their vnderstanding; The hardning of their hearts; and the giuing of them vp vnto a reprobate sense.

These things God is said to doe three wayes: First, by subtraction and deniall of that grace which should lighten the vnderstandings, and soften and mollifie the hearts of men; Secondly, by giuing leaue to Sathan to worke vpon them, and no way either strengthning them against him, or weakening his force; Thirdly, occasionally and by accident, when God doth that which is good, which yet hee knoweth, through the euill disposition that is in men, will encrease their wickednesse, and make it greater then it was before.

CHAP. 24.

Of the heresies of Origen, *touching the Image of God; and touching hell, falsely imputed to* Caluin.

IN the third place, the Iesuite, fearing that men should thinke hee were neere driuen and wanted store, he chargeth *Caluin* at once with two heresies of *Origen*. The first, concerning the Image of God; the second touching Hell and the punishments of it.

[a] Touching the first, it is true that *Epiphanius* chargeth *Origen* with heresie, For saying that *Adam* lost the Image of God by his disobedience and sinne: but how iustly, it is verie doubtfull; Seeing neither *Hierome*, nor *Theophilus Alexandrinus*, most diligently noting his errours, make any mention of it. And therefore it may be probably thought, as [b] *Alphonsius à Castro* noteth, that if any such thing were found in the works of *Origen*, it was so deliuered by him, as that it might carrie a good construction, and free from heresie. But leauing it vncertaine what it was

a *Hæres. 64. & in Epistola ad Johannem Episcopum Hierosolymitanum.*

b *Contra Hæreses li. 2. Adam & Eua.*

that *Origen* meant by the losse of Gods Image, For the cleering of *Caluin*, wee must note that which [c] *Thomas Aquinas* (no hereticke I hope in *Bellarmines* iudgement,) being a Canonized Saint of the Romish Church, hath fittely obserued to this purpose.

He noteth, first, that the Image of God consisteth in the eminent perfection which is found in men, expressing the nature of God in an higher degree, then any excellencie of other creatures doth. Secondly, that this perfection is founde principally in the soule. Thirdly, that it is threefolde. First, naturall, which is the largenesse of the naturall faculties of vnderstanding and will, not limited to the apprehension or desire of some certaine thinges only, but extending to all the conditions of being and goodnesse, whose principall obiect is God; So that they neuer rest satisfied with any other thing, but the seeing and enioying of him.

The second kinde of this perfection is supernaturall; when the soule actually, or at the least habitually knoweth and loueth God aright, though not so perfectly as hee may, and shall bee loued hereafter. The third is when the soule knoweth and loueth God in fulnesse of happinesse. The first is of nature, the second of grace, and the third of glorie. The first of these is neuer lost, no not by the damned in hell. The second, *Adam* had, but lost it, and it is renewed in vs by grace. The third, wee expect in heauen. To thinke the Image of God, considered in the first sort, to be lost, is heresie; but *Caluin* is free from it. To thinke it lost in the second sort, is the Catholique doctrine of the Church: for, who knoweth not that man hath loste all righte knowledge and loue of GOD, by *ADAMS* fall?

Some restraine the name of the Image of God, to the excellencie of the soules nature, framed to know all things, and neuer to rest satisfied in any thing, vnder God: And so generally and absolutely deny, that the Image of God can bee lost or blotted out. These make a difference betweene the Image of God, thus restrained to the largenesse and admirable perfection of the naturall faculties of the soule, & the similitude or likenesse of God, which appeareth in the qualities and vertues of it, making him that possesseth them, partaker of the diuine nature, which they confesse to be lost.

Now this similitude is all one, with the Image of God in the second consideration set downe by *Aquinas*; and therefore in this matter *Caluin* erreth not, but writeth that which is consonant vnto the truth.

Touching the second part of this imputation, it is true that [d] *Origen* erred, thinking hell to be nothing but horror of conscience; But hee that looketh in the place in *Caluin* cited by the Iesuite, shall see, that he saith no

c 1. Parte summa quæst. 93. art. 4. vbi ait glossam distinguere triplicē imaginem, creationis, recreationis, & similitudinis: prima inest mitis in omnibus; 2. in iustis tantùm; tertia verò solum in beatis.

d Hieron. in Epist. ad Auitum.

no such thing, but the cleane contrarie. So that the Reader shall finde *Bellarmine* to be constant, and still like himselfe, adding one calumniation to another.

CHAP. 25.

Of the heresie of the Peputians, *making women Priests.*

THe fourth Heresie, imputed vnto vs by our aduersaries, is that of the *Peputians*, who gaue women authoritie to intermeddle with the sacred ministerie of the Church. That wee doe so likewise, they indeauour to proue, by misreporting the words of *Luther*. There are two thinges therefore which *Luther* saith, in the place alleadged by them. First, that in absolution and remission of sinnes, in the supposed Sacrament of Penance, a Bishoppe or ordinarie Presbyter may doe as much, as the Pope himselfe; which [a] *Alphonsus à Castro*, writing against Heresies, confesseth to be true. The second, that when, and where, no Presbyter can bee found to performe this office, a lay man, yea or a woman in this case of necessitie, may absolue; which our aduersaries neede not to thinke so strange, seeing themselues giue power to women, to baptise in case of necessitie: which (I thinke) is as much a ministeriall acte, as to absolue the penitent, in sort as absolution is giuen in the Church of *Rome*. And yet they would thinke themselues wronged, if from hence it should bee inferred, that they make women Priests and Bishoppes. But *Bellarmine* reporteth the wordes of *Luther*, as if hee should say absolutely, that a woman, or childe, hath as much power and authoritie from God in these things, as any Presbyter or Bishoppe: wherin hee is like himselfe.

[a] *Li. 2. verb. absolutio.*

Absolution, in the Primitiue Church, was the reconciling and restoring of penitents to the peace of the Church, and to the Communion of the Sacraments, from which during the time of their penitencie, they were excluded. This in reason none could doe, but they to whome the dispensation of the Sacraments was committed, and who had power to deny the Sacraments. The popish absolution is supposed to bee a sacramentall acte, Sacramentally taking away sinne, and makinge the partie absolued partaker of the remission of it. This is a false and erronious conceite. *LVTHER* thinketh it to bee a comfortable pronouncing, and assuring, of good to the humble, penitent, and sorrowefull sinner: which though ordinarily, and *ex officio*, the Minister be to doe, yet may any man

man do it with like effect, when none of that ranke is, or can be present. Thus when the matter is well examined, it is meerely nothing, that *Bellarmine* can proue against *Luther*.

But that which hee addeth, touching our late dread Soueraigne ELIZABETH of famous memorie, that shee was reputed and taken as chiefe Bishoppe within her dominions of *England* &c. is more then a Cardinall lye, and might beseeme the father of lyes, better then any meaner professour of that facultie.

For the Kings, and Queenes of *England*, neither doe, nor haue power to do, any ministeriall acte, or acte of sacred order, as to preach, administer Sacraments, and the like; But that power and authoritie, which we attribe vnto them, is, that they may by their princely right, take notice of matters of religion, and the exercise of it in their kingdomes; That they may, and in dutie stand bound, to see, that true religion be professed, and God rightly worshipped; That God hath giuen them the sworde to punish all offenders against the first or second table, yea though they be Priests or Bishops; That neither the persons, nor the goods of Churchmen are exempted from their power; That they holde their Crownes immediately from God, and not from the Romish Antichrist; That it was the *Lucifer*-like pride of Antichrist, which appeared in times past in the Popes, [b] when they shamed not to say that the Kings of *England* were their villanes, vassals, and slaues. Thus then the fourth supposed heresie we are chargeth with, proueth to be nothing but a diuelish slander of this shamelesse Iesuite.

[b] *Matthew Paris in Henrico 3. de Innocentio 4. p. 844.*

Wee say therefore, to silence this slaunder, that wee all most constantly hold the contrarie of that he imputeth vnto vs; And that we thinke, there is no more daungerous or presumptuous wicked boldnesse then for any man not called, set a part, and sanctified thereunto, to intermeddle with any part of the sacred ministerie of the Church.

CHAP. 26.

Of the supposed heresie of Proclus *and the* Messalians, *touching concupiscence in the regenerate.*

[a] *Heres. 64.*

THe fift heresie, which hee endeuoureth to fasten vpon vs, is, hee saith, the heresie of *Proclus*, of whom [a] *Epiphanius* maketh mention. But what was the heresie of *Proclus*? Let *Bellarmine* tell vs, for our learning. It was (saith he) that sinne doth alwaies continue and liue in the Regenerate: for that concupiscence is truely and properly sin, which is not taken away by Baptisme, but only allaied, stilled, and brought as it were into a kind of rest and sleepe by force thereof, and the working of faith. In this, *Bellarmine* sheweth his intolerable either

either ignorance, or impudence, or both. For *Epiphanius*, in the place cited by him, refuteth the hereſie of *Origen*, who denied the reſurrection of the bodies of men, as thinking ſuch bodily ſubſtances, which wee ſee are continually ſubiect to alteration here in this world, not capable of immortalitie; And that God did put theſe bodies vpon *Adam* and *Eue*, after their ſinne, at that time when hee is ſaid to haue made them coates of skinnes. This *Epiphanius* refuteth, ſhewing that God, who onely hath immortalitie, made man though out of the earth, yet by the immediate touch of his owne hands; that he breathed into him the breath of life, for that hee meant hee ſhould bee immortall; that man had fleſh and blood, and a true bodily ſubſtance before his fall, as is prooued by that of *Adam* concerning *Eue*, *This is nowe fleſh of my fleſh; and bone of my bone*; that there was no euill found in the World, ſuch as death is, in the beginning; that man voluntarily ſinned againſt God, and thereupon God brought in death; that euen as the Schoolemaſter vſeth correction, not for any delight hee hath in it, but for that thereby hee intendeth to bring his Schollers to forſake their negligent and diſordered courſes, and to doe thoſe things he preſcribeth to them; in like ſort, God ſeeing that ſinne was entred, brought in puniſhments to repreſſe it: and ſeeing that it would bee eternall, if man did continue immortall, hee brought in death to make an ende of it. For (ſaith *Epiphanius*) ſinne is ſo deepely rooted in vs, that it cannot be quite killed nor pulled vppe by the rootes, while the body and ſoule remaine together. Euen as (ſaith hee) when ſome wild figge tree groweth in the walles of a goodly and ſtately building, and defaceth and hideth the beautie and glorie of it, the boughes and braunches may bee cut or broken off, but the roote which is wrapped into the ſtones of the building, cannot be taken away, vnleſſe the walles be throwen downe, and the ſtones caſt one from another: So the ſinne, which dwelleth in vs, hath the rootes of it ſo inwrapped into our nature & the parts of it, that howſoeuer the boughes and braunches may be cut and broken off, the roote remaineth while we carrie about this body of death, and will cauſe more braunches to growe foorth, till by death the parts of our nature, to wit, the ſoule and the body, be ſundred and diuided. And as the wall may be raiſed againe, and the ſtones thereof in due ſort laide together, when the rootes of the trees, which formerly grewe into it, bee taken foorth: So when the roote of ſinne is remooued by death out of mans nature, God will bringe theſe partes of his nature together againe, and giue him that immortalitie both of body and ſoule, which he intended to him in his creation, and would haue giuen him, had not death beene neceſſarie for the rooting out of that ſinne hee voluntarily fell into.

That ſinne is ſo deepely rooted in the nature of man, that it cannot bee plucked vp but by death, *Epiphanius* ſaith it is euident, by that

of the Apostle, who pronounced of himselfe, that *to will was present with him, but he found no abilitie to performe; That the good hee would doe, hee did not, and the euill that hee would not doe that hee did; And, that yet it was not hee that did it, but sinne that dwelleth in him;* By this (saith hee) it is proued, that sinne is not pulled vppe by the rootes, that it is not dead but liuing, that there is noe man but hath euill thoughts and desires, which growe from this bitter roote of sinne, which neither Baptisme, nor faith do wholly remooue or kill, that sinne is only represſed, resisted, and stilled from raging and preuailing in such sort as it did before, but not wholly taken away.

Thus then wee see, that *Epiphanius* most excellently deliuereth that, in the defence of the truth against *Origen*, and such like heretickes, which *Bellarmine* imputeth vnto vs, as heresie condemned by *Epiphanius*. Wherin surely he was either grosly abused by others, making him beleeue *Epiphanius* saith that, which most peremptorily he denieth; or else he was willing to deceiue and abuse others.

Howsoeuer, this aduantage wee haue gotten thereby, that our assertion, that sinne remaineth after Baptisme, and that the roote of it is not taken away, nor killed, till by death the soule and bodie bee diuided, is proued to bee the auncient doctrine of the Primitiue Fathers.

But if *Epiphanius* faile him, *Bellarmine* hath another author, whereon to relye. For hee saith, [b] *Theodoret* reporteth, that the *Messalians* were condemned for heretickes, because they thought that Baptisme as a Razor shaueth away sinnes past, but doth not take away the roote of sinne, and that therefore for that purpose wee must flye to the force of prayer.

[b] *Hæreticarum fabularum lib. 4.*

* These heretickes thought, that baptisme doth not take awaie originall sinne, which is the roote of all other, nor deliuer vs from the power of Satan, nor giue spirit and grace to resist sinne. These errours wee condemne and therefore we are vniustly charged with the heresie of the Messalians.

This opinion of the *Messalians*, touching the not taking away the roote of sinne, in such sort as they vnderstood it, and *Theodoret* disliked it, wee also condemne. For wee thinke, that Baptisme doth not onely take away sinnes past, but the verie roote of all sinnes, which is Originall sinne, though not wholly; (for then wee should dissent from *Epiphanius* before alleadged) yet in such sort, as I will deliuer in that which followeth.

The error of the *Messalians*, *Bellarmine* attributeth vnto vs, because wee teach that concupiscence in the Regenerate is sinne. For the better clearing of this point, wee must obserue, that the *Romanists* doe erre most daungerously in the matter of originall sinne, and naturall concupiscence. For first they teach, that the contrarietie betweene the spirite and the flesh, the proneneſse inordinately to desire things transitorie, sensible and outward, and the difficultie to doe that which is best, are the primitiue conditions of the nature of man: And consequently that concupiscence, neither after, nor before Baptisme, in the Regen-

rate

rate nor vnregenerate is sinne or punishment of sinne, but a condition of pure and sole nature. For if man had beene created in a state of pure nature (that is, hauing all that pertaineth to the integritie of nature, and nothing else) it would haue beene founde in him. Neither doe they make any doubt, but that God might haue created man in the beginging, with all those defectes hee is now subiect vnto, and yet without all sinne.

For, the being subiect to them, argueth not sinne: but whereas they were restrained, bridled, and suppressed by addition of supernaturall qualities, the hauing of them at libertie, by voluntarie losse of those qualities, is not without sinne.

Thus then, howsoeuer they talke of concupiscence in the Regenerate, and would seeme to deny it to be sinne in them onely, yet they doe as wel denie it to be sinne in men not Regenerate, as in the Regenerate, and make it onely a punishment of sinne, if yet they yeeld so much vnto the truth. For indeede according to their erroneous conceite, concupiscence is a sequele of nature, and not a punishment of sinne: so that all that they doe or can say, is nothing but this, that concupiscence was naturall, and such a thing as might bee found in the integritie of nature; that it was restrayned by supernaturall grace added aboue that nature requireth, for the perfecting of her integritie; that the hauing it nowe free and at libertie, to prouoke, moue, and incline vs to sinne, is the punishment of that sinne, whereby wee depriued our selues of supernaturall grace.

But wee say, contrarie to this absurd conceite of theirs; First, that 1
all these defects and euils, to wit, contrarietie betweene the better and meaner faculties of the soule, proneneſſe to doe euill, and difficultie to doe good, do arise and growe out of the want of that originall righteousnesse, the propertie whereof is, to subiect all vnto God, and to leaue nothing void of him.

Secondly, that this Righteousnesse was essentially required to the 2
integritie of nature. So that there is no state of sole & pure nature, without addition of sinne or grace, as the Papists fondly imagine; for that the nature of man is such, as must either be lifted aboue it selfe by grace, or fall belowe it selfe, and be in a state of sinne.

Thirdly, that all declinings and swaruings from that perfect subiection 3
vnto God, and intire coniunction with God, which grace worketh, are sinnes and decayes of natures integritie: and consequently, that concupiscence, being a declining from that intire subiection to, and coniunction with God, is truely and properly sin, whatsoeuer our aduersaries teach to the contrarie.

Fourthly, that originall righteousnesse is saide to bee a supernaturall 4

qualitie, becauſe it groweth not out of nature, and becauſe it raiſeth nature aboue it ſelfe; But that it is naturall, that is, required to the integritie of nature.

Neither ſhould it ſeeme ſtrange to any man, that a qualitie, not growing out of nature, ſhould bee required neceſſarily for the perfecting of natures integritie; ſeeing the ende and obiect of mans deſires, knowledge, and action, is an infinite thing, and without the compaſſe and boundes of nature. And therefore the nature of man cannot, as all other thinges doe, by naturall force, and things bred within her ſelfe, attaine to her wiſhed ende: but muſt either by ſupernaturall grace bee guided and directed to it, or being left to her ſelfe, faile of that perfection ſhee is capable of, and fill her ſelfe with infinite euils, defects, and miſeries.

This may ſuffice for refutation of the vaine and idle conceites of the Papiſts, concerning three eſtates of man, the one of grace, the other of nature, and the third of ſinne. Out of which wee may obſerue, that howſoeuer they indeuour to make ſhewe of the contrarie, yet indeede they thinke that concupiſcence is not ſinne, neither in the regenerate, nor vnregenerate. Whereupon it is that [c] *Bellarmine*, ſpeaking of the guilt of concupiſcence, which the Diuines ſay is taken away in Baptiſme, though the infirmitie remaine, ſaith, it muſt bee vnderſtoode of that guilt, which cauſeth concupiſcence, not which is cauſed of it. For (ſaith he) originall ſin maketh guiltie, & ſubiecteth men to concupiſcence, but concupiſcence doth not make them guiltie that haue it, & therfore it is not ſinne, neither before, nor after Baptiſme.

But wee ſay with [d] *Auguſtine*. *Sicut cæcitas cordis, quam remouet illuminator deus, & peccatum eſt, quo in deum non creditur; & pœna peccati, qua cor ſuperbum digna animaduerſione punitur; & cauſa peccandi, cum malum quid cæci cordis errore committitur: ita concupiſcentia carnis, aduerſus quam bonus concupiſcit ſpiritus, & peccatum eſt, quia ineſt ei inobedientia contra dominatum mentis; & pœna peccati eſt, quia reddita eſt meritis inobedientis; & cauſa peccati eſt, defectione conſentientis, vel contagione naſcentis.* *As the blindneſſe of heart, which God remooueth, when hee lighteneth thoſe that were formerly in darkeneſſe, is a ſinne, in that by reaſon of it, men beleeue not in GOD; and a puniſhment of ſinne, wherewith the proude heartes of wicked men are iuſtly puniſhed; and a cauſe of ſinne, when, erring by reaſon of this blindneſſe of heart, they doe thoſe things that are euill: ſo the concupiſcence of the fleſh, againſt which the good ſpirite doth ſtriue and couet, is a ſinne, becauſe there is in it, diſobedience againſt the dominion of the minde; and a puniſhment of ſinne, in that it falleth out by the iuſt iudgement of God, that they who are diſobedient vnto God, ſhall finde rebellious deſires in themſelues; and it is a cauſe of ſinne, in that men either by wic-*

[c] Lib. 5. cap. 13 de amiſſione gratiæ & ſtatu peccati.

Hugo de ſancto victore dicit concupiſcentiã ſpiritus inordinatam eſſe culpam; concupiſcentiã carnis pœnã & culpam &c. Alex: de Ales p. 2. q. 105. memb. 2. art. 1.

[d] Contra Iulianum. li. 5.

ked defection consent vnto it, or by reason of the generall infection of humane nature, are borne in it.

Wee thinke therefore there should be no question made of concupiscence, and other like defects and euils found in the nature of man, but that they are in their owne nature sinfull defects. And hereof, I am well assured, none of the Fathers euer doubted: but how farre they are washed away and remitted in Baptisme, which is the matter about which *Bellarmine* wrangleth and taketh exception against vs, let vs now consider.

[e] *Alexander of Hales*, the first and greatest of all the Schoolemen, noteth diuers things most fitly to this purpose, out of which wee may easily resolue, what is to bee thought of this matter. First therefore hee obserueth, that there are two sorts of sinnes: some naturall, which are in the person from the generall condition of nature; some personall, that are acted by the person, and so defile the nature, as all actuall sinnes. Secondly, that concupiscence is of the first kinde, being an euill contracted and cleauing to nature, not personally acted, or wrought by vs. Thirdly, that concupiscence may be considered, either as it hath full dominion, and is a preuailing thing in them that haue it: or as it is weakened, and hath lost that strength, dominion, and command which formerly it had. [f] Fourthly, that concupiscence, while it hath dominion, is a sinne defiling, and making guilty, both the nature and person in which it commaundeth all: But if it lose this dominion, it cleaueth to the nature onely, and is not imputed to the person for sinne, vnlesse hee some way yeelde vnto it, be drawen by it, or suffer himselfe to be weakened in well doing, by the force of it. Fiftly, that the benefits of grace are not generall, but speciall, and of priuiledge, not freeing the whole nature of man from sinne and punishment, as sinne corrupted and defiled all, but that they extend onely personally to some certaine. Sixtly, that when men are borne anew in baptisme, they are freed from all that sinne which maketh their persons guilty before God, and consequently from all punishments due to them, for any thing their persons were chargeable with. [g] But because they still remaine in that nature, which is of the masse of malediction, therefore sinne cleaueth to their nature still, and they are subiect to the common punishment of hunger, thirst, death, and the like. Seuenthly, that the dominion of that sin, which is of nature, is taken away by the benefit of regeneration in Baptisme. Whence it commeth, that the persons of men baptized are not chargeable with it, though they remaine still in that nature wherein it is. And consequently that the punishments, which they are subiect vnto (because they remaine in the communion of that nature which is not generally free, from sinne,) cease to be vnto them in the nature of destroying euils, serue to diuers good purposes, and turne to their great benefit.

So then wee say with the Fathers, and best learned of the Schoolemen,

[e] *Part 4. qu. 1. de sacramẽto baptismi. membro 8. art. 2.*

[f] *Dicitur concupiscentia culpa ante baptismũ qua tu in dominatur & habet eã etiam debita iustitiæ sibi comitãtia Alex. de Hales part. 2. q. 105. membrum 7. art. 1.*

[g] *Peccatum originis transit reatu, manet actu in actuali peccato: præcedit actus, sequitur reatus, nec dicitur in originali peccato actus peccati quo fit, vel quo est. sed quo remanet ad exercitium. Alex. de Hales part. 2. q. 105. membrum 6.*

that concupiscence in men not regenerate is a sinne, corrupting and making guiltie both the nature and the person wherein it is; and that in the Regenerate it cleaueth to nature as a sinne still, but hauing lost the dominion it had, so that it cannot make the person guilty, not preuailing with it, nor commaunding ouer it. *Regnum amittit in terra, perit in cælo: It is driuen from the kingdome it formerly had in the Saints of God, while they yet remaine on earth, but it is not vtterly destroyed till they goe from hence to heauen.* Thus then, I hope, it appeareth that wee are farre from the error of the *Messalians*, and doe fully accord with the Catholike Church of God, and that the Romanists are not farre from the heresie of *Pelagius*.

CHAP. 27.

Of the heresies of Nouatus, Sabellius, *and the* Manichees.

THe sixt heresie, that wee are charged with, is that of *Nouatus*, who would not haue those that fell in the time of persecution, reconciled and receiued againe to the communion of the Church vpon their repentance. But wee receiue all Penitents whatsoeuer, and therefore this lying slander may be added to the rest to make vp a number.

But they will say, the Nouatians were condemned for denying penance to be a Sacrament, and that therein at least we agree with the Nouatians. This is as false as the rest: for it is most certaine, that the absolution which was giuen in the Primitiue Church, disliked by *Nouatus*, was not taken, as a sacramentall acte, giuing grace, and remitting sinnes, but as a iudicial acte, receiuing them to the peace of the Church, and the vse of the Sacraments, which had been formerly put from them. [a] This, the best and most iudicious of the Schoole-men confesse, besides the infinite testimonies that might be alleaged out of the Fathers to proue the same. It was then an admitting to the vse of the Sacraments, not it selfe a Sacrament.

But *Caluin* sayth, that the speach of *Hierome* that *pœnitentia* is *secunda tabula post naufragium* is impious, and cannot be excused, and therefore it seemeth he inclineth to the *Nouatians* heresie, in denying the benefite of penitencie to distressed and miserable sinners, that seeke it. [b] *Augustine* in his booke *De mendacio ad Consentium*, maketh it a disputable question, whether a man, that vsually lieth, speaking trueth at some one time, with purpose to make men thinke it like the rest of his lying speaches, wherewith they are well acquainted, may not bee sayd to lie when hee speaketh trueth, because hee intendeth to deceiue, and doeth deceiue. Surely, if this man should speake any trueth, I feare the Reader would thinke it a falsehood, because his ordinary manner is seldome or ne-

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a See that which wee haue noted cap. 7. out of *Alex. of Ales* and *Bonau^t* affirming that the Minister is a mediator betweene God and men, dealing with God by way of intreaty, with me by way of commaund: by prayer and petition obtaining for sinners remission at Gods hands; and by authority and power resting in him, restoring them to the Churches peace.

b *Li. 1. de mendacio, and Consentium cap. 4.*

uer to speake any trueth. Doeth *Caluine* say the speach of *Hierome* is impious, and not to bee excused, as hee reporteth hee doeth? Surely no: but that if it bee vnderstood as the Papists vnderstand it, it cannot bee excused. For they conceiue thereby, that the Sacrament of Penance is implied, which *Hierome* neuer thought of.

But hee will say, the *Nouatians* refused to haue those, that they baptized, to receiue imposition of handes, with which was ioyned in those times the anoynting of the parties with oyle. Surely so they did, but so doe not wee: for wee thinke of the vse of imposition of hands, as *Hierome* doeth in his booke against the Luciferians. But touching the vse of oyle though at that time there was no cause for the *Nouatians* to except much against it, yet now that it is made the matter and element of a Sacrament, and that by a kinde of consecration, the ground whereof wee knowe not, wee thinke wee doe not offend in omitting it, [c] no more than the Church of *Rome*, in omitting innumerable ceremoniall obseruations of like nature, that were in vse in those times.

c See *Dionysius* eccleſiaſticall hierarchie ca. 2. part. 2. where a great number of ceremoniall obſeruations are mentioned, which are long ſince grown out of vſe in the Church of *Rome*.

The seuenth is the heresie of *Sabellius*, which hee sayth was reuiued by *Seruetus*. So it was indeede, that *Seruetus* reuiued, in our time, the damnable heresie of *Sabellius* long since condemned in the first ages of the Church. But what is that to vs? Howe little approbation he found amongst vs, the iust and honourable proceeding against him at *Geneua*, will witnesse to all posteritie.

The eighth is the heresie of the *Manichees*, which taught, that euills which are found in the worlde, were from an euill beginning, so making two originall causes, the one good of things good; the other euill of things euill. It is true that this was the damnable opinion of the *Manichees*. But will the shameleſſe companion charge vs with this impietie? I thinke he dareth not: for hee knoweth that wee teach, that all the euils that are in the worlde had their beginning, and did proceede from the freedome of mans will, which while hee vsed ill, hee ouerthrewe, and lost both himselfe and it, that while he turned from the greater to the lesser good, and preferred the creature before the Creatour, hee plunged himselfe into innumerable defects, miseries, perplexities, and discomforts, and iustly deserued, that God, from whome thus wickedly hee departed, should make all those things which formerly hee appoynted to doe him seruice, to become feeble, weake, vnfit, and vnwilling to performe the same.

But, sayth hee, *Luther* affirmeth, that all things fall out by a kinde of absolute necessitie, whence the heresie of the *Manichees* may be inferred. The aunswere to this obiection is easie; for *Luther* taketh necessitie for infallibilitie of euent, thereby meaning that all things fall out infallibly, so as God before disposed and determined: but doth not imagine.

imagine a neceſſitie of coaction enforcing, nor a naturall and ineuitable neceſſitie, taking away all freedome of choyce, as our aduerſaries iniuriouſly impute vnto him.

If this of *Luther* faile, as in deede it doth, *Bellarmine* hath another proofe and demonſtration that wee are *Manichees*, for that *Caluine* denieth man to haue freedome of choyce in any thing whatſoeuer. This is a moſt falſe and iniurious imputation. For, though *Caluine* denie that man can doe any thing in ſuch ſort, as therein to bee free from the direction and ordering of Almighty God; yet hee confeſſeth that *Adams* will in the day of his creation was free, not onely from ſinne and miſerie, but alſo from limitation of deſire and naturall neceſsitie, and left to her own choyce in the higheſt matter, and of moſt conſequence of all the reſt; and that man, by making an euill choyce, did runne into thoſe euils, which he is now ſubiect vnto. *Caluin* then is not worſe than the *Manichees*, as making God the author of thoſe euils, which the *Manichees* attribute to an euill beginning, as *Bellarmine* is pleaſed to pronounce of him: but is farther from that helliſh conceit, than *Bellarmine* is from hell it ſelfe, if hee repent him not of theſe his wicked and helliſh ſlanders.

But, ſayth he, the *Manichees* blamed and reprehended the fathers of the olde Teſtament, and ſo alſo doth *Caluin*, therefore *Caluin* is a Manichee. This is as if a man ſhould thus reaſon with *Bellarmine*: *Porphyry* blaſphemed *Paul*, as an arrogant man, for reprehending *Peter*, that was his auncient, and before him in the faith of Chriſt, and *Bellarmine* diſliketh him for perſecuting the Church of God in the time of his infidelitie, therefore *Bellarmine* is as bad or worſe than *Porphyry*. For, the *Manichees* thought that the olde Teſtament was from an euill beginning, and therefore exaggerated all the faults and ſinnes of the Fathers that then liued, for confirmation and ſtrengthening of this their blaſphemie. But *Caluine* hateth this impietie more than the *Romaniſts*, who imagine a greater difference betwixt the ſtate of the Iewes and the Chriſtians, than hee doeth. [d] It is therefore an ill conſequence, *Caluin* doth not hide, nor excuſe, but condemne the murder, and adulterie of *Dauid*, the drunkenneſſe of *Noe*, and the inceſt of *Lot*, therefore he is like the *Manichees* that thought the olde Teſtament was from an euill beginning. Surely there is neither good beginning, nor ending to bee found in the writings of this ſlaunderous Ieſuite.

[d] *Ad illud de Iacob. Licèt aliqui conentur multum ſaluare eũ, & aliquos patres veteres Teſtamenti non fuiſſe mentitos, ciam tamẽ in aliis concedant eos habuiſſe legem imperfectam, & gratiam modicam, reſpectu noſtri, qui & legem habemus perfectam, & gratiam ſuperabundantem, & de multis non negatur aliquando mentiri, vel fuiſſe mentitos, non videtur multùm rationabile negare illos fuiſſe mentitos vel potuiſſe mentiri: quia ſi ita eſt, & ſi laudemus bona facta eorum, & illa ſumamus in exemplum, mala tamen nec recipimus in exemplum, nec pertinaciter excuſamus. Et Iudeth ipſa ſe ornauit ea intentione, vt Holofernes caperetur in aſpectu ſuo, & hoc volendo tunc velle peccare ſecum mortaliter, & velle alium velle peccare mortaliter eſt peccare mortaliter; vnde non videtur omnino certum, quòd excuſata ſit ab omni peccato mortali: & licèt factum eius narretur in Scriptura, non recitetur in Eccleſia tanquam laudabile, quantum ad aliqua quæ erant ibi religioſitatis, aliqua tamen ibi annexa, nec laudantur, nec [illegible] Scotus lib. 3, diſtinct. 38, quæſt. vnicâ.*

CHAP.

CHAP. 28.

Of the hereſies of the Donatiſts.

THe next hereſie, imputed vnto vs, is that of the *Donatiſts*, who denied thoſe ſocieties of Chriſtians to bee the Churches of God, wherein wicked men are tolerated, and the rules of diſcipline are not obſerued: and thought, that the Church, whoſe communion wee muſt hold, doth conſiſt onely of the good and elect people of God.

Touching the firſt part of this imputation, we diſclaime it as moſt vniuſt and iniurious. For, as I haue ſhewed in the firſt part, we confeſſe, that wicked and godleſſe men are oftentimes tolerated in the true Church of God, either through the negligence of the guides thereof, or vpon due conſideration of the ſcandals and euils, that would follow if they ſhould bee ejected, and caſt out, by reaſon of their greatneſſe, power, or number.

Touching the ſecond part, in what ſenſe onely the good and elect people of God are of the Church, and how and in what degree hypocrites, wicked men, and reprobates, while they holde the profeſſion of the trueth, may be ſayd to bee of the Church, I haue likewiſe cleared in the firſt part.

But, ſayth *Bellarmine*, the *Donatiſts* thought the Church to be onely in *Africa*, and the Proteſtants thinke it to bee onely in the Northerne parts of the world, and therefore they are not farre from Donatiſme. Surely, as farre as hee is from any honeſt and ſincere meaning. For, none of the Proteſtants haue any ſuch conceit, as to thinke the Church of God ſo ſtraightned, as that it ſhould be no where found, but in the Northerne parts of the worlde, where themſelues doe liue. But the Romaniſts may much more iuſtly bee charged with *Donatiſme*, who denie all the ſocieties of Chriſtians in the world, wherein the Popes feete are not kiſſed, and his words holden for infallible Oracles, to pertaine to the true Church of GOD: who acknowledge no true Churches of Chriſt, but their owne conuenticles, ſo caſting into hell all the Chriſtians of *Æthiopia*, *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Græcia*, and *Ruſſia*, for that they ſtand diuided from the communion of the Church of *Rome*. Which vnchriſtian cenſure wee are farre from, thinking that all theſe ſocieties of Chriſtians, notwithſtanding their manifold defects and imperfections, bee, and continue parts and limmes of the true and Catholike Church of God.

Laſtly, he ſayth, the *Donatiſts* committed many outrages againſt true Catholike Biſhops, ſpoyled the Churches of God, and profaned the holy things they found in them. But what can he conclude from hence againſt vs? With which of theſe impieties can he charge vs? Our blood hath been ſpilt by them like water in the ſtreetes, our bodies tormented and conſu-

med with fire, and ſword; and all this by the procurement of the Antichriſtian Biſhops, ſworne enemies of Chriſt, and vaſſals of Antichriſt. Yet haue wee hurt none of them, but in patience poſſeſſed our ſoules, knowing that our iudgement is with God, and that when hee maketh inquirie for blood, hee will finde out all their barbarous actes of cruelty, which they haue done againſt vs. Wee haue profaned nothing that is holy, wee haue remooued and aboliſhed nothing, but the monuments of groſſe idolatry, and therefore we are not to bee compared to the *Donatiſts*. If in any place in popular tumults, or confuſions of warre, whereof euer the Romaniſts haue beene the cauſes, there haue been any thing done in furie, that was not fit, wee cannot excuſe it, nor could not remedie it.

CHAP. 29.

Of the hereſies of Arrius, *and* Aerius.

THe tenth imputation is of *Arrianiſme*, which hereſie we accurſe to the pit of hell, with all the vile calumniations of damned ſlaunderers, that charge vs with it. Neither did euer any of our men incline vnto it, or giue any occaſion of ſo execrable an hereſie. [a] Touching traditions, which, *Bellarmine* ſayth the *Arrians* did refuſe, they were not blamed, for denying vnwritten verities. For, I hope the Romaniſts will not diſaduantage the Catholike cauſe ſo much, as to confeſſe that the Godhead of Chriſt, which was the thing the *Arrians* denied, cannot be proued by Scripture, and that the Fathers were forced to flie to vnwritten traditions for proofe of it. But they were blamed, for that, when the thing had proofe enough by Scripture, they refuſed the word *Conſubſtantiall* (moſt happily deuiſed to expreſſe the trueth againſt the turnings & ſleights of heretikes) onely becauſe they found it not in Scripture: as if no wordes nor formes of ſpeach might be allowed, but thoſe onely that are there expreſſely found.

[a] Hæ voces, quæ extra Scripturam ſunt nullo caſu à nouis ſuſcipiuntur. *Maximinus apud Aug. contra Max. lib. 1. in initio. vnde Aug. lib. 3. cap. 14. contra eundem ſic habet. Pater & filius vnum ſunt eiuſdemq; ſubſtantiæ; hoc eſt illud homouſion, quod in Concilio Niceno aduerſus hæreticos Arrianos à Catholicis patribus veritatis auctoritate & auctoritatis veritate firmatum eſt, quod poſteà in Concilio Ariminenſi propter nouitatem in verbis minùs quàm oportuit intellectum, quem tamen fides antiqua pepererat, multis paucorum fraude deceptis, hæretica impietas ſub hæretico Imperatore Conſtantio labefactare tentauit: ſed poſt non longum temporis libertate Catholicæ fidei proualente, poſtquam vis verbi, ſicut debuit intellecta eſt, homouſion illud Catholicæ fidei ſanitate longè latéq; defenſum eſt: quid eſt enim homouſion, niſi vnius eiuſdemq; ſubſtantiæ? quid eſt homouſion, niſi ego & pater vnum ſumus? Sed nec ego Nicenum, nec tu debes Ariminenſe, tanquam præmodicatorum, proferre Concilium, nec ego huius auctoritate, nec tu illius detineris: ſcripturarum auctoritatibus, non quorumcunque propriis, ſed vtriuſq; communibus teſtibus, res cum re, cauſa cum cauſa, ratio cum ratione concertet.*

The eleuenth is the hereſie of *Aerius*. *Aerius* condemned the cuſtome of the Church, in naming the dead at the Altar, and offering the ſacrifice of the Euchariſt, that is, of thankſgiuing for them. He diſliked ſet faſts, and would not admit any difference betweene a Biſhop and a Presbyter. For this his raſh and inconſiderate boldneſſe & preſumption in condemning the vniuerſal Church of Chriſt, he was iuſtly condemned. For, the practiſe of the Church, at that time, was not euill in any of theſe things, neither doe wee concurre with *Aerius* in the reprehenſion of that Primitiue and ancient

cient Church. For howsoeuer wee dislike the Popish maner of praying for the dead, which is to deliuer them out of their fained Purgatory, yet do we not reprehend the Primitiue Church, nor the Pastors and guides of it, for naming them in their publike prayers, thereby to nourish their hope of the resurrection, and to expresse their longing desires of the consummation of their owne, and their happinesse, that are gone before them in the faith of Christ. If any of the Fathers did doubtfully extend the prayers then vsed, further than they were originally or generally intended or meant, it was not to be imputed to the whole Church.

Of our allowance of set fast, I haue spoken before: and of the difference betweene a Bishop and a Presbyter, I shall haue a fit occasion to speake in examining the note of succession, and the exceptions of the Romanists against vs touching the same. If it bee sayd, that sundry of our Diuines seeme to acquite *Aërius* in these points, they are to be conceiued, as vnderstanding his reprehension to haue touched the errors and superstitions, which euen then perhaps began in some places, & among some men, to growe into practises and doctrines of the Church, which were not euill nor erroneous. For otherwise his reprehension, if it bee vnderstood to extend to the generall practise and iudgement of the Church, is not, nor may not be iustified.

CHAP. 30.

Of the heresies of Iouinian.

THe twelfth heresie imputed to vs, is the heresie of *Iouinian*: concerning whom we must obserue, that *Augustine* ascribeth vnto him two opinions, which *Hierome* mentioneth not, who yet was not likely to spare him, if he might truely haue been charged with them.

[a] The first, that *Mary* ceased to be a virgine, when she had borne *Christ*; the second, that all sinnes are equall. If these were the opinions of *Iouinian*, as it may very well be doubted, wee condemne them, and his errour therein, as much as the Romanists doe. For, we thinke, that *Mary* continued a virgine in & after the birth of *Christ*. But they will say, many of the Protestant Diuines doe teach, that the doores of *Maries* wombe were opened when *Christ* was borne, and from thence it will follow, that shee ceased to be a virgin. This consequence wee denie: for otherwise [b] *Tertullian*, [c] *Ambrose*, [d] *Hierome*, and sundry other of the Fathers shall bee prooued to haue denied the virginitie of *Mary* after the birth of *Christ*, which yet they all most constantly beleeued. But they know well that no such thing can be concluded from thence. For, as [e] *Tertullian* aptly noteth, there is *virgo a viro*, and *virgo a partu*; that is, a virgine may bee so named, because she hath not been a mother, nor the doores of her wombe

[a] *Aug. lib. de haresibus cap. 82.*

[b] *Tertul. de carne Christi.*

[c] *Li. 3. c. 7. in Luc. c. 2.*

[d] *Li. 2. contra Pelagianos.* Tertul. dicit Mariã patefacti corporis lege peperisse & Tertul. dicit Ambrosius quoque subscribit. Rhena. in arg. in lib. Tertul. de carne Christi.

[e] *Lib de carne Christi.*

opened by bearing a child; or becauſe ſhee hath knowen no man, though ſhee haue borne a childe. In this ſort a virgine may remaine a virgine, and yet be a mother and beare a childe, with the opening of the doores of her wombe, if this childe thus conceiued in her, and borne of her, were not begotten by man, nor the doores of her wombe opened by the knowledge of a man. So that though it bee graunted, that *Chriſt*, when he was borne, opened the wombe of *Mary* his mother, yet ſhee remained a Virgine ſtill, becauſe that which was conceiued in her, was of the holy Ghoſt. Neither ſhould our aduerſaries in reaſon preſſe this argument ſo much, [f] ſeeing their owne Schoolemen confeſſe there may bee an opening of the wombe, in ſuch as ſtill remaine virgins. Thus then we ſay with the Fathers, that *Chriſt* being *Maries* firſt borne, may bee ſayd more properly to haue opened the wombe of *Marie* his mother, then any other firſt borne doe: becauſe hee found it ſhut when he came to the birth, which they doe not. But, that from hence a deniall of *Maries* virginitie will follow, we deny. And therefore wee are wronged in this challenge as in the reſt.

[f] Durand. li. 4. d. 44. q. 6. Verſimile eſt beatam virginem Mariam permanſiſſe virginem in partu, & poſt partum ſicut ante: fuit enim virgo non ſolùm ex carentia experientiæ delectationis veneræ per quam propriè amittitur virginitas, ſed etiam membri corporalis integritate; nec tamen propter hoc fuerunt duo corpora ſimul, quia fieri potuit dilatatio membrorum & meatuum naturalium, ſine interruptione vel aliquâ fractione: ſicut, ſecundùm Aug. 14. de ciuit. Dei, fuiſſet in omnibus mulieribus, in ſtatu innocentiæ. Malum equidem dicerem, quod viros non nullos doctos certè atq; Catholicos ſine cuiuſquam reprehenſione noſtrâ ætate dixiſſe video, Chriſtum modo quodam matris vterum aperuiſſe. Maldonatus in Luc. 2, 23.

Touching the opinion of the paritie of ſinnes, which is in the ſecond place imputed to *Iouinian*, wee holde it to bee a Stoicall Paradoxe. Their argument to prooue that wee thinke all ſinnes to bee equall, becauſe as they ſuppoſe wee denie the difference of Veniall and Mortall ſinnes, and thinke all ſinnes to be mortall, is very weake; firſt, becauſe wee doe not denie the difference betweene veniall and mortall ſinnes, as ſhall appeare in that which followeth; and ſecondly, becauſe if we did make all ſinnes to bee mortall, yet of mortall ſinnes one may be, and is greater, and more grieuous then another.

The opinions, that [g] *Hierome* imputeth to *Iouinian*, are foure: the firſt, that there is an equalitie of ioyes and rewards in heauen. This opinion we do not hold, neither can it be deduced by neceſſary conſequence from the words of *Luther*, where he ſaith, that all Chriſtians are as holy and iuſt as the mother of God. For he ſpeaketh of imputed righteouſneſſe, which is equall in all men, from which no imparitie of ioy can flowe; but he neuer denieth inherent righteouſneſſe to be more in one than in another, and more in *Mary* the mother of *Chriſt*, than in any other. Now from this imparitie of inherent righteouſneſſe it is, that there are ſo different degrees of ioy and glory found among the Saints of God that are in heauen.

[g] Hiero lib. 2 contra Iouinianum.

The ſecond opinion which *Hierom* condēneth in *Iouinian*, is, that there is no differēce between abſtinence from meats, & the ſober & due taking of them with thankſgiuing. This we iudge not to be ſo truly deliuered by him, as was to be wiſhed. For, eating with thankſgiuing is a matter of ordinary ſobriety and temperance, but abſtinence is an extraordinary acte of Chriſtian mortification, and humiliation, & being rightly vſed hath thoſe effects the other hath not; though neither meat, nor abſtinence frō meate, doe

do simply commend vs vnto God, fasting being a thing not absolutely, and for it selfe, but onely respectiuely to certaine endes, to bee iudged good.

The third assertion of *Iouinian* was, that they which are baptized with water and the holy Ghost, are not subiect to temptation, nor sinne. This is not onely an error, but only a damnable heresie, if it were so deliuered by him as it is reported by *Hierome*. That which *Caluin* saith, that true faith which is found in them that are called according to purpose (as *Augustine* speaketh, following blessed *Paule*) cannot be wholly extinguished, nor finally lost, is most true, but hath no agreement with that of *Iouinian*, that the regenerate is neither subiect to temptation, nor sinne. For *Caluin* denieth not, but that the elect and chosen seruants of God may and doe oftentimes fall verie daungerously, but that such is the loue of God towards them whome hee hath called according to purpose, that hee is alwayes with them, to raise them vp againe, if they fall: and that this is the difference betweene them, and such as God hath not ordained vnto life, that they fall into the hands of God, who suffereth them not to be broken, or vtterly to perish; whereas the hand of God, euen his heauie hand falleth vppon the other, to crush and breake them to peeces, as [h] *Hugo de Sancto Victore* hath most excellently obserued. This therefore is but a calumniation like the rest, when *Bellarmine* doth charge *Caluin* with the heresie of *Iouinian* in this respect.

h *De Sacramentis fidei, lib. 2. p. 13. tractatu, an charitas semel habita amitti possit.*

The fourth and last assertion of *Iouinian* is, that married persons, virgins and widowes, if they differ not in other workes of vertue, & therin excell one another, are of equall merite. This assertion, howsoeuer it pleased *Hierome* to taxe, I am well assured the best learned both of the Fathers and Schoolemen doe approue. For, virginitie in that it addeth, ouer and aboue the ordinarie chastitie and puritie, which ought to bee found in married folkes, though it bee a kinde of splendor, and beautie of vertue, yet it is no vertue, nor degree of vertue as [i] *Gerson* proueth. For that then married folkes could not haue all vertues: nay, because all vertues are connexed, not hauing this of virginitie they could haue none. Besides that, no vertue is lost but by sinne, whereas virginitie may be lost by that which is no sinne, as by the Act of Matrimonie. All vertues in their times and places are commanded, and not left free and counselled onely: but virginitie is neuer imposed by precept, and therfore it is no vertue. Lastly, there is no vertue, but being lost, by repentance may be recouered againe: but virginitie being lost cannot be recouered againe, therfore it is no vertue. These reasons are laid downe by *Gerson*, whereby in his iudgement it is most clearely proued, that virginitie in that it addeth, ouer and aboue ordinarie chastitie and puritie, is no vertue; and consequētly that the bare and sole hauing of it, maketh not them that haue it more acceptable

i *Gers: p. 2. de obsthys Euangelicis & statu perfectionis fol. 67. Occam h: 3. q. 11. in sentent: ostendit quomodo cōnexa sunt omnes virtutes, non obstante apparenti repugnantiā; & quomodo matrimonio iuncti virtute Virginitatis habere dici possunt: ad virginitatem, inquit, requiritur abstinentia carnis eo modo quo Deus vult talē abstinentiam esse, & similiter actus carnis eo modo quo Deus vult eos.*

acceptable vnto God, then others that haue it not, vnlesse they excell the in vertue. It is then a state of life wherin if all things be aunswerable in the parties that imbrace it, there are fewer occasions of distractions from God, and more opportunities of attaining to the height of excellent vertue, then in the opposite estate of marriage; yet so, as that it is possible for some married men so to vse that estate, that they may bee no way inferiour to any that are single. This doth *Gregorie Nazianzene* most confidently and peremptorily defende, in his oration made in the prayse of *Gorgonia* his sister. Our whole life, saith hee, is diuided into two sorts or kindes, to wit, Marriage and single life; whereof the one, that is single life, as it is more excellent and diuine, so it is of more labour and perill. The other as it is more meane, and of lesse esteeme, so it is subiect to lesse perill. *Gorgonia* auoiding the inconueniences of both estates, whatsoeuer shee found in either of them behoofefull, beneficiall, and commodious shee tooke, and made the height of the excellent perfection of the one estate, and the safetie and securitie of the other, to concurre and meete together. Shee was chast and vndefiled, without scornefull disdaine, mixing the commodities of single life, with marriage, and shewing by euident proofe, that neither of these estates is in it owne nature such, as that it should wholly ioyne vs to God, or the world, or wholly diuide, & seperate vs from these, so that the one of these should be a thing altogether to be auoyded, and the other to be desired; but that it is the minde which doth rightly vse both marriage and single life, and that either of these is as fitte a matter for a skilful workeman to worke vpon, and to bring forth the excellent worke of vertue. And in his [k] Oration in the prayse of *Basill*, he saith, *There haue beene some founde, that liuing in the state of Marriage haue so carried themselues, as that they made it euident, that marriage is no impediment or hinderance, but that therein man may attaine to as great glorie of vertue, as in virginitie or single life. By which it may appeare, that marriage and virginitie are rather diuerse sorts and kindes of life, then differences and degrees of liuing better or worse.*

[k] *In laudem Basilij*: pag: 496.

These sentences of *Nazianzene* are very different from the inconsiderate speeches of *Hierome*, that hee is wont to vse in comparing these two states of life together. For, who knoweth not, that hee was so farre in loue with the one, and carried away with the admiration of it, in such sort, that hee spake too basely of the other, and indeede otherwise then truth and reason would permitte. If this be not so, let them that thinke otherwise tell mee what they thinke of these sayings of his. [l] *Melius est nubere quàm vri: si per se nuptiæ sint bonæ, noli illas incendio comparare, sed dic simpliciter, Bonum est nubere. Suspecta est mihi omnis bonitas eius rei, quam magnitudo alterius mali, malum esse cogit inferius: Ego autem non leuius malum, sed simplex per se bonum volo. Si bonum est mulierem non tangere, malum est ergo tangere: nihil enim bono contrarium est, nisi malum. &c.* So then as wee

[l] *Contra Iouinianũ*, his books against *Iouinian* were excepted against by those of the church of Rome, whereupō he writeth an apologie. *Certè constat Hierō: hac de causâ Romæ malè audisse. Rhen: in arg: in Tertul: de exhortatione ad castitatem.*

wee doe not approue any priuate opinion of *Iouinian*, contrarie to the iudgement of Gods Church: So, on the contrarie side, wee dare not approue these and the like rash and inconsiderate speeches of *Hierome*, being contrarie to the truth of scripture, and the iudgement of the rest of the Fathers, who are wont so to compare marriage and virginitie, that the difference betweene them should be *bonum & melius*, both good, but the one better then the other; not *bonum & malum*, the one good and the other euill. For so to thinke is to fall into the heresie of *Marcion*, and *Tatianus*.

CHAP. 31.

Of the Heresies of Vigilantius.

THe next heresie that we are supposed to fall into, is that of *Vigilantius*. The opinions imputed to him by *Hierome*, & disliked, are these. The first that the Saints departed pray not for the liuing. The second that they abide in some certaine place, & are not euery where. The third that the vigils of the Saints are not to be kept, nor their bodies, & the reliques & the ashes that remaine of them to be honoured, but despitefully trampled vnder feete. The fourth that Bishops are bound to marry, and may not be admitted vnlesse they do first marry. The fift that it is better to giue almes of our goods, according to that abilitie we haue, & to retaine a sufficiency to our selues, thē to sell away all, & giue whatsoeuer we haue, at once to the poore. Two other assertions there are wherwith *Bellarmine* chargeth *Vigilantius*, to wit, the impugning of the inuocation of Saints, & the condemning of the adoration of Saints, and their reliques: Thereby intending to make his reader beleeue, that there was a controuersie betweene *Hierome* and *Vigilantius* about these thinges, That *Hierome* did defende inuocation of Saints, whereof yet hee speaketh not one word, and that he iustified the adoration of Saints and their Reliques, which yet in expresse words he disclaimeth and condemneth, saying that *the Church honoureth them, but adoreth them not.*

For the opinions wherewith *Hierome* chargeth him, this wee breefely answere. First, if he absolutely denied that the Saints departed doe pray for vs, as it seemeth hee did by *Heromes* reprehension, wee thinke hee erred. For wee hold they do pray in *genere*. Touching the second, whether the Saints doe abide in some one place appointed for their rest, or bee present euerie where, howe peremptorie soeuer *Hierome* bee, wee wish the Reader to consider howe doubtfully *Augustine* hath written of this matter in his booke *de cura agenda pro mortuis*: And that [a] *Tertullian*, [b] *Athanasius* and sundrie other, haue resolutely deliuered, that the soules of men departed doe neuer returne nor intermeddle with the liuinge, any more. [c] Touching the third, which is the keeping of the vigils of the Saints, wee know they were

[a] *Nulli autem animæ omnino inferos patere satis dominus in argumento illo pauperis requiescentis & diuitis ingemiscētis ex persona Abrahæ sanxit non posse inde religari renunciatorem dispositionis inferna &c: Tertul: de anima. Luc. 16.*

[b] *Athanasius auctor quisquis auctor est quæst: ad Antiochū quæst 11. 13. Isidorus ls. 8. Etymolog: cap. 9, Theophilact. in 8. Mathei prorsus negant animas mortuorum viuentibus vnquam apparere, & cur fieri non conueniat multas rationes afferunt. Maldonatus in Luce 16, & 23. 28.*

[c] *Vide supra cap. 9.*

were long since by the decree of a Councell condemned and forbidden, and that the Church of *Rome* doth not continue nor retaine any such vse or custome at this day. But whereas hee is saide to haue denied any honor to bee giuen to the bodies of Gods Saints, and despitefully to haue vsed them, if so hee did wee cannot but as much condemne his impietie therein, as *Hierome* did. Neither doe wee suffer any with vs to despise the blessed Saints of God, to trample their bodies vnder feete, or cast them into the fire, as *Bellarmine* most falsely and vniustly accuseth vs. But this indeede wee confesse we haue done, remembring [d] the saying of *Gregorie* and other of the Fathers, affirming that neither the bodyes of the Saints, nor any parts of them, ought to bee brought into open viewe, or handled with the hands of men; and that the burying of them, and hiding them from the sight of men is a dutie wee owe vnto them: wee haue caused Reliques which were wont superstitiously to be adored, and offered to be seene and handled of men, to be honourably buried. If any thing haue beene disorderly done in the confusions of warre, and popular tumults, they knowe our aunswere, we cannot excuse it, nor coulde not remedie it. Touching the fourth wee say, that Bishopes neither are bound to marrie, nor abstaine from marriage. Touching the last wee say, that Christian perfection standeth in this, that wee set not our hearts vpon riches, that wee bee not proude of them, nor trust in them, that wee bee readie, if it bee for Gods glorie or our owne soules good, to leaue all: But, for giuing away all at once, or retaining to our selues a sufficiency, neither the one nor the other is absolutely a matter of more perfection. For, sometimes and for some men it is better to keepe and retaine a sufficiencie, and to giue according to the proportion of their abilitie, then to giue away all at once: and some times, for some men, vppon some occasion, and in some state of things, it argueth more perfection, to giue away, relinquish, and forsake all at once. Perfection therefore essentially consisteth not in riches or pouertie, nor in the refusing to haue any propertie in any thing, as thereby expressing the state of things in the time of mans innocencie: but in the affection of the minde alwayes readie to forsake all for the glorie of God, the profession of the faith of Christ, and the attaining of eternall saluation. See to this purpose *Gerson* in his booke *de consilijs euangelicis*, wherein he excellently handleth and cleareth this matter of Christian perfection.

[d] *In Romanis vel totius occidũ partibus intolerabile est & sacrilegium si sanctorum corpora sangers quisquam fortassis volueris & cinis: quis præsumat inspicere? is: 3. in dictione 12. Epist. 30.*

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CHAP. 32.

Of the hereſies of Pelagius *touching originall ſinne, and the difference of veniall and mortall ſinnes.*

THe fourteenth hereſie wee are charged with, is *Pelagianiſme*, which *Bellarmine* endeuoureth to faſten vpon vs three wayes. Firſt, becauſe *Zuinglius* did ſometimes ſeeme to deny originall ſinne, as did the *Pelagians*. Secondly, becauſe *Caluin* and others teach, that the children of the faithfull are holy, by the right of their birth. Thirdly, becauſe we ſay that all ſinnes are by nature mortall.

To the firſt of theſe obiections we ſay, there is no more reaſon to charge vs with the priuate opinion of *Zuinglius* which himſelf afterwards corrected, and none of his followers euer in the *Heluetian* Church defended, then for vs to charge them with the error of [a] *Pighius* and *Catharinus*, who taught more peremptorily the ſame error that *Zuinglius* did, if not a worſe and more dangerous. For whereas hee acknowledged moſt greeuous euils to be found in the nature of man ſince *Adams* fall, which noe way could haue beene in the integritie of nature, though hee will not call them by the name of ſinne; They holde, that originall ſinne is not ſubiectiuely and inherent in euerie of vs, but that *Adams* ſinne is imputed to vs, and we puniſhed for his offence, that all the euils the ſonnes of *Adam* are obiect to, are the conditions of nature, and conſequently not newely brought in by *Adams* ſinne, with ſundrie other erroneous conceits of the ſame nature.

[a] *Bell. li. 5. c. 16. de amiſſione gratiæ & ſtatu peccati, propo-nit & damnat errorem Pighij & Catherini.*

Touching the ſecond obiection, that *Bucer*, and *Caluin* deny originall ſinne, though not generally, as did *Zuinglius*, yet at leaſt in the children of the faithfull: If hee had ſaid that theſe men, affirme the earth doth moue, and the heauens ſtand ſtil, he might haue as ſoone iuſtified it againſt them, as this he now ſaith.

For they moſt conſtantly defende, the contrarie of that hee imputeth them. But ſaith hee, they teach that the children of the faithfull are borne holy, or are holy by the right of their birth. O inconſiderate Ieſuite! Is this the ground of that vile and vniuſt imputation? [b] Doth not *Paul* ſay in expreſſe words, and wilt thou make him a *Pelagian* likewiſe? But ſith hee, *Caluin* and *Bucer* teach that the children of Chriſtians by the right of their birth are comprehended in the couenants of grace, and ſo vnderſtand the holineſſe attributed to them: whence it will follow that they are borne without originall ſinne. To this wee anſwere, that the children of beleeuing parents may bee vnderſtood to bee comprehended in the couenants of mercy and grace, by the right of their birth, either as being alreadie in the couenants by actuall admiſſion, in that they are

[b] 1. Corinth. 7. 14

borne of such parents, or for that in the couenant between God and their parents, their parents offering them vnto God, and his admission of them, and taking them to be his children vpon such offer made, are couenanted & agreed vpon. If *Caluin* & *Bucer* did teach, that the childrē of beleeuing parēts are already in the couenant by actual admissiō, in that they are borne of such parents, it would follow that they were the children of grace by nature, and not of wrath, and consequently not borne in sinne. But they teach noe such thing, but vnderstand the comprehension in the couenants in the other sense, namely that the offering of them vnto God by their parents, and his acceptation of them vpon such offer made, are couenanted and agreed vpon in the couenants betweene God and their parents. Nowe then as beleeuing parents haue good assurance that God will receiue their children as his owne children by adoption, and forgiue them the sinne they are borne in, if they present and offer them to Baptisme, as they are bound by couenant to doe, as much as in them lyeth; So if by inuitable impossibilitie they be hindered and cannot, they hope of God's goodnesse in this behalfe, and are moued so to hope, by sundrie Rules of equitie, whereof [a] *Gerson* and diuerse others doe speake, whom I hope *BELLARMINE* will not pronounce to bee *Pelagian* heretickes.

[a] *Gers: 3. part: sum: de natiuitate Virginis Mariæ cons. Caietanus in 3. Thomæ quæst. 9. alias 68. art. 3.*

The second thing, wherein *Bellarmine* supposeth we agree with the *Pelagians*, is the deniall of the difference or distinction of veniall and mortall sinnes. That the *Pelagians* did expressely and directly deny this distinction of sinnes, there is no ancient writer that reporteth. *Bellarmine* therefore prooueth it to be consequent vpon that which they taught concerning the perfection of righteousnesse, supposed by them to be so full and absolute, as not to admitte any imperfection, or any the lightest sinne to be where it remaineth. How good this consequence is, and how well he proueth that hee intendeth, I referre to the iudgement of the Reader, and will not now examine. But whether the *Pelagians* were in an errour touching the difference of sinnes, or no, I will make it cleare and euident that wee are not. For wee doe not deny the distinction of veniall and mortall sinnes: but doe thinke, that some sinnes are rightly saide to bee mortall and some veniall; not for that some are worthy of eternall punishment, and therefore named mortall, others of temporall onely, and therefore iudged veniall, as the Papistes imagine: [b] but for that some exclude grace out of that man in which they are found, and so leaue him in a state wherein he hath nothing in himselfe that can or will procure him pardon: and others which though, in themselues considered, and neuer remitted, they be worthy of eternal punishment, yet doe not so farre preuaile, as to banish grace the fountaine of remission of all misdoings.

[b] *Caietanus in primam secundæ quæst. 87. art. 5.*

All sinnes then in themselues considered are mortall, [c] as *Gerson* doe excellently demonstrate. First, because euerie offence against God

[c] *De vita spirituali animæ lect. 1.*

uſtly be puniſhed by him in the ſtrictneſſe of his righteous iudgements with eternall death, yea with vtter annihilation; which appeareth to bee moſt true, for that there is no puniſhment ſo euill, and ſo much to bee auoided, as the leaſt ſinne that may bee imagined: ſo that a man ſhould rather chooſe eternall death, yea vtter annihilation, than committe the leaſt offence in the world. Secondly, the leaſt offence that can bee imagined, remaining eternally in reſpect of the ſtaine and guilt of it, though not in act, as doe all ſinnes vnremitted, muſt be puniſhed eternally: for elſe there might ſome ſinnefull diſorder and ἀταξία remaine not ordered by diuine iuſtice. But whereſoeuer is eternitie of puniſhment, men are repelled from eternall life & happineſſe: and conſequently euerie offence that eternally remaineth not remitted, excludeth from eternall glorie and happineſſe, and is rightly iudged a mortall and deadly ſinne. All ſinnes then are mortall in them that are ſtangers from the life of God, becauſe they haue dominion and full command in them, or are ioyned with ſuch as haue; and ſo leaue no place for grace which might crie vnto God for the remiſsion of them. But the elect and choſen ſeruants of God, called according to purpoſe, doe carefully indeuour, that noe ſinnes may haue dominion ouer them, and therefore notwithſtanding any degree of ſinne they runne into, they retaine that grace which can and will procure pardon, for all their offences.

Thus all ſinnes in themſelues conſidered, and neuer repented of, forſaken, nor remitted, are mortall. All ſinnes (that againſt the holy Ghoſt excepted) are veniall *ex euentu*, that is ſuch as may be, and oftentimes are forgiuen through the merciful goodneſſe of God, though there be nothing in the parties offending while they are in ſuch ſtate of ſinne, that either can or doth crie for remiſsion. The ſinnes of the iuſt not done with full conſent (and therefore not excluding grace, the propertie whereof is to procure the remiſsion of ſinnes) are ſaid to be venial, becauſe they are ſuch, and of ſuch nature, as leaue place, in that ſoule wherin they are, for grace that may and will procure pardon.

By that which hath beene ſaid, I hope it doth appeare, that wee teach nothing touching the difference of veniall and mortall ſinnes, that *Bellarmine* himſelfe can except againſt, and that we differ very much from the *Pelagians*, who thought that no ſinnefull defect can ſtand with grace, or a ſtate of acceptation and fauour with God. For wee reiect this their conceite, as impious and hereticall, and do confeſſe that all ſinnes, not done with full conſent, may ſtand with grace, and ſo bee rightly named veniall.

CHAP. 33.

Of the hereſie of Neſtorius, *falſely imputed to* Beza *and others.*

THe next hereſie, it pleaſeth this hereticall Romaniſt to charge vs with, is that of the *Neſtorians*. Let vs ſee how he indeuoureth to faſten this impietie vpon vs. Firſt (ſaith he) the *Neſtorians* contemned the Fathers, and ſo doe the *Proteſtantes*, therfore they are *Neſtorians*. The conſequence of this argument we will not now examine. But the Minor propoſition is moſt falſe. For wee reuerence and honor the Fathers much more then the Romaniſts doe, who peruert, corrupt, and adulterate their writings, but dare not abide the triall of their doctrines, by the indubitate writings of antiquitie.

Secondly, (ſaith hee) the *Neſtorians* affirmed, that there were two perſons in Chriſt, and ſo diuided the vnitie of his perſon. But the *Proteſtants* thinke ſo likewiſe. Therefore they are *Neſtorians*. The aſſumption we deny, and hee doth not ſo much as indeuour to proue it, but proceedeth particularly to proue *Beza* a *Neſtorian* heretique: in which he hath as ill ſucceſſe as he had in the reſt of his ſlanderous imputations.

Beza (ſaith hee) teacheth, that there are two hypoſtaticall vnions in Chriſt; *Ergo* two *hypoſtaſes* or perſons: which was the hereſie of *Neſtorius*. The conſequence of this argument is too weake to inforce the intended concluſion. For when *Beza* ſaith, There are two hypoſtaticall vnions in Chriſt, the one of the body and ſoule, the other of the nature of God and man, he doth not conceiue that the vnion of the body and ſoule doe in Chriſt make a diſtinct humane perſon or ſubſiſtence, different from that of the ſonne of God: (for hee euerie where confeſſeth, that the humane nature of Chriſt, hath noe ſubſiſtence, but that of the ſonne of God communicated to it) but hee therefore calleth it an hypoſtaticall vnion, becauſe naturally it doth cauſe a finite and diſtinct humane perſon or ſubſiſtence, and ſo would haue done here, if the nature flowing out of this vnion, had not beene aſſumpted by the ſonne of God, and ſo preuented and ſtaied from ſubſiſting in it ſelfe, and perſonally ſuſtained in the perſon of the ſonne of God. This doctrine is ſo farre from hereſie, that he may iuſtly be ſuſpected of more then ordinarie malice, that will traduce it as hereticall. Yet hath *Beza*, to ſtop the mouthes of ſuch clamorous aduerſaries, long ſince corrected and altered this forme of ſpeech, which hee had ſometimes vſed.

a *Deus dupliciter habet eſſe in creatura. 1 per illapſum in omnem naturæ & creaturæ: 2 per circumſeſſionem in natura aſſumpta: & licet per illapſum Deus ſit intimus omni creaturæ, & interior quam ipſa ſibi aut formæ materiæ, tamen per circumſeſſion ſit intimior natura aſſumptæ, quia neceſſe eſt naturam aſſumptam admittere propriũ eſſe ſubſiſtentiæ, ſi quod ante aſſumptionem non habuit; vel ſi nunquam ipſum habuit, ſubintrare eſſe ſubſiſtentiæ naturæ ad quam aſſumitur vt ſit idem ſuppoſitum ſubſiſtens in duabus naturis.* Picus epiſtol: quæſt: 4.

CHAP. 34.

Of the heresies of certaine touching the Sacrament, and how our men denie that to bee the body of Christ that is caried about to be gazed on.

THe sixteenth heresie, imputed to vs, is the heresie of certaine, who, what they were, the Iesuite knoweth not, nor what their heresie was, as it should seeme by his doubtfull and vncertain manner of speaking of it. This vnknowen heresie, defended by he knoweth not whome, he sayth *Caluine*, *Bucer*, *Melanæthon*, and other worthy and renowmed Diuines (with whom he is no way matchable either in pietie or learning, though hee weare a Cardinals hatte) do teach. But what monster of heresie is it, that these men haue broached? [a] Surely, that Christs body is not in the Sacrament, or sacramentall elements, but in reference to the vse appointed by Almighty God; nor longer than the Sacrament may serue for our instruction, and the working of our spirituall vnion with Christ; and that therefore it is not the body of Christ, that dogs, swine, and mice doe eate, as the Romanists are wont to blaspheme: and that it is not fit to dispute, as their impious Sophisters doe, of the passage of it into the stomacke, belly, and draught, of vomiting it vp againe, and resuming it when it is vomited, with infinite other like fooleries, which euery modest man loatheth and shameth to heare mentioned. Secondly, that it is not the body of Christ, which the Popish Idolaters carie about in their pompous, solemne, and pontificall Processions to bee gazed on and adored, to driue away diuels, to still tempests, to stay the ouerflowing of waters, to quench and extinguish consuming and wasting fires: But that the bodie of Christ is present in and with the sanctified elements, onely in reference to the vse appointed, that is, that men should be made partakers of it.

This participation, according to the auncient vse, was first and principally in the publike assembly; secondly, in the primitiue Church the maner of many was, to receiue the Sacrament, and not to be partakers of it presently, but to carie it home with them, and to receiue it priuately when they were disposed, [b] as *Tertullian* and others doe report. [c] Thirdly, the paner was to send it by the Deacons, to them, that by sickneſſe, or other necessarie impediment were forced to be absent; [d] and to strangers. Yea, for this purpose they did in such places, where they cõmunicated not euery day, reserue some part of the sanctified elements, to be sent to the sicke, and such as were in danger of death.

[e] This reseruation was not generally obserued, as may appeare by the canon of *Clemens*, prescribing, that so much onely should be prouided for the outward matter of the Sacraments, as might suffice the Communicants; and that if any thing remained, it should presently be receiued by

[a] *Hugo de sancto victore de sacram. fidei. lib. 2. p. 9. c. 13 Bonauent. li. 4. dist. 13. art. 2. q. 1, 2.*

[b] *De corona militis. li. 2. ad vxorem. Hieron. aduersus Iouin. offerre non ingrediuntur ecclesias, &c. Rhenanus annotat. in lib. de corona militis.*

[c] *Iustinus Martyr apolo. 2 prope fin.*

[d] *Eusebius lib. 5. cap. 23.*

[e] *Non tamdiu seruabatur, vt nunc: nã sequitur in can. de septimo in septimum diem semper mutetur, & alia eodem die cõsecrata in locum eius subrogetur. at vetustissimus can Clementis apud Burchardum vetat Eucharistiam asseruari: hodie mus cidas particulas comedere coguntur sacerdotes quas olim vetustas igne consumpsit Rhena. in annot. in Tertul. de corona militis, pag. 338.*

the Clergie. Neither could there be any place for, or vse of, reseruation, where there was a dayly Communion, as in many places there was: nor in any place for such reseruation as is vsed in the Church of *Rome*, for weekes, and moneths, seeing there was generally in auncient times in all places, twise a weeke, or at least once euery weeke, a Communion, from whence they might be supplied that were absent.

The Romanists consecrate euery day, but make their reseruation from some solemne time of communicating, as Easter, or the like; and this not onely, or principally, for the purpose of communicating any in the mysteries of the Lords bodie and blood, but for circumgestation, ostentation, and adoration, to which end the Fathers neuer vsed it. Neither is that, which is thus vnto this purpose reserued, the body of Christ, as our Diuines doe most truely pronounce. The maner of the primitiue Church was as *Rhenanus* testifieth, if any parts of the consecrated elements remained so long as to bee musty and vnfit for vse, to consume them with fire, which I thinke they would not haue done to the body of Christ. This sheweth they thought the sanctified elements to be Christs body no longer, than they might serue for the comfortable instruction of the faithfull, by partaking in them. But the Romanists at this day, as the same *Rhenanus* fitly obserueth, would thinke it a great and horrible impietie, to doe that which the Fathers then prescribed and practised.

So then *Caluine* doth thinke that the Romish reseruation doth not carie about with it the body of Christ, as the Papists foolishly fancie, and yet I hope is in no heresie at all. Neither doeth hee any where say, that the elements consecrated and reserued for a time, in reference to an ensuing receiuing of them, are not the body of Christ; but saith onely, that there were long since great abuses in reseruation, and greater in that euery one was permitted to take the Sacrament at the hand of the publike Minister in the Church, and carry it home with him: which I think this Cardinall will not denie, if hee aduisedly bethinke himselfe.

CHAP. 35.

Of the heresie of Eutiches, *falsely imputed to the Diuines of* Germany.

THe next heresie, imputeed vnto vs, is *Eutichianisme*; which is directly opposite and contrary to the former errour of *Nestorius*. This hee chargeth first vpon *Zuinglius*, whome we reiect as a franticke and seduced miscreant, and doe in no wise acknowledge him to bee a member of our Churches. Secondly, vpon *Brentius*, *Iacobus*, *Smidelinus*, and other learned Diuines of the German Churches.

The

The hereſie of *Eutiches* was, that as before, ſo after the incarnation, there was but one onely nature in Chriſt, for that the nature of God was turned into man, that there was a confuſion of theſe natures. Doe any of the Germane Diuines teach this blaſphemous doctrine? No, ſaith *Bellarmine*, not directly and in preciſe tearmes, but indirectly, and by conſequent they doe. If we demaund of him what that is which they teach, whence this impiety may by neceſſary conſequence be inferred, hee anſwereth, the vbiquitary preſence of the body and humane nature of Chriſt. For, ſayth hee, vbiquity being an incommunicable propertie of God, it cannot be cõmunicated to the humane nature of Chriſt, without confuſion of the diuine & humane natures. But he ſhould remember that they, whom he thus odiouſly traduceth, are not ſo ignorant, as to thinke, that the bodie of Chriſt, which is a finite and limited nature, is euery where, by actuall poſition or locall extenſion, but perſonally onely in reſpect of the conjunction and vnion it hath with God, by reaſon whereof it is no where ſeuered from God, who is euery where.

This is it then, which they teach, That the body of Chriſt doth remaine in nature and eſſence finite, limited, and bounded, and is locally in one place; but that there is no place where it is not vnited perſonally vnto that God that is euery where: in which ſenſe they thinke it may truely bee ſaid to be euery where. For the better clearing of this point, wee muſt remember that it is agreed vpon by all Catholike Diuines, that the humane nature of Chriſt hath two kindes of being, the one naturall, the other perſonall. The firſt, limited and finite; the ſecond, infinite and incomprehenſible. For, ſeeing the nature of man is a created nature and eſſence, it cannot be but finite: [a] and ſeeing it hath no perſonal ſubſiſtence of it owne, but that of the Sonne of God communicated to it, which is infinite and without limitation, it cannot be denied to haue an infinite ſubſiſtence, and to ſubſiſt in an incomprehenſible and illimited ſort, and conſequently euery where. Thus then the body of Chriſt, *ſecundum eſſe naturale*, is contained in one place; but *ſecundum eſſe perſonale*, may rightly be ſayd to be euery where.

It were eaſie to reconcile all thoſe aſſertions of our Diuines touching this part of Chriſtian faith, in ſhew ſo oppoſite one to another, and to ſtop the mouthes of our prattling aduerſaries, who ſo greedily ſeeke out our verball and ſeeming differences (whereas their whole doctrine is nothing elſe but an heape of vncertainties and contrarieties) if this place were a fit place. But let this briefly ſuffice for the repelling of *Bellarmines* calumniation, and let vs proceede to examine the reſt of his obiections.

[a] *Vniri Hypoſtaticè Deum & hominẽ, nihil eſt aliud quã naturam humanam non habere propriã exiſtentiam, ſed aſſumptam eſſe à verbo æterno, ad ipſam verbi ſubſiſtentiam, Bellar. de incarnatione, lib. 3. cap. 8.*

CHAP.

CHAP. 36.

Of the supposed heresie of Zenaias Persa, *impugning the adoration of Images.*

He next heresie, hee imputeth vnto vs, is the impugning of the adoration and worshipping of Images: the first authour of which impietie, as this impious Idolater is pleased to name it, was *Zenaias Persa*, as *Nicephorus* reports. But whatsoeuer the Iesuite thinke, *Nicephorus* credit is not so good, that vpon his bare worde wee should beleeue so shamelesse a lie. For *Augustine*, which was before this Persian, (in his booke *De moribus Ecclesiæ, libro primo, capite tricesimo quarto*) hath the same heresie, as it pleaseth these heretikes to call it. *Nolite, inquit, consectari turbas imperitorum, qui in ipsa vera religione superstitiosi sunt. Noui multos esse sepulcrorum & picturarum adoratores, quos mores Ecclesia condemnat, & quotidie corrigere studet.* And [a] *Gregorie*, after the time of this supposed Persian, doeth condemne the adoration of Images. And [b] the Councell of *Frankford* likewise after his time, as appeareth by *Hincmarus*, and others.

Besides, if *Nicephorus* followe the iudgement of the Fathers of the second *Nicene* Councell, he meaneth nothing elsse, by that adoration of Images which hee approoueth, but the imbracing, kissing, and reuerent vsing of them, like to the honour wee doe the bookes of holy Scripture, not that religious worship which consisteth in spirit and trueth, which the Papists yeelde to their Idoles. And so there is as great difference of iudgement betweene him and *Bellarmine*, as betweene him and vs.

[c] That which *Bellarmine* addeth against *Caluine* and others, touching the time that Images were first brought into the Church, if this place did require the examination of it, wee should finde him as notable a trifler therein, as in all the rest.

a Greg. Sermo Massilensi lib 9, cap. 9 frangi non debuit quod non ad adorandum in Ecclesijs, sed ad instruendum solummodo mentes fuit nescientium collocatum.

b Auctores antiqui omnes consentiunt in hoc quod in Concilio Francofordiensi fit reprobata Synodus 7, quæ decreuerat imagines adorandas vt a Hincmarus, Anonimus Regino, Ado, et alij. Bellarm. lib. 2. de sanctorum imaginibus, cap. 14.

c Quis adorat vel orat istum? simulachrum, quis non sic affectus vt ab eo se exaudiri putet? itaq; homines talibus superstitionibus obligati plerunque ad ipsum solum lapidem ponentes preces fundunt statuæ, quam solem vocant: & cum sonitu manu à tergo feriantur, Neptuni statuam quam pro ipso mari colunt, quasi sentientem gemitibus ferunt: hoc enim fecit, & quodammodo extorquet illa figura membrorum, &c. Hoc venerantur quod ex auro & argento fecerunt: sed dicent, & nos habere instrumenta & vasa ex huiusmodi materia in vsu celebrandorum sacramentorum, &c. & sunt profecto ista instrumenta, siue vasa, quid aliud quam opera manuum hominum? cæterum numquid os habent, & non loquuntur, &c. numquid si supplicamus quia per ea supplicamus Deo? illa causa maxima impietatis insanæ, quod plus valet in affectibus nostris forma similis viuentis, qua sibi efficit supplicari, quam quod non festum est, non esse viuentem, vt debeat à viuente contemni. Augustinus lib. 13. de Ciuitate Dei. Strabonem de rebus eccles. de imaginibus &c.

CHAP. 37.

Of the errour of the Lampetians, touching vowes.

THe errour of the Lampetians was, as *Alphonſus à Caſtro* ſuppoſeth, that it is not lawfull for men to vowe, and by vowing to lay a neceſſitie vpon themſelues of doing thoſe things, which freely and without any ſuch tye, might much better bee performed.

If they diſliked ſimply all vowing, wee doe not approoue their opinion, as may appeare by that which *Kemniſius*, *Zanchius*, and others haue written to this purpoſe, and therefore we are vniuſtly ſayd to fauour their errour. That which *Bellarmine* addeth, for the ſtrengthening of this his vniuſt imputation, is a meere calũniation. For *Luther* doth not ſay, that man ſhould vowe to doe a thing as long as hee ſhall be pleaſed, and then to bee free againe, when he ſhall diſlike that which before he reſolued on: but that all vowes ſhould be made with limitation, [a] to be ſo farre performed, as humane frailtie will permit, and that it is better after a vow made to breake it, and to deſcend to the doing of that which is lawful and good, though not carying ſo great ſhewe of perfection as that which by vow was promiſed, than, vnder the pretence of keeping it, to liue in all diſſolute wickedneſſe, as the maner of the Popiſh votaries is: [b] whereupon the Fathers are cleare, that marriage, after a vowe made of ſingle life, is lawfull, and that it is better to marry, than continuing ſingle to liue lewdly and wantonly.

a The Romaniſts admit diſpenſatiõs wholly diſcharging from Vowes and Commutations: whereby men are taught, it ſufficeth to performe ſome other thing, in ſtead of that they vowed.

b *Si aut perſeuerare nolunt, vel non poſſunt, multò eſt vt nubant, quã acta pœnitentia in grauem delictũ ſuũ cadant. Cypr. lib. 1. epiſt. 11 Epiphanius hereſi 61. oſtendit melius eſſe poſt votum iungi matrimonio, & acta pœnitentia reuiſis in Eccleſiam, quàm quotidiè telis occultis vulnerari. Aug. de bono viduitatis*, though hee doeth miſſike them that vowe, and performe not, yet hee reproueth them alſo, that thinke marriages after vowes to be voide, and to be diſſolued.

CHAP. 38.

Of the hereſie of certaine, touching the veritie of the body and blood of Chriſt, communicated to vs in the Sacrament.

THe laſt hereſie might well haue beene omitted. For, thoſe heretikes condemned by [a] *Theodoret*, *Ignatius* & others, denied the veritie of Chriſts humane nature, and thereupon condemned the Sacrament of his body and blood. So that it was not the impugning of Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation, as *Bellarmine* idlely fancieth, that was reproued in them, but the denying of the trueth of that bodie and blood, which all true Chriſtians doe knowe to bee myſtically communicated to them in the Sacrament, to their vnſpeakable comfort. Howe then can wee bee charged with the hereſie of theſe men, ſeeing wee neither denie the veritie of Chriſts humane nature,

a *Impotibile Dialog. 3. mirum eſt Bellarmino hanc hæreſin tam antiquam putare, cum Alphonſus à Caſtro, hæreſi 4. de Euchariſtia, dicat, omnes qui huius peruerſi dogmatis mentionẽ fecerunt aſſerere fuiſſe Berengarij inuentionem.*

nor make the Sacrament to bee a naked figure or similitude onely, but acknowledge that it consisteth of two things, the one earthly, and the other heauenly; and that the bodie of Christ is truely present in the Sacrament, and communicated to vs, though neither Capernaitically to be torne with the teeth, nor popishly to bee swallowed, and carried downe into the stomacke and belly.

Thus then wee see, how fondly this Cardinall heretike hath indeuoured to prooue vs heretikes, and to hold the olde condemned heresies of those cursed Arch-heretikes, whose frensies wee condemne much more than he, and his fellowes doe. So that hee is so farre from demonstrating either our consent with condemned heretikes that were of olde, or their consent with the ancient Fathers, and consequently the antiquity of their profession, that contrarily all that are not blinded with partialitie, may easily see, that the whole course of popish doctrine is nothing but a confused mixture of errours; and all that they write against vs, nothing but meere calumniation and slander.

CHAP. 39.

Of Succession, and the exceptions of the aduersaries against vs, in respect of the supposed want of it.

THus then, hauing taken a view of whatsoeuer they can or do alleage, for proofe of the antiquitie of their doctrine, which is the first note of the Church assigned by them; [a] let vs come vnto the second, which is Succession, & see if they haue any better successe in it, than in the former. In what sense Succession may be granted to be a note of the true Church, I haue shewed already: let vs therefore see how, and what our aduersaries conclude from thence against vs, or for themselues.

[a] Bellar. lib. 4. de notis eccles. cap. 8 & 5.

By this note, say they, it is easie to prooue, that the reformed Churches are not the true Churches of God. [b] *Ecclesia non est, quæ non habet sacerdotem*, saith *Hierome* against the Luciferians. *It can be no Church, that hath no Ministery.* And *Cyprian* to the same purpose pronounceth, that *the Church is nothing els, but,* [c] *Plebs episcopo adunata.* Thus therefore from these authorities they reason; Where there is no ministery, there is no Church. But, amongst the Protestants there is no Ministery: therefore no Church. The Minor proposition or assumption of this argument we denie; which they indeuour to prooue in this sort; There is no lawfull calling to the worke of the Ministery, amongst the Protestants; therefore no Ministery. The defects they suppose to bee in the calling of our Bishops and Ministers, are two fold: first, for that they that ordained them, in the beginning of this alteration of things in the state of the Church, had no power so to doe. Secondly, for that no man may be ordained, but

[b] Contra Luciferianos.

[c] Lib. 4. Epist. 10.

into a voide place, either wherein there neuer was any Paſtour or Biſhop before, as in Churches in their firſt foundation: or, wherein there hauing been, their place is now voide, by the death, depriuation, or voluntarie relinquiſhment of them that poſſeſt it before, that ſo they who are newly elected and ordained, may ſucceed into the void roomes of ſuch as went before them, and not intrude vpon their charge, whereunto they are ſtill iuſtly intituled: Our Biſhops and Paſtours were ordained and placed in the beginning of the reformation of religion, where there were Biſhops already in actuall poſſeſsion. Theſe being the defects, which they ſuppoſe to bee in the calling of our Biſhops and Miniſters, let vs ſee how they prooue that they ſay.

That they, who ordained our Miniſters in the beginning of the alteration of religion, had no power ſo to doe, thus they prooue. No Biſhop may be eſteemed and taken as lawfully ordained, vnleſſe hee be ordained of three Biſhops at the leaſt; and they, ſuch as haue beene ordained in like ſort, and ſo aſcending till wee come to the firſt, whome the Apoſtles did conſtitute by their Apoſtolike authoritie, receiued immediatly from Chriſt the Sonne of God, whome the Father ſent into the world. But the Paſtours and Biſhops of the reformed Churches had no ſuch ordination; therefore they wanted that calling which ſhould make them lawfull Biſhops and Paſtours.

It is true, that the auncient Canons regularly admit no Ordination, as lawfull, wherein three Biſhops at the leaſt doe not concurre. [d] But *Bellarmine* and his fellowes doe not thinke this number of Biſhops impoſing hands; to bee abſolutely and eſſentially neceſſary. For they confeſſe, that by diſpenſation, growing out of due and iuſt conſideration of the preſent occaſions and ſtate of things, one Biſhop alone may ordaine, aſsiſted with Abbots, which are but Presbyters and no Biſhops; nay which by the courſe of their profeſsion, and originall of their order, are leſſe intereſſed in the gouernement of the Church, than the meaneſt Presbyter hauing care of ſoules. [e] *Monachus plangentis non docentis officium habet. A Monke is a mourner, hee is no teacher in the Church of God.* The Romaniſts thinking therefore, that in ſome caſes, the ordination which is made by one Biſhop alone, aſsiſted with Preſbyters, is lawfull and good, cannot generally except againſt the ordination of the Biſhops and Paſtours of all reformed Churches. For in *England, Denmarke*, and ſome other places, they which had been Biſhops in the former corrupt ſtate of the Church, did ordaine Biſhops and Miniſters, though perhaps preciſely three did not alwayes concurre, in euery particular ordination.

d *Bellar. li. 4. de notis eccleſiæ cap. 8, nota 3*

e *Hiero. contra Vigilantium non procul à fine: & ad Heliodorum. Alia monachorum eſt cauſa, alia clericorum: clerici paſcunt oues, ego paſtor; illi de altari viuunt, mihi quaſi infructuoſæ arbori ſecuris ponitur ad radicem, ſi munus ad altare nõ defero. Lindan. Panop. li. 4. ca. 75 Monachi olim omnes erant laici, & omnes templi choro*

excludebantur. Hugo: erudit: theol. de ſacram: fid. lib. 2. p. 3, cap. 4. vt intrinſecus quietius viuant ordines miniſterij diuini, per indulgentiam Monachis concidantur, non ad exercendam prælationem in populo Dei, ſed ad celebrandam intrinſecam communionem ſacramenti Dei, quod tamen in principio non ita fuiſſe docent: Monachi quippe & Eremum habitantes non Presbyteri habẽſſe dicuntur.

But they will say, whatsoeuer may bee thought of these places wherein Bishops did ordaine, yet in many other, none but Presbyters did impose handes; all which ordinations are clearely voide: and so, by consequent, many of the pretended reformed Churches, as namely, those of *France*, and others, haue no ministerie at all. The next thing therefore to bee examined, is, whether the power of ordination bee so essentially annexed to the order of Bishops, that none but Bishops may in any case ordaine. For the clearing whereof wee must obserue, that the whole Ecclesiasticall power is aptly diuided into the power of order, and iurisdiction. *Ordo est rerum parium disparium; vnicuiq; sua loca tribuens congrua dispositio:* that is, *Order is an apt disposing of things, whereof some are greater and some lesser, some better and some meaner, sorting them accordingly into their owne seuerall ranckes and places.* First therefore, order doeth signifie that mutuall reference or relation, that things sorted, into their seuerall ranckes and places, haue betweene themselues. Secondly, that standing, which each thing obtaineth, in that it is better or worse, greater or lesser then another, and so accordingly sorted and placed, aboue or belowe other, in the orderly disposition of things. The power of holy or Ecclesiasticall order, is nothing else, but that power which is specially giuen to men sanctified and set apart from others, to performe certaine sacred, supernaturall, and eminent actions, which others of another ranck may not at all, or not ordinarily meddle with: As to preach the worde, administer the Sacraments, and the like.

The next kind of Ecclesiasticall power, is that of Iurisdiction. For the more distinct and full vnderstanding whereof wee must note, that three things are implied in the calling of Ecclesiasticall Ministers. First, an election, choyce, or designement of persons fit for so high and excellent imployment. Secondly, the consecrating of them, and giuing them power and authoritie to intermeddle with things perraining to the seruice of God, to performe eminent actes of gracious efficacie, and admirable force, tending to the procuring of the eternall good of the sonnes of men, and to yeeld vnto them, whome Christ hath redeemed with his most precious blood, all the comfortable meanes, assurances, and helpes, that may set forward their eternall saluation. Thirdly, the assigning and diuiding out to each man, thus sanctified to so excellent a worke, that portion of Gods people which hee is to take care of, who must be directed by him in things that pertaine to the hope of eternall saluation. This particular assignation giueth, to them that had onely the power of order before, the power of Iurisdiction also, ouer the persons of men.

Thus then it is necessary, that the people of God bee sorted into seuerall portions, and the sheepe of Christ diuided into seuerall flockes, for the

more orderly guiding of them, and yeelding to them the meanes, assu-ces, and helpes that may set them forwarde in the way of eternall life; d that seuerall men beseuerally and specially assigned, to take the e and ouersight of seuerall flockes and portions of Gods people. [f] The postles of Christ and their successors, when they planted the Chur-s, so diuided the people of God conuerted by their ministerie, into ticular Churches, that each Citie and the places neere adioyning, did ke but one Church. Now because the vnitie and peace of each parti-ar Church of God, and flocke of his sheepe, dependeth on the vni- of the Pastour, and yet the necessities of the many duties, that are to be formed in Churches of so large extent, require more Ecclesiasticall nisters then one; therefore though there bee many Presbyters, that is, ny fatherly guides of one Church, yet there is one amongst the rest, t is specially Pastor of the place, who, for distinction sake, is named a hop; g to whome an eminent and peerelesse power is giuen, for the a-ding of Schismes and factions; and the rest are but his assistants and diutours, & named by the generall name of Presbyters. So that in the formance of the acts of Ecclesiasticall Ministry, when he is present & l doe them himselfe, they must giue place: [h] and in his absence, or when ng present hee needeth assistance, they may doe nothing without his sent and liking. Yea so farre for orders sake is he preferred before the , that some things are specially reserued to him onely, as [i] the ordaining uch as should assist him in the worke of his ministerie, the [k] reconci-g of Penitents, [l] confirmation of such as were baptised, by impositi- of hands; dedication of Churches, and such like.

hese being the diuerse sorts and kindes of Ecclesiasticall power, it will lyappeare to all them that enter into the due consideration thereof, the power of Ecclesiasticall or sacred order, that is, the power and horitie to intermeddle with things pertaining to the seruice of God, and erforme eminent actes of gratious efficacie, tending to the procuring of eternall good of the sonnes of men, is equall and the same in all those ome wee call Presbyters, that is, fatherly guides of Gods Church and ple; and that, onely for orders sake, and the perseruation of peace, re is a limitation of the vse and exercise of the same. [m] Hereunto agree the best learned amongst the Romanists themselues, freely confessing that, wherein a Bishoppe excelleth a Presbyter, is not a distinct and her order, or power of order, but a kinde of dignitie and office or im-yment onely. Which they proue, because a Presbyter, ordained *per um*, that neuer was consecrated or ordained Deacon, may notwith-nding doe all those actes that pertaine to the Deacons order, (because

f Whereupon, to ordaine *Presbyters* City by City, and church by church, is all one. Acts: 14 23. Titus 1.5. *Euaristus, vt Damasus ait, titulos in verb. Rom. Presbyteris diuisit. Platina in vita Euaristi.*

g *Hiero contra Luciferianos.*

h As Christ doth nothing without his Father, so doe you nothing without the B. whether you be Presbyter, Deacō or lay man. *Ignat. ad Magnes. idem habet in Epist. ad Smyrnenses.* *Tertul. de baptismo:* The right to giue baptisme hath the B. then the Presbyters & Deacons, but not without the B. authority, for the honour of the Church. *Concil. Arelatens. 1. can. 19 Presbyteri sine conscientiâ Episcopi nihil faciunt.*

i *Epiphanius haeres. 75. Concilium Anciranum can: 13. Hiero: Epist: 88. ad Euagrium: quid facit Episcopus, exceptâ ordinatione, quod non facit Presbyter.*

k *Concil. Carthag: 2. can. 4. Carth. 3 can. 31. 32. 158.*

l *Hiero: contra Luciferianos: ob honorem sacerdotij sit, vt soli Episcopi manus imponant.*

m ...mas. 3. p. in addit quest. 40: art. 5. Bonauen. lib. 4. dist. 24. art. 2. q. 3. Dominicus à Soto lib. 10. de iustitia & iure q: 1. art. ...in 4. distinct. 24. q. 2. art: 3. Armacanus li. 11. ostendit nullum prælatum plus habere de potestate sacramentali siue ordinis, quàm ...es sacerdotes. Cameracensis in 4. quæst. 4. Contarenus de Sacramentis. lib. 4.

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and Pastors found the Churches voyde by death, in some by voluntarie relinquishment, in some by depriuation, and in some by desertion, in that the people, or at least that part of the people that adhered to the Catholique veritie, who haue power to choose their Pastor, to admitte the worthy, and refuse the vnworthy, did forsake the former that were wolues and not Pastors, and submitted themselues to those of a better spirit. Of the three first kindes of voidance, there can be no question; of this fourth there may: and therefore I will proue it by sufficient authoritie, & strength of reason.

x Lib. 1. Epist. 4. x *Cyprian, Cecilius, Polycarpus,* and other Bishops, writing to the Clergie, and people of the Churches in *Spaine*, whereof *Basilides* and *Martialis* were Bishops, who fell in time of persecution, denied the faith, & defiled themselues with Idolatry, perswade them to separate themselues from those Bishops, assuring them that the people being holy, religious, fearing God, and obeying his lawes, may & ought to separate themselues from impious and wicked Bishoppes, and not to communicate with them

y Lib. 1. Epist. 4. in the matters of Gods seruice, y *quando ipsa plebs maximè habeat potestatem eligendi dignos sacerdotes vel indignos recusandi*; that is, *seeing the people haue authoritie to choose the worthy, and to refuse the vnworthy.* And *Occam* to the same purpose sayth on this sorte: z *Si Papa & maximè celebres episcopi incidant in hæresin, ad Catholicos deuoluta est potestas omnis iudicandi. If the Pope and the principall Bishoppes of the Christian world doe fall into heresie, the power of all Ecclesiasticall iudgement is deuolued to the inferiour Cleargie and people remaining Catholique.* This opinion of *Cyprian* and the rest, if our aduersaries shal dislike or except against, may easily be cõfirmed by demonstration of reason. For if it do fall out, that the Bishoppes and a great part of the people fall into error, heresie, and superstition, I think our aduersaries will not deny, but that the rest are bound to maintaine and vphold the ancient veritie; who being not so many, nor so mightie, as to bee able to eiecte those wicked ones by a formall course of iudiciall proceeding, what other thing

z 1. Part. d. 5. a. 2. is there left vnto them, but either to consent to their impieties, which they may not doe, or to separate themselues, which is the thing our aduersaries except against, in the people of our time. Now hauing separated themselues from their former supposed and pretended Pastors, what remaineth but that they make choise of new to be ordained and set ouer them; if not by the concurrence of such and so many, as the strictnesse of the Canons doth ordinarily require to concurre in ordinations, yet by such, as in cases of necessitie, by all rules of equitie are warranted to performe the same.

CHAP.

CHAP. 40.

Of Succeſſion, and the proofe of the truth of their doctrine by it.

THus hauing examined the allegation of the Papiſts, endeuouring to prooue againſt vs, that we haue not the true Church amongſt vs, becauſe as they falſely ſuppoſe, wee lacke the viſible Succeſſion of Paſtors and Biſhoppes, let vs ſee what they can conclude from this note of Succeſſion, for thēſelues. In this part [a] *Bellarmine* ſheweth himſelfe to be a notable trifler. For firſt he ſayth, that if there be no Church where there is no ſucceſsion, then where there is ſucceſsion continued, the true Church doth remaine ſtill. Secondly, being preſſed with the example of the *Græcians*, amongſt whom a continual ſucceſsion of Biſhops hath euer beene found, he anſwereth, that ſucceſsion doth not proue affirmatiuely, that to be the true Church where it is found, but negatiuely, it not to be the true Church, where it is wanting: contrarie to himſelfe, who requireth in the notes of the Church (amongſt which he reckoneth ſucceſsion to be one of the principall,) that they be not only inſeparable, without which the true Church cannot be, but proper alſo, and ſuch as cannot be found in anie other ſociety, but that which is the true Church of God. Thirdly, againe forgetting himſelfe, hee maketh ſucceſsion proper to the true Church, and ſuch a note as may proue all thoſe ſocieties of Chriſtians true Churches which haue it: and diſliketh *Caluin*, for ſaying that more is required to finde out the true Church than perſonall ſucceſsion; and that the Fathers did not demonſtrate the Church barely by perſonall ſucceſsion, but by ſhewing, that they that ſucceeded, held the faith of thoſe that went before them. Thus he ſheweth plainely that he knoweth not what he writeth.

[a] *De notis eccleſiæ cap. 8*

[b] This matter of ſucceſſion [b] *Stapleton* hath much more aptly deliuered than *Bellarmine*, confeſsing, that not bare and perſonall ſucceſsion, but lawfull ſucceſsion is a note of the true Church: And defineth that to bee lawfull ſucceſsion, when not onely the latter ſucceede into the voide roomes of thoſe that went before them, being lawfully called thereunto, but alſo hold the faith, their predeceſſours did. [c] In this ſort the Fathers were wont to reaſon from ſucceſsion, in the controuerſies of Religion. Firſt, they reckoned vp the ſucceſsions of Biſhops, frō the Apoſtles times; and then ſhewed, that none of them taught any ſuch thing, as was then called in queſtion, but the contrarie; and conſequently, that the Apoſtles deliuered no ſuch thing, but the contrarie.

[b] *Staplet: contro: de eccleſia in ſe quæſtione 4. art. 2 expoſitione articuli. notabili. 5.*

[c] *Irenæus li. 4. cap. 43. illu Presbyteris obediendum, eſſe dicit, qui eum Epiſcopatu ſucceſſione Charisma acceperūt veritatis. Tertul. de præſcrip: præter ordinem Epiſcoporum ab initio decurrentē requirit conſanguinitatem doctrinæ. Aug: Epiſt: 165, enumeratis epiſcopis Romanis; in hoc (in quit) ordine nullus vitiorum Donatiſtas*

To *Bellarmines* diſiunction, that either the Fathers made it appeare to Catholiques or to Heretiques, that the ſucceeding Biſhops held the ſame faith, the former did; we anſwere, They made it appeare to both. For ſo doth

d Irenæus lib. 3. c. 3. doth d *Irenæus* proue the tradition of the Apostles to be for him, and against the Heretiques he refuteth, because hee can number all the Bishops in the principall Churches from the Apostles times downeward, none of which euer taught any such thing, as those heretiques dreamed, but the contrarie. That which *Bellarmine* addeth, that if it had appeared to heretiques, that the true faith had beene kept by succeeding Bishops they would haue yeelded to it, is as little to the purpose as the rest. For, wee doe not say, it did appeare vnto them, they helde the truth; but that they held the same faith their predecessours helde. Nowe, though the Fathers made this appeare vnto them; yet they feared not to oppose themselues, as the same e *Irenæus* witnesseth, affirming, that when it was prooued against the Heretiques of those times, that in the succession of Bishoppes, those that succeeded, helde the same faith the former did, without any alteration, and consequently, the Apostles doctrine was still continued in their Churches; they thought themselues wiser than the Apostles themselues, affirming that they mingled the Lawe and the Gospel together, taking exceptions of ignorance and imperfection against them and their doctrine.

e Lib. 3. cap. 2

Thus then we see, the Fathers did not reason barely from personal succession, but by shewing affirmatiuely, the faith they defended to haue beene receiued by all those Bishops, whose succession they vrged against their aduersaries; and negatiuely, by prooving that none of them euer beleeued any such thing, as their aduersaries dreamed. If the Romanists will dispute against vs in this sort, and demonstrate that the Fathers successiuely held those opinions they doe, and that none of them were of that iudgement in matters of faith that we are of, we will most willingly listen vnto them. But this they doe not, and therefore their talking of the Fathers reasoning from succession, when they dare not reason as the Fathers did, is most vaine, and idle.

CHAP. 41.

Of Vnitie, the kindes of it, and that Communion with the Romane Bishop is not alwayes a note of true and Catholique profession.

f Bellar. de notis Eccles. c. 4. cap. 10. nota 7.

THe next note of the Church, assigned by them, is Vnitie. The Vnitie of the Church consisteth principally in three things. First, in obseruing and holding the Rule of faith once deliuered to the Saints. Secondly, in the subiection of the people to their Pastors: and thirdly, in the due connexion of many Pastors, and their flockes depending on them, among themselues. All these kinds and forms

of vnitie, wee thinke necessarily required, in some degree, in all those societies of Christians, that will demonstrate themselues to bee the true Churches of God; and deny not, but that vnitie, in this sort expressed and conceiued, is a most apt note of the true Church.

The Papists suppose, that besides these kindes and sorts of vnitie before expressed, there is also required another kinde of vnity to the being of the Church, namely subiection to, and vnion with that visible head, which, as they thinke, Christ hath left in his steade to gouerne the whole bodie of the Church, and to rule both Pastors and people. This heade, as they suppose, is the Bishop of *Rome*, from whose communion sith we are fallen, they inferre, that we are diuided from the vnity of the true Church.

b This last kinde of Vnitie, deuised by the Papists, wee deny to bee necessarily required to the being of the true Church. First, therefore, let vs see what may be sayd for, or against the necessitie of this kinde of vnitie; and in the next place consider, what our aduersaries can conclude for themselues, or against vs, from that kinde of vnitie, which we acknowledge to be necessarily required to the being of the true Church.

If the vnion of all Christians with this supposed visible head, which is the Bishoppe of *Rome*, were necessarily required as a perpetuall duetie, then was there noe true Church in the time of the Anti-Popes, c when the wisest knew not, who were the true Popes, and who were vsurpers. If they shall reply, that it is necessarie to holde Communion with the true, if hee may bee knowen, this hath noe more warrant of reason than the former; seeing the best learned amongst thēselues think, that not onely the Pope, but also the whole Cleargie and people of *Rome*, may erre and fall into damnable heresies: in which case it is the part of euerie true Christian, to disclaime all communion with them, and to oppose himselfe against them and all their hereticall impieties. d That it is possible for the Pope to erre, and become an heretique, so many great Diuines in the Church of *Rome* haue at all times most constantly defended, that the greatest patrons of the infallibilitie of the Popes iudgement at this day, are forced to confesse, it is not necessarie to beleeue, that the Pope cannot erre, but that it is only a matter of probable dispute.

Thus then it is euident to all, that will not wilfully oppose themselues against the truth, that consent with the *Romane* Bishoppe cannot bee made a perpetuall and sure note of the true Church. Nay the *Greciant* most constantly affirme, that the Popes taking all to himselfe, and challenging to bee head of the vniuersall Church, hath beene the cause of the Churches diuision. But because *Bellarmine* is so excellent a

b *Dicunt quidam articulum esse fidei quòd Benedictus ex-emplo gratia sit papa, quòd absque renouatione salem, cùm tamen salus ecclesiæ in solius Dei ordinetur absolutè & essentialiter, in hominem Christum deordinato lege, sed accidentaliter in papam mortalem: alioquin cùm vacat sedes per mortem naturalem vel ciuilem papæ, vt potè si sit hæreticus depositus, quis hominum saluus esse posset? Gers: part: 2. consid: 1. de pace. idem parte 4. ser: de Angelis: papam agnoscere de necessitate salutis esse ambigunt nonnulli, sufficere dicentes vt verum Ecclesiæ caput (Christus agnoscatur.*

c *Gers: de modo habendi se tempore schismatis.*

d *See cap. 7.*

Sophister, that hee is able to proue any thing to be true, though neuer so false and absurde, Let vs see how he proueth, that consent with the Bishoppe of *Rome* is a note of the true Church, in such sorte, that whosoeuer holdeth Communion with him, is a Catholike, and contrarily whosoeuer forsaketh his Communion, is an Heretique or Schismatique.

This hee endeuoureth to make good by the testimonies of sundrie of the auncient Fathers, wrested against their knowen meaninges, and vndoubted resolutions, in other parts of their workes and writings. His first allegation is out of *Irenaus*, in his third booke and third chapter, against heresies. But if wee consider the circumstances of the place, and the occasion of the wordes cited by *Bellarmine*, wee shall easily see, they proue noe such thing as hee laboureth to enforce. For *Irenæus* in that place sheweth, how all heresies may bee refuted, by opposing against them the tradition of the Apostles; which, hee sayth, wee may easily finde out and discerne, howe contrarie it is to the franticke conceites of heretiques, by taking a view of them, which were ordained Bishoppes by the Apostles in the Churches of Christ, & their successors to this present time, which neuer taught nor knew any such thing as these men dreame. Now because it would bee tedious to reckon all the successions of Bishoppes succeeding one another in euerie Church, therefore hee produceth the succession of the Bishoppes in the *Romane* Church, in steade of all; because, that being the most famous and renowmed Church of the world, constituted and founded by the two most principall and glorious Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, whatsoeuer was successiuely taught and receiued in that Church, & consequently deliuered vnto it by those blessed Apostles, must needes be the doctrine and tradition of the rest of the Apostles, deliuered to al other Churches of the world. For what was there hidden from these Apostles, that was reueiled vnto any of the rest? and what would they hide from this principall Church, that was any way necessarie to be knowen? Therfore, saith *Irenæus*, the producing of the *Romane* succession, is in stead of all. For it must needs be, that what this most principal Church receiued frō these great Apostles, that, & nothing else, the other did receiue from their Apostles, and first preachers: which he expresseth in these words; *Ad hanc Ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem conuenire Ecclesiam, hoc, est, eos, qui sunt vndique fideles*. *Bellarmines* sense of these wordes, that all Churches must frame themselues to beleeue what the Church of *Rome* beleeueth, and prescribeth to others to be beleeued, no way standeth with the drift of *Irenæus* in this place, as may appeare by that which hath beene sayd: and therefore this allegation migh haue beene spared.

a Li. 1. Epist. 3. His next authorities are out of *Cyprians* Epistles: e in the first of which Epistles wee shall finde, that there were certaine Schismatikes, that

that fled from their owne lawfull Bishop and superiours, with complaints to other Bishops and Churches, and amongst the rest to the Church and Bishop of *Rome*; not knowing, (sayth *Cyprian*) or at least, not considering, that the Romanes are such as will not giue entertainement to such perfidious companions, nor listen to lying and false reports. For that is the meaning of those words, *Ad quos perfidia non possit habere accessum*. But *Bellarmine* wresteth the words to another sense, to wit, that infidelitie and errour in faith can neuer finde place among the Romanes, as being secured from all posibilitie and danger of erring. So that, that which Saint *Cyprian* speaketh of perfidious dealing, that hee interpreteth of infidelitie and errour of faith. So good construction the Iesuite is wont to make of the wordes of the Fathers. [f] But let this suffice for the clearing of the first place alleaged out of *Cyprian*, and let vs proceede to the [g] second; the circumstances whereof are as followeth. *Cornelius* was elected and ordayned Bishop of *Rome*: A Schisme grew in that Church about this his election: *Cyprian*, though he approoued the election of *Cornelius*, yet did forbeare to write vnto him as Bishop, till others also might bee satisfied touching the validitie of the same; at which *Cornelius* seemed to be grieued: *Cyprian* sheweth him the reasons that mooued him to doe as he did, and withall how carefully, to auoide all scandals, hee wished all that went to *Rome*, to hold the roote of the true Catholike Church, which was on *Cornelius* part, and not to be caried away with the faction of Schismatikes, who opposed themselues against their lawful Bishop; & brake the vnitie of the Church. How this wil proue, that all Christian men and Churches must perpetually hold communion with the Roman Church, and that this is a note of the true Church, I see not. There was a diuision in the Romane Church about the electiō of *Cornelius*: *Cornelius* in *Cyprians* iudgment, was rightly chosen, & so the root and ground of the true Church was with him and his partakers and not with his aduersaries, that factiously and Schismatically opposed themselues against him: *Cyprian* wisheth all men to adhere vnto their lawfull Bishop, and not to the faction of Schismatikes, rent from the roote of the true Churches vnitie. Therefore, say our aduersaries, all Churches must for euer holde communion, vpon perill of damnation, with the Church of *Rome*. How weake this consequence is, hee is very weake in vnderstanding that doeth not see. But howsoeuer, surely *Cyprian* is very vnaduisedly alledged to this purpose, who peremptorily standeth vpon it, that euery Bishop ought to haue his libertie of iudgement, (as being accomptable onely vnto God) and that no Bishop should make himselfe a iudge of another: [h] Who dissenteth from *Stephen*, Bishop of *Rome*, and feareth not to challenge him for pertinacie; yea, so hot was the contention betweene *Cyprian* and *Stephen*, that *Cyprians* [i] consorts feared not to charge him with heresie, and fauouring of heretikes. So farre were the Bishops of those times, from prostrating themselues at the Popes

f But hee wil say, *Cyprian* calleth the Rom. Church the principal Church, whence sacerdotal vnity hath her spring: hereunto we answere, that the Rom. Church not in power of ouerruling all, but in order, is the first and principal; and that therefore while she continueth to hold the trueth, and incrocheth not vpon the right of other Churches, she is to haue the prioritie; but that in either of these cases she may be forsaken, without breach of that vnitie, which is essentially required in the parts of the Church.

g *Cyprian. lib. 4. epist. 8*

h *Li. 2. epist. 1.*

i *Firmianus Cypriano epist. 75.*

feete, and thinking it their duety to submit themselues vpon paine of damnation to all his determinations, as his vassals are euery where now taught to doe.

The next allegation is out of *Ambrose*; who in his funerall oration, he made vpon the death of *Satyrus* his brother, reporteth of him, that being desirous to be partaker of the holy mysteries, yet before hee would proceede in an action of that consequence, hee called to him the Bishop of the place, and asked of him, if hee held communion with the Catholike Bishops; and because hee should not mistake him, whether hee held communion with the Bishop of *Rome*, who at that time both in the truth of the thing, and in the opinion of *Satyrus* was Catholike, and best knowen both to him, and the Bishop, of whose faith hee inquired. This was done in the time of the Schisme of the Luciferians, as appeareth by the place of *Ambrose*. Now what consequence is this? *Satyrus* asked of the Bishop, of whome hee was to receiue the holy mysteries, whether hee held communion with the Catholike Church; and to auoide all ambiguitie, expressed what he meant, by asking him, whether hee agreed with the Romane Church, which at that time, in his opinion, held the true profession; therefore the Romane Church can neuer erre. As if I being in *France*, or *Germany*, meeting with some Christians, of whose faith I doubt, should demaund of them, whether they hold the true Catholike religion; and adde, for explication of the meaning of my question, whether they hold the profession of the reformed Churches in *England* and *Scotland*, which at this time I thinke to be the true Churches of God: doth it follow, that I thinke these Churches can neuer erre, or fall from the sinceritie of the Christian profession? or that for euer it must be a note of the sincere professors of the Christian faith, to hold communion with the Churches, howsoeuer they degenerate? The same answere serueth for the places alleaged out of *Hierome*, *Optatus*, and *Augustine*; and particularly touching [k] *Hierome*, who knoweth not that hee affirmeth directly, that *Liberius*, the Bishop of *Rome*, fell into heresie? and [l] disliketh the customes of the Romane Church? and will not haue that See, and the Bishops of it, to giue lawes to all Christendome; saying, *Orbis maior est vrbe?* and that though hee say [m] here, that *Peters* chaire is the rocke the Church is builded vpon, yet against [n] *Iouinian* hee professeth, that *super omnes ex æquo ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur*, *The Church is equally founded vpon all the Apostles*. And in [o] another place, *A Bishop, whether of* Rome, *or of* Eugubium, *is eiusdem meriti, eiusdem sacerdotij; equall in merit and office*, howsoeuer riches and the honour of places seeme to make some difference. *Hierome* was a man of a violent spirit, and wrote many things, that must haue a fauourable construction, to make them accord with that, which else-where he hath deliuered. Touching [p] *Leo*, who sayth, that, *that which Christ meant, should pertaine to the office of all the Apostles,*

k *In Catalogo scriptorum Eccles. sanct.*
l *Hiero. Euagrio*
m *Epist. ad Damas. sum de nomine Hypostasis.*
n *Lib. 1. contra Iouinianum.*
o *Hiero. Euagrio.*
p *Epist. 89 ad episcopos Viennens. prouinciæ.*

was principally yeelded to Peter, *and from him, as from an head, derived to the rest*, must bee vnderstood onely of a principalitie of order, and that hee first in time receiued the promise of that which was meant to all, to expresse the vnitie that must bee in all. For otherwise it neither standeth with the trueth, nor the iudgement of the Fathers, that the Apostles receiued their office and authoritie by deriuation from *Peter*, or helde it in a subordination vnder him; seeing they were all called and constituted immediately by Christ himselfe, without any dependence on *Peter*, or receiuing any thing from him, as is easie to demonstrate out of *Cyprian*, and the consent of the most auncient Fathers. But because these authorities are too weake to prooue the thing intended, therefore from these *Bellarmine* fleeth to experience, from whence hee thinketh he may fetch a better proofe.

All Churches of the world, sayth hee, that euer diuided themselues from the fellowship of the Romane Church, like boughes broken from a tree, and depriued of the nourishment they formerly receiued from the roote, did presently wither away and decay. The falsehood of this saying of *Bellarmine*, is too apparant. For the Churches of *Greece*, *Armenia*, *Æthiopia*, and *Syria*, continued a long time after they had forsaken the communion of the Romane Church. Yea, many of them continue to this day, holding a more sound and sincere profession of Christian veritie, than the Romanists doe. It is true indeede, that many of the famous Churches of the world haue beene swallowed vp of *Mahometisme*, and Barbarisme: but to attribute that their fall to their separation from the Church of *Rome*, is vpon as good ground, as to attribute the cause of *Goodwin-sands* to *Tenterton-steeple*. That which he addeth, that none of the Churches, diuided from *Rome*, had euer any learned men after their separation, sheweth plainely, that his impudencie is greater than his learning. For, what will hee say of *Oecumenius*, *Theophilactus*, *Damascenus*, *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, *Elias Cretensis*, *Nilus Cabasilas*, and innumerable more, liuing in the *Greeke* Churches, after their separation from the Church of *Rome*? Surely these were more than matchable with the greatest Rabbines of the Romish Synagogue. But, sayth hee, they could neuer holde any Councell since their separation. If hee meane generall, it is not to bee marueiled at, seeing they are but a part of the Christian Church: If Nationall or Prouinciall, it is most childish, and by sundry instances to bee reproued.

CHAP.

CHAP. 42.

That nothing can be concluded for them, or against vs, from the note of Vnitie, or diuision opposite vnto it.

THus hauing cleared that which *Bellarmine* obiecteth to proue, that subiection to, and vnion with the Bishop of *Rome*, is implyed in that vnitie which is required to the being of the Church, Let vs come to the other part, and see, whether any thing may bee concluded from that vnitie, which we confesse to bee required to the being of the true Church, either against vs, or for them. First therefore, the Iesuite reasoneth against vs in this sort; All they, that are of the true Church, must hold the vnitie of the faith once deliuered to the Saints: but there are sundry heretikes, erring damnably in matters of faith, as *Zuinchfeldians*, *Anabaptists*, *Trinitarians*, and the like, gone out of the reformed Churches: therefore they are not the true Churches of God.

If this kinde of reasoning were good, hee might prooue, that those Churches, wherein the Apostles liued, were not the Churches of God; becaus out of them proceeded sundry heretikes, as [a] *Hymenaus*, *Philetus*, [b] *Nicolaus*, [c] *Symon Magus*, and the like. But, say th hee, there bee two differences betweene the Apostolike Churches, and the reformed Churches in this respect: the first, that the doctrine of the reformed Churches it selfe, and of it owne nature, breedeth dissention: the second, that when there is difference growen, they haue no rule, by direction whereof to make an ende of controuersies. But the diuisions, that growe from the Catholike Church, proceede meerely from the malice of Sathan, and haue no foundation in the doctrine of it; and if anie difference doe arise, it hath a meanes to ende all controuersies by, which is, the determination of a Councell or the chiefe Pastour. Both these differences wee deny: for, neither doeth our doctrine of it selfe breed dissention and diuersitie of opinions; neither are wee without meanes of composing controuersies if they arise. If *Bellarmine* will prooue, that our doctrine of it selfe breedeth diuision, hee must shewe that the groundes and principles of it are vncertaine, and such as may occasion errour, contrarietie, and vncertaintie of iudgement; which he neither doeth, nor can doe. For the ground of all our doctrine is the written word of God, interpreted according to the rule of faith, the practise of the Saints from the beginning, the conference of places, & all light of direction, that either the knowledge of tongues, or any parts of good learning may yeeld. This surely is the rule to end all controuersies by, and not the authoritie of a Councell, or the chiefe

a 2. Tim. 2, 17
b Reuel. 2, 6
c Actes 8, 18

chiefe Pastour, as *Bellarmine* fondly imagineth. [d] For, they both must follow the direction of this rule in all their determinations. [e] Whereupon, the booke of God, and monuments of Antiquity, were alwayes wont to bee brought into the Councels, whereby the Fathers might examine all matters controuersed, or any way doubted of. Now as we want not a most certaine rule, whereby to iudge of all matters of controuersie and difference: so in examining things by the direction of this rule, wee require that Christian moderation in all men, that euer was found in the seruants of God; that no man presume of his owne wisdome, iudgement, and vnderstanding, nor hastily pronounce, before conference with others: [f] *For the spirits of the Prophets are subiect to the Prophets*; and *God is the God of order, and not of confusion.* It is therefore a vile calumniation of *Bellarmine*, when hee sayth, that with vs euery one preferreth himselfe before other, and euery one taketh on him peremptory iudgement of another. For, contrariwise, wee teach all men to submit their priuate opinions to the examination of others, the meaner to respect those of greater place, and qualitie, the fewer the more; and those men which pertinaciously contradict the doctrine agreed vpon by consent of all that are in authoritie, or the greater part, we reiect from the communion of our Churches, and so, with vs, an end is made of all controuersies.

The rule then with vs, is most certaine and infallible, knowen to all; to wit, the scripture or written worde of God, expounded according to the rule of faith, practise of the Saints, and the due comparing of one part of it with another, in the publike confessions of faith, published by the Churches of our communion. In all which there is a full consent, whatsoeuer our malicious aduersaries clamourously pretend to the contrary: and all those, that stubbornely resist against this rule, or any thing therein contained, and refuse to be ordered by it, wee reiect as factious and seditious schismatikes. Thus doe wee disclaime all *Anabaptists*, *Familists*, *Zuinchfeldians*, *Trinitarians*, and all other Sectaries whatsoeuer. But, sayth *Bellarmine*, how is it then, that there are so many diuisions, not onely from your Churches, but also in your Churches, and amongst them that you take for your brethren, and men of your owne communion, as *Lutherans*, *Caluinists*, *Flaccians*, *Melancthonists*, *Hosiandrines*, and the like? To this we answere, that this diuersitie is to be imputed wholly to our aduersaries. For, when there was a reformation to be made of abuses & disorders in matters of practise, and manifold corruptions in very many parts of Christian doctrine; and in a Councell by generall consent it could not be hoped for, (as [g] *Gerson* long before out of his experience saw and professed) by reason of the preuailing faction of the Popes flatterers, but this was necessarily to be assayd seuerally, in the particular kingdomes of the worlde; it was not possible but that some diuersity should growe, while one knew not, nor expected to knowe what another did. Yet it

d *Nec mouere quēquam debet quòd concordem professionē patrum præpositus decreto generalis Concilij, etiamsi de toto orbe existentes conuenirēt episcopi: quoniam in tractatibus fidei huiusce posit scripturas tota Conciliorum inquisitio se conformabit vt regulæ Waldens. doctrinal. fidei l. 2. art. 2 cap. 19.*

e *Eusebius de concordantia catholica. lib. 2. cap. 6.*

f *1. Cor. 14. 32, 33.*

g *P. 3. dialog. apolog. iudicium de Cōcilio Constantiens.*

it so fell out by the happy prouidence of God, and the force of that maine trueth they all sought to aduance, that there was no materiall or essentiall difference amongst them, but such as, vpon equall scanning, will be found rather to consist in the diuerse maner of expressing one thing, and to be but verball vpon mistaking, through the hasty and inconsiderate humors of some men, than any thing els. Yea, I dare confidently pronounce, that after due and full examination of each others meaning, [h] there shall be no difference found touching the matter of the Sacrament, the vbiquitary presence, or the like, betweene the Churches reformed by *Luthers* ministery in *Germany*, and other places, and those whome some mens malice called Sacramentaries: that none of the differences betweene [i] *Melancthon* & *Illyricus*, except about certain ceremonies, were reall: that *Hosiander* held no priuate opinion of Iustification, howsoeuer his strange maner of speaking, gaue occasion to many so to thinke and conceiue. And this shall be iustified against the proudest Papist of them all.

h See Chap. 35.

i That which *Illyricus* sayd touching originall sinne, which he affirmed to be an essentiall corruption, was not so meant, as if sin were a positiue thing, or an essence and substance, as many did conceiue: for hee acknowledged, that sinne is formally nothing, but a want of rectitude, and an aberration; but as we call the action sinne, wherein defect and want of rectitude is found, so likewise hee feared not to call the essentiall powers of the soule, auerse from God, and disordered in their motions and inclinations, by the name of originall sinne, because they are originally sinfull. *Gundelmus* cleareth *Hosiander*, shewing, that his opinion was, that by the actiue and passiue righteousnesse of Christ, performed in his humane nature, as by causes meritorious, wee finde fauour with God, and haue communion with him, and are made partakers of his essentiall righteousnesse: not transfusing it into vs, or confounding it with vs, as many mistooke him, but by such a kinde of participation, as that is, wherein all creatures partake of Gods diuine perfections, that so partaking of his righteousnesse we may doe that is right in his sight.

But, sayth *Bellarmine*, your Churches are so torne and rent with dangerous diuisions, that not onely one of you dissenteth from another, but the same man often times from himselfe: and herein giueth instance in *Luther*, whose iudgement varied in diuers things of great consequence. Touching *Luther*, we answer, that he was a most worthy Diuine, as the world had any in those times, wherein he liued, or in many ages before; and that for the clearing of sundry poynts of greatest moment in our Christian profession, much obscured and intangled before, with the intricate disputes of the Schoolemen, and Romish Sophisters, (as of the power of nature, of free will, grace, iustification, the difference of the Lawe and the Gospell, faith and workes, Christian libertie, and the like) all succeeding ages shall euer be bound to honour his happie memorie. In all these things hee was euer constant: yea, all these things hee perfectly apprehended, and to the great ioy of many mens hearts deliuered both by word and writing, before he departed from the Romish Synagogue; & out of these, and more diligent search of the Scripture and Fathers, then was vsual in those times, by degrees saw and descried those popish errors, which at first he discerned not.

That herein he proceeded by degrees, and in his later writings disliked that which in his former he did approoue, is not so strange a thing, as our aduersaries would make it seeme to be. Did not *Augustine*, the greatest of all the Fathers, and worthiest Diuine the Church of God euer had since the Apostles times) write a whole booke of *Retractations*? Do we not carefully obserue, what things he wrote, whē he was but a Presbyter, & what, when

when he was made a Bishop, what, before he entred into conflict with the *Pelagians*, & what afterwards? Did he not formerly attribute the electiō of those that were chosen to eternall life, to the foresight of faith, which afterward he disclaimed; as a meere *Pelagian* conceit? So that his aduersaries, as appeareth by the Epistles of *Prosper* and *Hillarius*, did not onely charge him to be contrary to the Fathers, but to himselfe also. Did [k] not *Ambrose* in his time complaine, that he was forced to teach before he had learned, and so to deliuer many things, that should neede and require a second reuiew? Doth not their *Angelicall Doctor*, in his *Summe of Theologie*, correct, and alter many things that he had written before? Let not our aduersaries therefore insult vpon *Luther*, for that he sawe not all the abominations of Popery at the first, but let them rather consider of, and yeeld to the reasonablenesse of the [l] request, which in the preface of his workes he maketh to all Christian and well minded readers, to wit, that they would reade his books and writings with iudgement, and with much commiseration, and remember that he was sometimes a Frier, nourished in the errors of the Romish Church, so that it was more painefull to him to forget those things he had formerly ill learned, than to learne anew that which is good.

[m] But, say they, *Luther* himselfe witnesseth, that contrariety and contradiction is a note of falsehood; and therefore his writings being contradictory, the later to the former, his whole doctrine must needes bee false, euen in his owne iudgement. Let them, that thus reason against *Luther*, knowe, that his meaning is not, that whosoeuer retracteth and correcteth that hee formerly taught, is thereby conuinced of falsehood, and his whole doctrine prooued to bee erroneous; but that those assertions, that do implie contradiction, and contrarietie, that stand wholly vpon doubtful, vncertaine & perplexed disputes, & so ouerthrow themselues, do therby appeare to be false. Of which nature are all the principall parts of the Romish doctrine. For example; Transubstantiation is one of the greatest mysteries of Popish religion, and all Papists at this day do firmely hold and beleeue it: yet it is demonstratiuely prooued by their own best Diuines, that such a total conuersion, or transubstantiation of the Sacramentall elements into the body & blood of Christ, is impossible, and implieth in it sundry cōtradictions, & consequences of horrible impieties. For is it not implied in the nature of the transubstantiation, or totall

k *De tribunalibus atque administrationis insulæ ad sacerdotium raptus, docere vos cœpi, quod ipse nō didici: itaque factum est, vt prius docere inciperem, quàm discerē: discendū ergo mihi fuit & docendū est, quoniam non vacauit ante discere; & quantumlibet quisque profecerit, nemo est, qui doceri non egeat, dum vivit. Ambros officiorum. li. 1. c. 2.*

l *Luther* in his Preface before his workes.

m *Bellar. lib. 4. ca. 10, de notis eccles. ait, Lutherum sic dicere in libro de votis Monasticis.*

n The conuersion or turning of one thing into another, is then, when vpon the ceasing of the former, the later beginneth to be in such sort as the

conuersion is: if it be substantiall, the former ceasing to be that substance it was, the later begins to be that substance it was not before. Wherefore if read be substantially turned into Christs body, the ceasing of the substance of bread is the beginning of the substance of his body: this is called by *Scotus*, *transubstantiatio productiua*; and is confessed to bee impossible in respect of the substance of bread, and the body of Christ. Wherefore they say, that one substance may be sayd to be turned into the other, when vpon the ceasing of the former, the later begins to haue the same qualities, apparell, place and imployment the former had; and so suppose the body of Christ, filling the same place that the bread did, but now ceaseth to doe, (returning into that nothing out of which it was taken) that the bread may be sayd to be turned into Christs bodie; and this is called by them, *transubstantiatio adductiua*. *Bullin canonem missæ lect.* 40. hath a more foolish conceit than the former: See *Scotus in quartum distinct.* 11.

conuersion of one substance into another, that the one must succeed the other in being, and that the former must cease to bee, and the later thereupon begin to be? whence it will follow, that the later of the two substances, into which the conuersion is made, was not, nor had no being before. Now what greater blasphemie can there be, than to thinke Christs body had no being, till the Massing Priests had wrought this miraculous Transubstantiation? It is true, that one substance may be changed into another, as was *Lots* wife into a pillar of salt: but that one substance should passe, and be totally transubstantiated into another, hauing the same being, without all difference before the supposed Transubstantiation, that after it hath, and nothing being newe in it, in respect of substance, or being, implieth a contradiction; and therefore the sacramentall elements cannot be transubstantiated into Christs body and blood.

That which *Bellarm.* hath out of *Scotus*, of *Transubstantiatio productiua* and *adductiua*, is the most childish follie that euer was. For this is that hee sayth; The substance of the sacramentall elements is annihilated, and they returne into that nothing out of which they were formerly taken, and then Christs body commeth into the place, where they were before. Therefore the one substance may bee sayd to bee changed into the other. If this reason be good, when one man remooueth out of his place, into which another vpon his remooue doth enter, the former may be sayd to bee transubstantiated into the later. For, as the former of the two supposed men, goeth out of his place into some other, whereupon the other succeedeth him, not in being, but in place: so the sacramentall elements goe out of their place, and returne to that nothing, out of which they were created, and the body of Christ succeedeth them, not in being, which it had the very same while they were, but in place.

[a] Scotus in 4. distinct. 10. q. 1.

[a] Neither can this supposed conuersion of the elements into the body of Christ, bee the cause of Christs being in the Sacrament, but rather of their owne ascension and going vp into heauen. For, though when one substance is turned into another not being before the conuersion, but by the conuersion beginning to be, that, into which the conuersion is made, occupieth & possesseth the place the other held: as when *Lots* wife was conuerted into a pillar of salt, the pillar stood in that place, where she was when she was conuerted: yet if one substance should be changed into another preexistent, the conuerted should get the place of that into which it were conuerted; so that the bread and wine on the mysticall table, being conuerted into the body and blood of Christ sitting in heauen at the right hand of God, should go vp into heauen, & not bring him to the table. And yet this was the principal reason, that moued the authors of Transubstantiatiō, to like better of that, thā of any other construction of Christs words. For that they supposed therby, the body of Christ might be made present in the Sacrament, without any change of place or locall motion, in respect of

of it selfe. Which yet ? *Scotus* ? *Occam*, and the latter Schoolemen do vtterly reiect. So sweetely doe these men agree, that talke so much of vnitie. Verely I am perswaded, there are more materiall, and reall differences amongst them, touching this one sacrament, then there are appearing differences or cõtrouersies amongst those of our religion, touching all points of Religion.

p Scot: in 4. dist. 10. quæst. 1.

q In 4 quæst. 6.

r For is it not so, that there are foure opinions touching the presence of Christ in the sacrament, and three of them different from Transubstantiation? so that, notwithstanding the decree of the *Laterane Councell*, many of the wisest and best learned were of opinion, that Transubstantiation cannot be deduced from the scripture, or the Churches determination. Did not s *Thomas Aquinas*, and the rest of that time deny that one body may be locally in more places than one, at one time, and reiect it as a thing impossible, & implying cõtradiction? and doe not the Papistes at this day iudge vs hereticks for being of the same opiniõ? Did t they not in *Berengarius* time thinke, that the very body of *Christ* is torne with teeth, and yet without hurt, by a straunge miracle? And was not *Berengarius* in his recantation forced to say so much? yet at this day, this conceipt is holden most absurd & foolish.. Do not some of them say, that the body of *Christ* goeth downe into the stomacke and belly, and is eaten of mice, and dogges? and doe not others detest this blasphemous impietie? Doe not some of them say, there are accidents in the Sacraments without substance? and do not others affirme, that those accidents are inherent in the aire? Doe not some of them say, that when the Priest breaketh that which he holdeth in his hands after consecration, it is no true breaking, but a deceiuing of the sense? Others, that he truely breaketh, and yet nothing is broken? Others, that *Christs* body is broken? and others, that the accidents are broken? Such a broken religion haue these men deuised, that neither the Fathers, nor any, before Barbarisme had possessed all, euer thought of. u Doe not some of them say, that Christ in the Sacrament retaineth his owne proportion of parts, figure and fashion? and doe not others say and demonstratiuely proue, that if he be in the Sacrament, hee hath no distance of parts, no figure, no fashion, nor organicall disposition of body, and consequently no life? The rest of the infinite mazes, that these men, turning out of the direct way, haue lost themselues in, I haue no pleasure to tread out. But those few examples may suffice to shewe that their whole doctrine is full of vncertainetie, contrarietie, and contradiction, and doth testifie against it selfe, that it is not of God.

r *Cameracensis li. 4 quæst. 6.*

s *Thomas in quodlibetalibus quæstionibus quodlibeto 3 q. 1. art 2. Durandus lib. 4. distinct. 11. quæst. 1.*

t *Confessio Berengarij est, panem & vinum post consecrationem esse verũ corpus & sanguinem Christi, & sensualiter non solum in sacramento, sed etiam in veritate manibus sacerdotũ tractari, & frangi, & fidelium dentibus atteri.*

It were easie to shew, that all Popish doctrine is nothing else but a masse of vncertainties and contradictions, shewing that they are out

u *Corpus Christi est totũ in tota hostia, & totũ in qualibet parte: hinc dubitatur an retineat distantiã partium? distinguit Scotus ordinem partium in toto, & in loco: primum retinere dicit, non secũ-*

dum. Occam probat secundum non posse esse sine primo, nec primum sine secundo; vnde probat Corpus Christi, in Eucharistiâ, non habere distantiam vel ordinem partium in toto vel loco, & per consequens vllam figuram, nec esse organicum, & proinde nec animatum. Octauo 4. quæst. 4. Camerac. in 4. quæst. 5.

of the way, that professe it, and knowe not howe to finde either it, or themselues. If any Papist dare deny this, it shall bee proued against him in particulars. But they will say, notwithstanding all these differences, yet they submitte their iudgements to the censure of the Pope and Councell, and therefore their diuisions are not daungerous nor heretical.

Howe false and shameless this answere is, the [x] infinite number of them that haue euer iudged, that the Pope may erre and become an Hereticke, doth apparantly demonstrate.

If they shall say, that though they dare not relye vppon the infallibilitie of the Popes iudgement, yet they rest in the determination of generall Councelles; it will bee founde that they are as doubtfull touching the authoritie of Councelles, as they are concerning the Pope, [y] some saying, they are meere humane inuentions; others, that they are nothing, if the Pope confirme them not; others, that they are, though hee refuse to confirme them; and others, that both may erre: some reiecting one Councell, and some another, as appeareth by the contrarie iudgement of Papists, of the Councelles of *Constance*, *Basill*, *Pisa*, and *Florence*.

But they will say, they all hold that, which the Catholike *Romane* Church doth hold, and in other things, not yet agreed vppon, thinke euerie man at his pleasure. This is as much, as if they should haue said, that wherein soeuer they all agree, they all agree, and wherein soeuer they differ, each faction doth differ from another, and carefully prouideth, that nothing shall passe against it by publike consent, as appeareth in the matter of *Maries* conception, and sundrie other things, which no Councell durst euer determine, for feare of offending the contrarie factions dissenting about these things. Thus then, I hope, it appeareth out of that which hath beene spoken, that by the note of vnitie and diuision, the *Romanistes* are found to bee in errror, and not wee. What degree of vnitie is necessarily required in the true Churches of God; and what diuisions may bee found among the societies of Christians, and yet not cause them to cease to be the true Churches of God, I haue sufficiently cleared in that part, wherein I shewed, what is the nature of schisme and heresie.

[x] *Quid Pontifex errare in iudicando possit, asseuerantissimè à plerisque pronunciatur. Picus Theoremate 4. vbi etiam concilia errare posse ostendit.*

[y] *Pighius hierarch. lib. 6. cap. 1, 2, 4. putauit vnum solum conciliorum Constantiensium inuentorem fuisse; quem dimmorum mysteriorum atque adeò Romani pontificij auctoritatis ignarum fuisse pronunciat: hunc reprehendit Andradius de generalium conciliorum auctoritate lib. 1. fol. 10. idem Andradius ait, si vniuersi patres in Synodo aliquid definirent vnanimiter, cui definitioni soli personæ papæ contradiceret, Synodo standum esse, & non iudicio papæ: & idem sensisse ait Turrecremat: & tamē etiam in Basilienses damnabit, vt patet ibidem. Gallus Synodum Florentinam pro Oecumenicâ nunquam habuit, noluit adire, nec perfectam admisit. Andrad. de scrip. & tradit. auctoritate lib. 2. fol. 253. Constantiensem Synodum Oecumenicam esse negat Caietanus, affirmat Andradius in eodem lib. fol. 251.*

CHAP

CHAP. 43.

Of Vniuerſalitie.

THe next note of the Church, is vniuerſality: concerning which, many things haue beene ſpoken in the former part, touching the notes of the Church in generall. Wherefore paſſing by thoſe things, let vs in this place obſerue only theſe few things following. Firſt, therefore to the Vniuerſalitie of the Church it is required, that it extend to all times, places, and ſorts of men. Secondly, this Vniuerſalitie is not found in any one Church, limited either in reſpect of time or place. Thirdly, from hence it followeth, that it is no where found, but in that bleſſed nũber of Chriſtiãs, that haue been, are & ſhal be. Fourthly, it cannot be a note of the true Church, that is the multitude of men now liuing in the world, as being found in it; For that multitude is not vniuerſall, but limited in reſpect of time, being onely the number of them, that liue at one time, [a] & may be limited alſo in reſpect of place: for it is not neceſſary, that the Church bee in all places at one time, but it ſufficeth if it be ſucceſſiuely. Fiftly, vniuerſalitie may be a note of the true Church, in reſpect of particular ſocieties of Chriſtians, limited in time, and place, though not by hauing it, yet by demonſtrating themſelues, to pertaine to the vnity of that Church that hath it. This no particular Church can do, but by proouing, that it holdeth the cõmon faith once deliuered to the Saints, without hereticall innouation, or ſchiſmaticall violation, of the vnitie and peace of the Chriſtian world.

a *Bellar. lib. 4. cap. 7. de notis eccleſiæ nota 4.*

This being the way for particular Churches to demonſtrate themſelues to be Catholike, by prouing that they hold the Catholik faith, it is eaſie frõ hence to cõclude, that the reformed Churches are the Catholike Churches of God. Firſt, for that, that being Catholique, as [b] *Vincentius Lirinenſis* defineth it, which is & hath been holdẽ at all times, & in all places, by all Chriſtiãs, that haue not been noted for noueltie, ſingularity, & diuiſiõ; whatſoeuer hath been ſo receiued, we receiue as the vndoubted truth of God: neither is ther any of the things which we impugne, & the Papiſts defend, that is Catholike, but they all carry the marks of Nouelty & vncertainety. Secondly, touching the communion the people of God ſhould haue among themſelues, our aduerſaries ſhall neuer prooue, that wee haue at any time giuen occaſion of thoſe breaches that now appeare; But wee will proue againſt them that they haue, & ſo the note of Vniuerſalitie maketh nothing for them nor againſt vs.

b *Contra profanas hæreticorum nouitates.*

Touching the name of Catholik, deuiſed to expreſſe thoſe both men, & ſocieties of men, which hold the cõmon faith without factiõ or diuiſiõ, I haue ſpoken ſufficiently in the former part, touching the notes of the Church, & need not here to inſiſt vpõ it. Thus haue we run through the examinatiõ

of

of the principall notes of the Church assigned by our aduersaries: but, because they adde vnto these certaine other, I will breefely examine their proofes taken from thence, for themselues, or against vs.

CHAP. 44.

Of the Sanctitie of Doctrine; and the supposed absurdities of our profession.

THese notes are, Sanctitie and efficacie of doctrine, our own confession, miracles and predictions, the felicitie and infelicitie of such as defend or impugne the truth, and lastly the holy and religious cõuersation of the professours of the truth. Let vs take a viewe of these in such sort and order as they are proposed by them. They place in the front the Sanctitie and efficacie of doctrine.

A lyer (they say) should haue a good memorie; but surely our aduersaries, of all the lyers that euer were, haue the worst memories: by reason whereof euery second page of their writinges, if not euery second line, is a refutation of the first. *Bellarmine* diuideth his tract of the notes of the Church, into two partes. In the first hee sheweth, what things are required in the notes of the Church, and there hee sayth, truth and Sanctitie of doctrine is no note of the Church. In the latter, he doth particularly assigne the notes, whereby hee supposeth the Church may be knowen, and reckoneth truth, sanctitie, and efficacie of doctrine, amongst the rest. But let vs pardon him this ouersight, and see, how he proueth by this note, that wee are not, and that their faction is, the true Church of God.

Our doctrine is false, absurd, and vnreasonable; and theirs, full of truth, reason, and equitie: Therefore our Churches are not the true Churches of God, and theirs are. Both parts of the Antecedent of this argument we denie. For, he shall neuer bee able to proue the absurdities hee imputeth vnto vs; but wee are able to demonstrate against him, that the whole course of Popish doctrine is most absurd, false and impious.

But least hee should seeme to say nothing, hee produceth foure instances, wherein he supposeth there is apparant and verie grosse absurditie. The first hee proposeth in this sort: The Protestants teach, that a man is iustified by speciall faith, whereby hee perswadeth himselfe that he is iust. Now, then hee reasoneth thus; When men beginne to beleeue, either they are iust, and then their faith iustifieth not, being in nature after their iustification, and finding them already iust, when it beginneth; or else they are not iust, and then speciall faith making a man beleeue

is iust, is false, and so a man is iustified by a lye. To this horned argument wee aunswere, that speciall faith hath sundrie actes, but to this purpose specially two: the one, by way of petition humbly intreating for acceptation and fauour; the other, in the nature of comfortable assurance, consisting in a perswasion that that is granted, which was desired. Faith, by her first act, obtaineth and worketh our iustification, and doth not finde vs iust when wee beginne to beleeue: by her second act, shee doth not actiuely iustifie, but finding the thing done, certifieth and assureth vs of it, and so is noe lying perswasion, as this lying companion is pleased to pronounce it to bee. So then, speciall faith in her first acte, which is a kinde of petition, is before iustification, and procureth or obtaineth it, but then shee hath not the perswasion of it; in her second acte, shee presupposeth the thing done, and already obtained, and so truely perswadeth the beleeuer of it, but procureth not the doinge of it.

The second palpable and grosse absurditie of the Protestants doctrine is, that it is not lawfull to say the Lords prayer. This the Cardinall proueth, because no man of the Protestants Religion can, without dissimulation, aske forgiuenesse of sinnes, which is one of the principall petitions of that prayer. This petition they cannot make, because they hold, that all right beleeuing and iustified men are without sinne, and knowe themselues so to bee; and therefore cannot bee excusable from vile dissimulation, and mocking of God, in asking the remission of their sinnes. The impudencie of this imputation is such, as I thinke all moderate Papists are ashamed of it. For, doth any of vs thinke, that the iustified man is voyd of all sinne? Or is it consequent, if a man know himselfe to bee iustified, that then hee may not aske remission of his sinnes? a Do not many right learned and wise amongst themselues teach, that a man may be sure he is in state of grace, and iustification, by the ordinarie working of Gods spirit? and do not all Papists thinke, that by speciall reuelation men may be sure they are in state of grace, as *Paul* and sundry others were? Doe all these teach, that men thus assured of their iustification, know themselues to haue noe sinne, and consequently, nothing whereof they should aske forgiuenesse? Surely, herein I thinke both they and wee agree, that in the iustified, the dominion of sinne ceaseth, sinne hath no longer dominion ouer them, and that proportionablie the guilt of condemnation is taken away; but that there are still remainders of sinne in them, not perfectly extinguished; and that, though while they remaine in the state of iustification, they sinne not with full consent, to the excluding of grace, and subiecting of themselues to the guilt of condemnation, yet there are many sinnefull euills they runne into, which subiect them to Gods displeasure, and for which hee will not faile to iudge them, if they iudge not themselues.

a *Alex:* of *Ales*, *Ioh:* *Bacon*, *Vega*, *Ambrosius*, *Catharinus*, & diuers other, of whome see *cap.* 7.

themselues. For the weakening and abolishing of these sinneful euils, and the auerting of that displeasure, wherewith God is displeased with men for them, the iustified do pray vnto God, which is, to aske forgiuenesse of sinnes, as in the Lords prayer is meant. [b] For, the petition is vnderstood of the sinnes of the seruants of God, and such as are in state of grace, as *Augustine* teacheth. Thus then the iustified man knoweth, that the dominion of his sinnes is taken away, and that the guilt of condemnation, whereunto they subiect such as are vnder the dominion of them, is already remoued, and therefore he doth not desire, nor aske forgiuenesse of sinnes in this sort: but the inherence of sinne hee acknowledgeth in himselfe, notwithstanding his iustification, which still subiecteth him to Gods displeasure, & punishments, accompanying the same. These things hee desireth to be remoued, and in this sense asketh forgiuenesse of sinnes.

[b] *Et pœnitentiæ bonorum & humilis fidelium pœnè quotidiana, in quis peccata timemus, dicentes, dimitte nobis debita nostra, illa utique quæ humanæ fragilitati, parua, tamen crebra, subrepunt. Aug: Seleucian. Epist: 105. erratio quotidiana est, quam docuit Dominus, dicit quidem quotidiana peccata, cum quotidie dicatur, dimitte nobis debita nostra. De ciuit. Dei. li. 21. cap. 27.*

If it be replyed, that the remission of the sinnes of the iustified is full and perfect, and that therefore they that know themselues to be iustified, cannot aske remission, which they know they haue perfectly already; Wee answere, that the remission of the sinnes of the iustified, is full and perfect, not for that they are already freed actually from the inherence of sinne, and the displeasure of God disliking it, but because they haue full title vnto, and right in that mercy of God; which, as it hath already deliuered them from the dominion and condemnation of sinne, so it will in the end wholly free them, from the inherence of it, and the displeasure of God disliking it.

His next allegatiõ is more friuolous than the former. The *Anabaptists*, saith he, do most certainly & assuredly perswade thẽselues, that they are accepted of God, and therfore they haue true faith, according to the doctrine of the Protestants, who define faith to be the assurance of the merciful goodnesse of God; yet doe the Protestants deny them to be iustified, vnlesse they forsake their errors, & so by consequent do say, they haue true faith, and yet are not iustified; which is to affirme that they are iust, & not iust. To this we answere, that there is as great difference betweene true confidence and assurance, (which onely is to be named faith) and that which is found in heretickes, as betweene the ioy and gladnesse that is fantasticall, and is found in men dreaming, and that which is true and in men waking.

That quietnesse of minde either proceedeth from senseleſse stupidity in men hauing cauterized consciences, though there be iust cause of fearefull apprehensions; or from the not finding or hauing any matter of condemning remorse: euen as some men are touched with no greefe, nor afflicted with any smart or paine, though no part be sound or well in them, because they are in a dead and senseleſse stupidity: and others feele no paine, because they are perfectly well. It is not therefore euery assured confidence

confidence that is faith, but true confidence. Neither is it to be doubted, but that heretickes do oftentimes confidently perſwade themſelues they pleaſe God, and thinke they embrace true pietie, as men dreaming doe perſwade themſelues they inioy and poſſeſſe all things, though they poſſeſſe nothing. But as men waking knowe the thinges they apprehend, are ſo indeede as they apprehend them, and not in fancie onely, as men ſleeping are deluded: ſo [c] true Chriſtians know the perſwaſiõ they haue of Gods goodneſſe, towards them, groweth from due and iuſt conſideration, and not from deceiueable fancy and imagination only, as in heretiques it doth. This point is excellently cleared by [d] *Alexander of Hales*, the firſt, and greateſt of all the Schoolemen, whoſe reaſons and proofes, that true Chriſtians may be aſſured, they are in ſtate of grace and acceptation with God, *Bellarmine* cannot anſwere.

[c] *Iohan: Baconus li. 3. diſtinct: 30. q. 1 art. 2. ar', habentem charitatem poſſe certitudinaliter ſcire ſe eſſe in charitate.*

[d] *3. Part: quæſt: 3 61. membr. 7. art 3*

Thus wee haue ſeene the ſuppoſed abſurd poſitions, wherewith the Ieſuite chargeth all Proteſtants in generall. In the next place, hee produceth ſuch as are proper to the *Lutherans*; and in the laſt place, ſuch as are peculiar to the *Caluiniſtes*. For thus it pleaſeth him to tearme vs, by theſe names of faction and diuiſion; whereas it is Antichriſtes pride that hath made all the breaches in the Chriſtian world, and would haue layd all waſte, if God had not preſerued a remnant.

The error, wherewith hee chargeth the *Lutherans*, is, that children, when they are baptiſed, haue faith, hope, and loue. Is this an errour? are they iuſtified, ſanctified, and made the temple of the holy Ghoſt, when they are baptiſed; and haue they neither faith, hope, nor loue? doth not iuſtification imply all theſe in it? But they haue not the acte of faith; noe more they haue of reaſon: haue they not therefore the faculty of reaſon? This then is that which theſe men teach, whom it pleaſeth theſe Antichriſtian ſectaries odiouſly to name *Lutherans*, namely, that children, when they are adopted, and made the ſonnes of God, when they are iuſtified and ſanctified, are filled with the habites or potentiall habilities of theſe vertues, and that they haue the beginning, roote, and ſeede of faith, hope, and loue. For the farther clearing of this obiection, reade *Kemniſius* in his *Examen* of the *Tridentine Councell*.

The errour of the *Caluiniſtes*, touching abſolute neceſſitie, and that God is the author of ſinne, is but the imagination of the *Romaniſts*, as I haue alreadie ſufficiently ſhewed. For *Caluin* and we all deteſt both theſe abſurdities.

CHAP. 45.

Of the Paradoxes, and groſſe abſurdities of Romiſh *Religion.*

THus then the Paradoxes and groſſe abſurdities, which this Cardinall aduerſarie of Gods true religion imputeth vnto vs, are but the fancies of his owne idle braine. But, if wee ſhould enter into the examination of the ſeuerall parts of their profeſſion, it were not hard really to conuince them, of the moſt ſenſeleſſe follyes, that euer the world was acquainted with. But becauſe it would be tedious and vnſeaſonable, in this generall controuerſie of the Church, to enter into the particular handling of things more fitly reſerued to their owne proper places; I will onely touch ſome few things, that may ſeeme to concerne the whole frame and fabricke of their Religion.

They all hold at this day, that the infallibility of the Popes iudgement, is the rocke on which the Church is builded; and that this is the difference betweene a Catholike and an heretique, that, though both beleeue many diuine and ſupernaturall truthes, yet they build not themſelues vppon the ſame groundes of perſwaſion. For the Catholike buildes himſelfe vppon the ſure grounde, of the infallibilitie of the Churches cheefe Paſtours iudgement: but the Heretike vppon other thinges, yeelding him ſatisfaction concerning the truth of that hee beleeueth, whatſoeuer the iudgement of the Pope be. [a] And yet the ſame men which thus teach, doe ſay, it is noe matter of faith, to acknowledge, or not to acknowledge, the infallibility of the Popes iudgement, and that a man may bee a true Catholike, that thinketh the Pope may erre.

[a] *Pa. am in decreto fidei errare non poſſe, veritas certa & recepta eſt, etſi non de fide, præter multos catholicos qui contrariũ tenuerũt: vt Gerſ: Occam, Almainus, omnes fere Pariſienſes, & omnes qui cõcilium ſupra papam eſſe credunt. Alphonſ. Acoſtro Adrian: 6 & Durand. Staplet. contro: 3. q. 4.*

Theſe two aſſertions are directly contradictorie. The firſt they imbrace, becauſe they finde the authoritie Papall to bee the ſureſt ſtay of all their falſe faith, and Antichriſtian profeſſion: and the ſecond, they are forced vnto, becauſe they dare not condemne ſo many famous, renoumed, and great Diuines as haue beene of that opinion, as *Durandus*, *Gerſon*, *Cameracenſis*, *Almaine*, *Waldenſis*, and innumerable moe. By this their contradicting of themſelues, not yet knowing whereon to ground their faith, it is euident they haue noe faith at all.

Secondly, if wee ſhould graunt them to haue any faith, yet will it be founde to bee Sophiſticall, or meerely humane. For the reaſon, ground, and cauſe of their perſwaſion, touching thinges Diuine, is the teſtimony of the Church, infallibly led into all truth; and that there is a Church thus ledde into all truth, whoſe teſtimony is vndoubtedly certaine and true, they beleeue, becauſe the Church telleth them

ſo:

: as, if a man ſhould beleeue the reports of ſuch a man, becauſe hee is ſe, faithfull, and honeſt, and beleeue him to bee ſo, onely becauſe hee y th ſo.

To auoide this Sophiſticall circulation, ſundry of the Schoole-men e freely confeſſe, that the ground of their faith is nothing elſe, but the ultitude and conſent of men, nations, and people agreeing in the profeſ- on of it; and conſequently, that it is meerely an humane perſwaſion, and at they haue no faith at all; which alwayes ſtayeth it ſelfe vpon the cer- inetie of the firſt trueth.

Thirdly they teach, that mortall men are neuer bound to giue God ankes, for the greateſt benefit that is beſtowed on them in this worlde. ay, that to giue him thankes for it, were greeuous ſinne. This is moſt ident; for the greateſt benefit of all other is iuſtification: but for this man may giue God thankes, becauſe no man knoweth whether hee th receiued it or not, nor can aſſure himſelfe of it without intolerable d inexcuſable preſumption. Nay, ſome of theſe ſeducers are not aſha- ed to write, that euery man is bound to doubt of it, with ſo fearefull oubting, as may cauſe trembling; applying that place of the Apoſtle to at purpoſe, *Worke out your ſaluation with feare and trembling.* Now I inke, he which ſhould come to God, & giue him thanks for that, which, hether hee hath receiued or not, he is ſo doubtfull, that he trembleth for are, ſhould but mocke God, and miſtake his owne meaning.

Fourthly, they hold that *Paul*, and ſo many more, as knew certainely ey were in ſtate of iuſtification, did ſinne damnably in ſaying the Lords rayer, and that they did as fooliſhly, as if a man ſhould come to God, d aske of him the creation of the world, which was made long agoe.

CHAP. 46.

Of the efficacie of the Churches doctrine.

THus were it moſt eaſie for vs, to ſhewe in many o- ther particulars, that the courſe of their doctrine is full of palpable abſurdities. But let theſe few inſtan- ces ſuffice, and let vs paſſe from the ſanctity of the Churches doctrine, to that the Ieſuite addeth tou- ching the efficacie of it: where hee affirmeth two things: the firſt, that heretikes neuer conuert any, om infidelitie to the faith: the ſecond, that the Church of *Rome* hath nuerted. This which the Ieſuite ſo confidently deliuereth, is partly lſe, and partly to no purpoſe at all. For whereas he ſayth, heretikes ne- r conuert any from infidelitie to Chriſtianitie, the conuerſion of the loſcouites, by the *Greeke* Church, at that time, when it was in his iudge-

ment hereticall and schismaticall, abundantly refuteth him, besides sun other examples, that might bee alleaged.

Touching the other part of his speech, that the Church of *Rome* hath conuerted many nations to the faith, it maketh nothing to the purpose. For wee haue already shewed, that we doubt not, but the Church, in which the Bishop of *Rome* with more than Lucifer-like pride exalted himself, was notwithstanding the true Church of God; that it held a sauing profession of the trueth in Christ, and by force thereof did conuert many from error to the way of trueth; yet was not the state of that Church such, but that a damnable faction of wicked ones was found in the midst of it, which being the vassals of that cursed Antichrist, adulterated the trueth of God, and brought his people into a miserable estate, holding men in worse than *Babylonical* captiuity. These men the Romanists succeed at this day. For the clearing of this matter, see that which I haue noted before to this purpose.

CHAP. 47.

Of the Protestants pretended confession, that the Romane Church is the Church of God.

a *Bellar. cap. 16. nota 15.*

THe a next note, whereby *Bellarmine* endeuoureth to proue the Romish Synagogue to bee the true Church of God, is our owne confession. Surely if hee can prooue, that we confesse it to be the Church, he needeth not vse any other arguments. Let vs see therefore, how he prooueth, that wee confesse the Romane Church to bee the true Church of God. b *Luther*, say th he, clearly yeeldeth it; and *Caluin*, and others in effect acknowledge the same. This we denie: for, neither *Luther*, nor *Caluin*, nor any of vs doe acknowledge that the Popish religion, is true religion; or the Romish faction, the Orthodoxe Church of God. It is true in deede, that *Luther* writing against the Anabaptists doth affirme, that the life of true Christianity was preserued, in the middest of those Churches, wherein the Pope did formerly tyrannize; which thing wee haue more fully cleared before: But, that any part of that doctrine, the reformed Churches haue reiected, was to be accounted the doctrine of the Church, or that those wicked ones, (in which steppes the Romanists at this day doe insist, peruerting the strait way of God, and adulterating his heauenly trueth) were liuely members of the Church, *Luther* did neuer so much as dreame.

b *In lib. contra Anabaptistas.*

c *Caluinus, inquit Bellar. eodem cap. vocat Bernardum primum scriptorem: ac certe postea fuit Bernardus: & nemo est qui non verè fide. Idem probat ex Luthero & Philippo &c.*

That which is alleaged out of c *Caluin*, touching *Bernard*, and other holy men, liuing and dying in the Romane Church, is to no purpose. For wee neuer doubted, but that the Churches, wherein those holy men did liue and die, were the true Churches of God, and held the sauing profession of heauenly trueth, though there were innumerable in the middest of them

em, that adulterated the same to their endlesse perdition; whose succes-
rs the Romanists are at this day. There is therefore a great difference
be made, betweene the Church wherein our Fathers formerly liued,
d that faction of the Popes adherents, which at this day resist against
necessary reformation of the Churches of God, and make that their
h and religion, which, in former times, was but the priuate and vnre-
ued opinion of some certaine onely. In former times, a man might
ld the generall doctrine of those Churches, wherein our Fathers liued,
d be saued, though the assertions of some men were damnable; Now it
leane contrary touching the present state of the Romish Church; For,
generall and maine doctrine, agreed vpon in the *Councel of Trent*, in
t as it is most commonly conceiued, is damnable: but there are (no
ubt) some of a better spirit, and haue in themselues particularly a bet-
conceit of things, than generally is holden. Formerly, the Church of
me was the true Church, but had in it an hereticall faction: nowe the
urch it selfe is hereticall, and some certaine onely are founde in it, in
h degree of Orthodoxie, as that we may well hope of their saluation.
us then, this great obiection taken, from our owne confession, is easily
nswered.

CHAP. 48.

Of Miracles, confirming the Romane faith.

THe [a] next note of the Church, is Gods owne testimonie, which hee giueth of the trueth, and sanctitie, of the faith and profession it holdeth. This doubtlesse is the most absolute and excellent note of all other. For that must needes bee the true Church, which holdeth the true faith and profession; d that the true profession, which God, that neither himselfe can be de-
ued, nor deceiue others, doeth witnesse and testifie to be so. For who
e make any doubt, whether that bee the true religon, or that the true
urch, which the God of trueth witnesseth to be so? Let vs see, there-
e, how God doth testifie concerning the truth of religion, & the happy
ndition of them that professe it.

[a] Cap. 14. nota 11

Surely, this testification is of two sorts: the one by the inward ope-
ion of his inlightening spirit, satisfying our vnderstandings in
se things, which by natures light wee could not discerne, and fil-
g our hearts with ioy and gladnesse, such and so great, as nothing
thin natures compasse can yeeld. For by this so great, happy, and hea-
ly an alteration, which we find in our selues vpon, and together with
s receiuing of this doctrine, which the spirit of trueth doeth teach vs, hee
h most clearely witnesse vnto vs, that it is heauenly indeede, and such

as

as we could not haue attained vnto, but by diuine reuelation. The other kind of testification, is, when being desired by them, that teach and leade this doctrine, to giue some outward testimony, that it is true, he doth some such thing, for the good of them that receiue it, or hurt of such as refuse it, as none but God can doe. But because, partly by reason of the manifold illusions, wherewith Sathan can, and often doth abuse men, making it seeme vnto them, that those things are done which are not; and partly because wee doe not exactly knowe, what may be done by the force of naturall causes; [b] wee cannot infallibly knowe, concerning any outward thing performed before our eyes, that it is in deede immediately and miraculously wrought by Gods owne most sacred hands. This kinde of testification is not matchable with the other: Nay, wee cannot be infallibly assured of any thing done, that it is Gods owne worke, and in deede a miracle, vnlesse this assurance growe out of the former testification. For we may iustly feare some fraud, till finding, by the inward testimonie of Gods spirit, the trueth of that for proofe whereof this strange thing is done, wee are assured it is the immediate and peculiar worke of God. [c] This assurance the qualitie of the things done, and the difference betweene the workes of Sathan, which onely cause admiration and wonder, and the miraculous workes of God, that are full of gracious goodnesse, winning the hearts of such as see them, will greatly strengthen.

To what purpose then (will some man say) serued all the miracles that were done by Christ and his blessed Apostles? This doubt is easily cleared: for whereas the things then taught, were newe, strange, and incredible to naturall men, they would not at all haue listned vnto them, made inquirie after them, or search into them, had not the strange workes that followed the publishers of them, made them thinke the things credible, that were accompanied with so strange attendants. Nowe, while they gaue heede to the things that were spoken, the word was mighty in operation, and entred into them in such sort, that they discerned it was Gods owne worde, and that the way of saluation, which by it they were directed vnto.

Thus then we see, that miracles are no sure notes of the trueth of religion, nor certaine marke to knowe the Church by, vnlesse they bee strengthened by some other meanes: not for that a miracle knowen to bee so, is insufficient to testifie of the trueth of God; but because it is not possible infallibly to knowe, that the things which seeme vnto vs to bee miracles bee so in deede; vnlesse being assured of the trueth of that, for confirmation whereof they are wrought, wee thereby bee perswaded they are of God. All that hath been hitherto sayd, is confessed to be true, by the best learned diuines of the Romane Church. [d] Yea, Cardinall *Caietan* proceedeth so farre, that hee pronounceth, it cannot bee certainely knowen, that those miracles are true miracles, which the Church admitteth and approueth

[b] *Ante approbationem ecclesiæ non est credendum, aut certum certitudine fidei, de illo miraculo quod sit verum miraculum. Bellar. in eodē cap.*

[c] *Aug. de vtilitate credendi. cap 16. miraculum, inquit, voco, quod arduum aut insolitum supra spem vel facultatem mirantis apparet: quædam solùm faciunt admirationē, quædam magnam gratiam benevolentiamq; conciliant; qualia fuerunt Christi miracula. Hunc locum addu cit Scotus prolog. sentent. quæst. de essent.*

[d] *Tom 2. de opusc. tract. 1. de cōceptione virgin. cap. 1.*

ueth, in the canonizing of Saints, seeing the trueth of them dependeth on mens report, that may deceiue, and be deceiued.

Thus hauing declared what the vse of miracles is, and how farre they giue testimony of the trueth, let vs see what our aduersaries conclude from hence, for themselues, or against vs. They haue miracles for confirmation of their faith and Religion, and wee haue none: therefore they holde the true faith, and wee are in errour. For aunswere hereunto; first, we say, that the trueth of Religion cannot infallibly and certainely bee found out by miracles, especially in these last times; because, as *Gerson* noteth in his booke *De distinctione verarum & falsarum visionum*, in this olde age of the worlde, in this last houre, and time so neere Antichrist his reuelation, it is not to bee marueiled at, if the worlde like a doating olde man, bee abused by many illusions, and fantasies most like to dreames.

Secondly wee say, that howsoeuer it may bee, some miracles were done, by such good men as liued in the corrupt state of the Church, in the dayes of our fathers; yet that is no proofe of those errours which the Romanists maintaine against vs. For wee peremptorily denie, that euer any miracle was done, by any in times past, or in our times, to confirme any of the things controuersed, betweene them and vs. [e] What credit is to begiuen to the reportes of their miracles, they may easily conceiue, in that in all the differences they haue had among themselues, either in matters of opinion, or of faction, they haue had contrarie visions, reuelations, and miracles, to confirme the persuasion of either side: as appeared in the differences touching *Maries* conception, and in the the times of the Anti-Popes. Whereupon [f] *Caietane*, writing to Pope *Leo*, about the controuersie of *Maries* conception, wisheth him not to suffer his iudgement to bee swayed, by shewe of miracles, and giueth manie good reasons of the vncertaintie, of finding out the trueth by that meanes.

Thirdly, whereas they say, wee haue no miracles, and therefore not the true faith and Religion; wee denie both the antecedent and the consequent. For first, the restoring of the puritie of religion in our age, hath not been, without wonderfull demonstration of the power of God, to confirme the trueth of our doctrine, and the equitie of our cause, as may appeare by that which is reported, by [g] *Illyricus*, the *English Martyrologue*, and other histories of better credite, than those out of which they report their miracles. And besides wee say, though we had no miracles, wee are not thereby conuinced of errour. For the vse of miracles was specially, if not onely, in respect of infidels, as *Caietane* sheweth in the place aboue mentioned, out of 1. Corinthians 11. and the authoritie of *Gregorie*, in his tenth Homily, and serued to make the mysteries of God seeme credible, to such as were wholly auerse from them. So that

e *Fit aliquando in ecclesiâ maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis à sacerdotibus vel ijs adhærentibus propter lucrum temporale: talia extirpanda sunt, sicut ista extirpata sunt à Daniele. Lyra in 14. Danielis.*

f *Tom. 2. opuscul. tractat 1. de conceptione virginis cap. 5 beata Brigitta sibi reuelatū dixit, virginem præseruatam fuisse ab originali & peccato: Catharina de Senis, 5 dixit sibi reuelatū oppositum.*

g *In Catalogo testium veritatis.*

nowe the faith being already generally planted and receiued in the world, and confirmed by the miracles done by *Christ* and his Apostles, and nothing being taught by vs, but the same which was deliuered by them in the beginning, nothing contrarie to the confirmed and receiued doctrine of the Church of God then in the world, when those differences betweene vs and our aduersaries began, there is no reason they should vrge vs, to confirme our doctrine by miracles. If they require vs to confirme our calling and Ministery, as being extraordinarie, we say, it is not extraordinary, as hath beene sufficiently cleared in the note of succession. That which *Bellarmine* addeth, that *Luther* and *Caluin* attempted to doe miracles, but could doe none, is but the lying report of his owne companions, their sworne enemies, whose testimonie in this case is not to bee regarded.

CHAP. 49.

Of Propheticall prediction.

a *Bellar. l. cap. 15. nota 12. in eodem lib.*

THe [a] next note of the Church, vrged by them, is Propheticall prediction. The certaine foreknowledge of future contingent things, is proper vnto God, and therefore none can foretell such things before they come to passe, but they to whome God reuealeth them: but that this kinde of reuelation is made onely to them that are of the true Church, I thinke *Bellarmine* will not say. For then what shall we thinke of *Balaam*, and the *Sybils*? so that prediction of future things is no certaine, nor proper note of the true Church. But if it were, it would not help them, nor hurt vs. For, those men they speak of, that liued in the daies of our fathers, & prophesied of things to come, were of the true Church, [b] and many of them did most certainly foresee, and foretell, the ruine of the Pope his estate, and the alteration, and reformation of the Church in our time, and gaue most cleare testimonie vnto that, which wee haue done. Neither is there any better proofe of the goodnesse of our cause, than that that, which wee haue done in the reformation of the Church, was before wished for, expected, and foretold, by the best men that liued in former times, in the corrupt state of the Church.

b As *Crosted, Gers. Sauanarola,* and many other before mentioned.

That which *Bellarmine* scornefully reporteth of *Luthers* false and lying prophesie, that if hee continued but two yeares in preaching the Gospell, the kingdome of the Pope should be ouerthrowen; shall (wee doubt not) bee found true, to the confusion of the enemies of Gods trueth and Religion, notwithstanding all the indeuours of the Iesuites to make vp the breaches of *Babylon*, which must be throwen downe, till not a stone bee left vpon a stone. [c] But that *Luther* foretold many things, before

c *In libel. demonstr. veritat. sacrarū literarum & Christianæ religionis.*

before they came to passe, wherein his predictions were found most true, we haue the testimonie of *Melancthon*, *Illyricus*, and diuers others.

CHAP. 50.

Of the felicitie of them that professe the trueth.

THe next note of the true Church, assigned by *Bellarmine*, is the temporall felicitie of them that are of it. It was but his priuate fantasie, that mooued him to assigne this note of the Church. For his fellowes, the Diuines of *Rhemes*, in their annotations vpon the fift of *Matthew*, doe vtterly disclaime it, saying in expresse and precise wordes, *We see then, that the temporall prosperitie of persons and countreys, is no signe of better men, or truer Religion.*

But, let vs suppose these pettie Diuines are deceiued in this their iudgement, (though if they bee, wee must condemne all the Primitiue Christians, that were in the times of the ten bloody persecutions) and let vs grant, that the Cardinall sayth truely, that temporall felicitie and prosperitie is a note of the true Church and Religion, what doeth hee gaine by it? surely nothing at all: for hee is most blinde, that seeth not the prosperitie of all those Countreys of *Germanie*, *Denmarke*, *England*, *Scotland*, and the like, where the reformed Religion is maintained; and the long life, and happie Reigne of those Princes, that haue most fauoured and sought to aduance the same; as of great ELIZABETH of famous memorie, late Empresse of *England*, &c. who as shee was the great and glorious protectour of the Reformed Churches, so was she the wonder of the world, in respect of the happie successe shee had in all things shee tooke in hand, and the perpetuall course of felicitie, and prosperitie, that euer attended her, notwithstanding the daungerous attempts of bloody miscreants, the hired slaues of the sonne of perdition. Howe the professours of this Religion, though fewer in number, forsaken and destitute of all worldly assurances, and being, by the falsehood and treacherie of their bloody enemies, oftentimes brought as it were to nothing, in *France* and other places, haue yet strangely, and indeed miraculously lifted vp their heads againe, to the terrour and confusion of their proudest enemies; hee that seeth not, is a stranger in the worlde. Wherefore I will leaue the consideration of this note to the indifferent Reader, not fearing any great preiudice, that can growe from thence against our cause.

CHAP. 51.

Of the miserable endes of the enemies of the trueth.

He next is the miserable ende of such as are enemies to Gods true Religion. It is true, that God hath oftentimes shewed his iudgements most clearely, against the wicked enemies of his trueth and glorie; so that in the end, the impietie of their former courses was made to appeare, as wee see in *Herode*, *Arrius*, *Nestorius*, and others: but that any such thing fell out to *Luther*, *Caluine*, or any of those worthy men *Bellarmine* is pleased in this place to slander, wee vtterly denie. And to the lewd and lying reportes of *Coclæus*, and *Bolsecus*, wee oppose the testimonie of *Ionas*, *Melancthon*, and others. And surely it was the worldes wonder, that *Luther* opposing himselfe against the bloody Romanists, against whome no King nor Emperour in later times resisted, but hee wrought his owne ouerthrow, should notwithstanding liue so long, die so peaceably, and bee buried so honourably, as fewe of his Ranke haue euer beene.

Touching *Caluine*, there were many witnesses of the manner of his sickenesse; but of his death, none but the worthy [a] *Scoffierius*, whose true report, wee oppose against the wicked and vile slaunders of that base and branded runagate *Bolsecus*. That *Zuinglius* died in the field, with his countrey-men, in defence of their liues, liberties, and Religion, is no certaine note (as I take it) that his religion was false: but rather an excellent proofe, and demonstration, of the Christian magnanimitie, and resolution, that rested in him.

[a] *Iunius animaduers. in Bellarm. tom. 2. l. 4. c. 8.*

[b] How infortunate they haue beene in their attempts, howe vnhappie in their endes, that haue most opposed themselues against the trueth of that Religion, which wee professe, wee are able to produce many examples.

[b] *Charles* the fift, that famous Emperour, formerly so fortunate in all his attempes, after hee began to oppresse the Duke of *Sauoye*, the *Lantgraue*, and others of the reformed Religion, prospered not, and was put to the worse by one poore Duke, *Maurice*. *Francis Spira*, denying the trueth of our Religion which hee had formerly professed, died in horrible despaire: the wofull ende of *Saunders*, that Antichristian Arch-traitour, is well knowen to all men: the ouerthrowe of the Inuincible nauie in 88. and the miserable endes of so many Traytors in the dayes of ELIZABETH; beside the late *Sulphurian* and *Billy* apostates, perishing in their sinnes, hauing blowen vp all good opinion any man might haue had of such companions.

CHAP.

CHAP. 52.

Of the Sanctitie of the liues of them that are of the true Church.

The laſt note of the Church, aſſigned by them, is the ſanctitie, holineſſe and good conuerſation, of ſuch as are of it. In aſſigning this note, as in ſome of the former, they ſhew how ſweetly they conſpire and agree together. For *Cardinall Allen*, in his face, before his booke of Purgatorie, confeſſeth, that by the guile and ſtie conueyance of our common enemie the diuell, falſehood is often cloaked in ſhadow and ſhape of truth, and the maſters thereof make h ſhew of vertue and godly life, that you would thinke it had no affitie with vice, nor origine of mans miſbehauiour at all. So did hee er the wicked hereſies of *Manicheus*, *Marcion*, *Tatianus*, and the like, h a fained flouriſh of continencie and chaſtitie. So did he ouer-caſt the mie of Gods grace *Pelagius** with the apparance of all grauitie, con- * *Aug: Epiſt. 120*
ncie, and humilitie. And ſo hath he alwayes, where craft was requiſite his intent, made ſhew of a ſimple ſheepe, in the cruell carcaſſe of a wiwolfe, *transfiguring himſelfe into an Angell of light*. And that his ſchol- play the like parts, our maiſter *Chriſt*, of his ſingular loue, gaue his cke this watchword, for a ſpecial prouizo; [a] *Take heede of falſe Prophets, s come in ſheepes veſture, but within are rauening Wolues*. So that in all aked hereſies, men muſt haue an eie to the fruit of the doctrines pread, and not only, or principallie, to the liues of ſuch as teach them; by outward appearance whereof, it is not alwaies ſafe to iudge. [a] Math, 7, 15.

This the *Rhemiſtes* doe more fully expreſſe, in their annotations vpthis place, ſaying, the fruites that heretiques are knowen by, are diuiſion from the whole Church, diuiſion amongſt themſelues, inconſtancie doctrine and ſuch like: & that theſe are lightly cōmon to all heretiques, that there are ſome other, more peculiar to certaine, as wickedneſſe life, & doctrine, directly tending to corruption of good life, in all ſtates men.

us then we ſee, that appearing ſanctity, grauitie, & godlineſſe, are no , certaine, infallible, and perpetuall notes, to know the true profeſs by, from ſuch as erre and are deceiued. But paſsing by this their ouerht, in that they make ſuch things to be notes of the Church, as are not per vnto it, nor doe not clearely diſtinguiſh from heretiques; let vs ſee at they indeuour to proue againſt vs, or for themſelues, by the force and dence of this note.

Thus therefore they reaſon; The cheiſe guides of the reformed Churs, and profeſſours of the reformed religion, are apparantly wicked, godleſſe men, of vile and ſcandalous conuerſation, and the people

wicked, yea much worse then they were in the Papacy; but their Pr... Prelates, Monkes, Friars and people, are holy and religious; there... the truth of religion is theirs. This imputation of wickednes, *Bellar...* fastneth vpon *Wickliffe*, and *Luther*, and from them descendeth to ... people.

Touching *Wickliffe*, it is a most impudent and shameleſſe challen... b for *Waldenſis* sheweth, that his conuersation was such, and his manne... life so shadowed with shewes of vertue, that he thereby preuailed m... and thereupon sheweth at large, that it is not safe to discerne the truth ... religion, by the appearance of sanctity, and good conuersation of th... that professe it; and that heretiques haue and often doe clothe themselu... with the robes and garments of seeming vertue and pietie. But hath ... no proofe, that *Wickliffe* was a wicked and godlesse man? Doubtlesse ... hath, and that verie pregnant. c For *Waldenſis* reporteth, vpon an vn... taine rumor, that a Bishoppe of *Saliſburie*, in a verie great and solem... assēbly of the Clergie of the Prouince of *Canterburie*, affirmed, that *Wi... liffe* affected the Bishopricke of *Worceſter*; which when hee obtained n... hee grew discontented, & so became an enemie to the Catholike Chur... impugned the different degrees of Ministerie, and the dignitie of Bisho... If this kinde of proofe bee good, innocency it selfe will not be able n... bide the triall.

b *Lib. 1. doctrina præmiſſiua. 8. cap. 1.*

c *Lib. 2. doctrinal: fidei cap. 60.*

Wherefore passing from *Wickliffe*, against whom it seemeth our adu... saries are able to say little; let vs see what are those greeuous crimes, wh... with they charge *Luther*. First, they say, he beganne to impugne the ... and marchandise of indulgences, not led by any iust reason, mouing h... to dislike them, but because the publishing of them was not commit... to the Friers of his order, but to the Friers predicant. This vile slaund... hath no better ground then the former against *Wickliffe*. For who wil... gard the malitious report of *Cochæus*, his sworne enemie, against the wh... course of things that passed in those times, and the cleare euidence of ... truth it selfe. d *Guicciardine* reporteth, that the abuses in the marchan... of those pardons were so intolerable, that the pardon sellers set the p... of redemption, and deliuerance of soules out of Purgatorie, as a stak... dice, to be played for, in euerie Inne and Tauerne where they came... all good men disliked much this impious and irreligious abusing the p... ple of God, & that thereupon *Luther* began his opposition against th... not without the great applause of the Christian world.

d *Hiſtor: li: 13.*

But to make it most cleare to all not wilfully blinded, that ... such sinister respect mooued *Luther* to impugne the Kingdome of ... *Roman* Antichrist; It is certaine, hee had, before this occasion was ... fered vnto him, cleared the doctrine of Originall sinne, of Nature ... Grace, of the difference betweene the spirit and the letter, the Law ... grace, of freewill and the like, which are the maine grou...

all that doctrine, wherein hee dissenteth from the *Romish* Synague.

But (sayth *Bellarmine*,) *Coclæus* reporteth, that *Luther* in the disputation at *Lipsia* between him & *Eckius* sayd, his opposition against the Pope Popedome, was neuer begun out of any desire of Gods glory, nor would euer haue any good end. This is a diuelliſh ſlaunder: for *Luther* ſaide no ſuch thing, but that this diſputation was not begunne on his aduerſaries part, out of any deſire of the glorie of GOD, or the good of his Church, and that therefore it would neuer haue any good end.

That which hee writeth to them of *Straweſborough*, that he would willingly be of their opinion, & denie the Reall preſence of the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, if the euidence of truth did not conuince him, and force him to bee otherwiſe minded, for that he might thereby diſaduantage his aduerſaries of the *Romiſh* faction, no way proueth that, which *Bellarmine* intendeth. For this is all he ſaith; *Let no man thinke, that it is ſlouthfulneſſe, and a preiudicate opinion, that maketh me diſſent from Zuinglius, and the reſt; for in my affection and deſire, I ſhould rather wiſh to conſent with them in this point, then with the Romaniſts, (whoſe manifolde damnable errours I deteſt,) if it were affection, and not reaſon, and the cleare euidence of truth, that muſt preuaile in things of this kinde.* [c] Indeed the *Romaniſtes* are wont to temper their opinions, and sway their iudgements, accordingly as they finde, they may moſt aduantage their owne cauſe, and diſaduantage their aduerſaries. As appeareth by [f] *Bellarmine*, who in queſtion, whether the eminent degree of Biſhoppes aboue Presbyters be a diſtinct order of Miniſtrie, doth incline to the opinion of them that thinke it is, contrary to the iudgement of the beſt learned of the Schoolemen; for that thereby hee may the more eaſily impugne the opinion of them that thinke, Biſhoppes and Presbyters to be all one, *de iure diuino*.

That which followeth, is as little to the purpoſe as the reſt. It is true, that in the aſſurance of the truth hee profeſſed, and the certaine victorie of the ſame ouer all the enemies of it, of what kinde, degree, or ſort ſoeuer, hee eſteemed all the greatneſſe of the malicious aduerſaries therof as vile as the dirt vnderneath his feete, though otherwiſe out of this comparison with the truth, and oppoſition to it, he reſpected them as the greatneſſe of their places did require. That hee ſaith, *hee regardeth not a thouſand Cyprians, a thouſand Auguſtines, if they ſhould bee produced*, it moueth not, that hee thinketh them to be againſt him in the cauſe of religion, or that he contemneth them, but that noe authoritie of men or Angels, ſhall euer remoue him from that hee knoweth to bee the truth of God, as the Apoſtle requireth the [g] *Galathians*, *If an Angell come from heauen and preach otherwiſe to thē, then they had beene taught, to hold him accurſed:*

not

[c] *An cùm Apoſtoli vngebant infirmos & curabant, illa vnctio fuerit ſacramentalis, dua ſunt opiniones: 1. negatiua; 2. affirmatiua; poſterior interpretatio, inquit Bellar: eo nomine mihi gratior eſt, quòd videam Lutherū, Caluinū & Chemnicium, eſſe in priore opinione.* *Bellar: 2. tom: 3. contro: lib. 1. cap. 2.*

[f] *Bellar: li. 1. de ſacramento ordinis cap. 5.*

[g] Galat. 1. 8.

not as if the holy Angels in heauen, nowe confirmed in grace, could eith
erre themselues from the truth of the Gospell, or peruert others, or
they should be vilely esteemed of, in the messages they bring vnto vs;
that, if it were possible for them to erre, and misslead others, we should
listen vnto them, but hold them accursed.

That, out of his booke of corner masses, is as diuelish a slaunder as
rest. For, *Luther* doth not say, he learned of the diuell, that the Mass
impious and wicked, but that hauing learned that in the schoole of Chr
the diuell thereupon tempted him to despaire, for that hee had so often
such Masses, and thereby dishonoured God, and misled his people: w
this can proue against him, I see not.

That hee was of a violent spirit, wee deny not: nay himselfe glorieth
that he had an heroicall spirit, made to contemne the furie and folly
the *Romanistes*; neither had hee beene fit to oppose against enemies of
kinde, if hee had beene of another spirit. That hee was carried too m
with the violent streame of his passions, wee impute it to the infirmit
flesh and blood, & the peruersenesse of the manifold aduersaries, he fo
in those times. Neither was this the peculiar or proper fault of *Lu*
for who knoweth not, that *Hierome*, and *Chrysostome*, and diu
other lightes of the World were not without their blemishes in
kinde.

That the *Tigurines*, *Gesnerus*, and others, disliked the distempered p
sions of *Luther*, is not to bee marualled at; or that there were some d
rences amongst them; seeing the like were in former times, betweene
piphanius and *Chrysostome*; [i] *Hierome*, *Ruffinus*, [k] *Augustine*, and
thers.

From *Luther*, the Iesuite commeth to the people of our profession
nouncing that there are many wicked amongst his consorts, but that
are none good, amongst those that are of the reformed religion. T
with the breath of his mouth, hee thinketh to blowe vp all that stan
before him. But how proueth he that hee saith? Our owne confession,
he, is proofe enough. But against this pretended and imagined confes
we protest, and professe before God, men and Angels, that wee n
thought, much lesse spake or wrote any such thing. If *Luther* in his se
cõplaine, that the world is euery day worse thã other, who was there
found that vsed not words of the like complaint? If hee say, that the
of the world abuse the grace of God vnto wantonnesse, and the more
better meanes they haue, be the worse, what strange thing saith he?
not Saint *Paul* finde, that, when hee magnified the riches of the gra
God, and shewed that *where sinne hath abounded, grace more abou*
[l] many tooke occasion to say; *It is good to continue in sinne, that grace*
more abound. Doth he not charge the *Corinthians*, that there [m] was
cation amongst them, and such as was not once named among the Gentiles? [n]

h How many vnkindnesses passed betweene *Chrisostome* and *Epiphanius*, who knoweth not? Did not the one refuse to pray with the other? did not the one challenge the other for manifolde breaches of the canons? Did not the one, inueighing against the other, professe that he hoped hee should neuer dye a Bishop? and the other, that hee should neuer come aliue into his coũtrey? *Socrat: li. 6. cap. 13.*

i The inuectiues of *Hiero:* and *Ruffinus* one against another, are extãt. and *Aug: Epist:* wherein he sorroweth for their bitter dissentions.

k The Epistles of *Aug:* and *Hiero:* which the one wrote vnto the other, shewe, what differences were betweene them.

l Romanes, 5, 8.

m 1, Corinth, 5. 1

n 1, Corin. 6, 1, 5

they went to lawe one with another, and that vnder Infidels, to the ſlaunder of the Goſpell of Chriſt? that there was not a wiſe man amongſt them to interpoſe him ſelfe, and ſtay theſe their proceedings one againſt another?

That which is alleaged out of *Smidelinus*, tendeth to the ſame purpoſe, and requireth no other, nor farther anſwere. Touching the iudgement of *Eraſmus*, it was ſo variable and vncertaine, in things of this kind, that neither they, nor wee, can take any aduantage by it. But for the extraordinarie ſanctitie of the *Romiſh* Prieſts, Friars, Monkes, and other irreligious amongſt them, whereof they inſolently boaſt, and bragge, if we ſhould ſtirre the [o] dunghils of their owne hiſtories, wherein the liues of theſe Saints are deſcribed vnto vs, the ſtench of them would infect the aire: if wee ſhould make report of that wee reade in authors not partiall, men would ſtoppe their eares, and pronounce againſt vs, that ſuch thinges ought not once to be named amongſt men. This is ſo euident, that *Bellarmine*, in his preface before his bookes of the Pope, is not aſhamed to make the wickedneſſe, and prodigious villanies, of the Popes, a proofe and demonſtration of the ſanctitie of that Chaire in which they ſit, and of Gods prouident care of it. Which argument, though it ſeeme ſtrange at the firſt ſight, yet is in his iudgement verie forcible, and vnanſwerable; For that ſuch, and ſo great hath beene the wickedneſſe of the *Romane* Biſhops, that, if God had not ſtrangely vpholden it, the Sea and Chaire, in which they ſit, had long ſince ſunke downe into hell. Thus I hope it appeareth to all, not wilfully blinded, that this note of the ſanctitie of the liues of the profeſſors of religion, maketh very little for thē, or againſt vs. And thus haue we run through, and examined, all the notes of the Church, by which they deſire to be tryed.

[o] *De Syluestro, 2. legitur, quòd diabolo fecit homagium; quī etiam in papatu exiſtens conſulebat. Occam li: 5, part. 1. cap. 2. ſicut legitur in chronicis Iohan. 3. erat venator & lotus lubricus, adeò quòd fœminas publicè tenebat: propter quod quidam Cardinalium & Romanorum ſcripſerunt occultè, & cito imperatori Saxonum, vt Scandalo compatiens eccleſiæ Rom: ſine mora proueraret. Hoc papa perciens, Iohan: diacono Cardinali tanquam huius filii cōciliario, naſum, & alteri Iohan: ſubdiacono, quis lateras/*

rupſit, manum amputari fecit. Occam 1. part. li. 5. cap. 5. Stephanus corpus formoſi è ſepulchro in concilium protractum, & papali veſte, exutum, & laicali indutum, & abſciſſis duobus digitis dextræ manus eius, in Tyberim præcipitari fecit. Sigeb: in Chron: fol. 113. Anno 902. Aſſidem narrant de Sergio. erat quidam pontifex, qui nullū Deum credens, vniuerſum infidelitatis culmen exciſſit: alius profeſſus ſe non credere immortalitatem animæ; qui mortuus, eidem, cui hoc aperuerat, apparuit, man feſtans ſe, quam mortalem crediderat, tum maxime cum damno & perpetuis cum ignibus immortalem experiri. Picus Theore: de fide & ordine credendi.

WHereas in the seuenth Chapter of this booke, to silence our clamorous aduersaries, who, to make vs odious to the world, neuer cease challenging vs for departing from the faith of our Fathers, and doctrine of that Church, wherein they liued and died, It is affirmed, that none of those erronious positions mentioned in that Chapter, which at this day they of the Romish faction do defende, and wee impugne, were euer constantly receiued in the dayes of our Fathers, as the doctrine of that Church wherein they liued, but onely doubtfully disputed of, as things not clearely resolued; or broached onely, as the priuate fancies, and conceipts of particular men: the testimonies of those learned and worthy men, by which this is to be proued, being so many, that fitly they could not be cited at large in the Margent of that Chapter; I haue thought it necessarie for the better satisfaction of the Reader, though something out of place; to adde them in the end of this booke, as an *Appendix* to the same.

I.

Of the Canon of the Scripture.

THat the Church did not admit that Canon of Scripture, the Romanists *now vrge, it will easily appeare, in that all the most famous Diuines, that liued in later times, euen till the dayes of* Luther, as Hugo de Sancto Victore; Richardus de Sancto Victore, Petrus Cluniacensis, Lyranus, Dionysius Carthusianus, Hugo Cardinalis, Thomas Aquinas, Waldensis, Richardus Armuchanus, Picus Mirandula, Caietanus, *and sundry other, did reiect all the bookes, as Apocryphall, which wee doe. See the proofe hereof in the* 23. *Chapter of the fourth Booke.*

II.

Of the sufficiencie of the Scripture.

THat the Church *formerly did not denie the sufficiencie of the Scripture, for the direction of Christian men in matters of faith, as the* Romanists *now doe, appeareth by the testimonies of these Diuines.* Whatsoeuer, *sayth* Scotus, pertaineth to the heauenly, and supernaturall knowledge, and is necessarie to be knowen of men in this life, is sufficiently deliuered in the sacred Scriptures. What euill

a Prolo. 1. sententiarum. q. 2.

b Serm. in die Circūcisionis Domini consid. prima.

euill, what dangers, what cōfusions, *sayth* Gerson, haue followed the contempt of sacred Scripture, which is sufficient for the gouernment of the Church, or else Christ was an imperfit Lawgiuer, experience will teach, &c. There is one opinion, *sayth* [c] Occam, that onely those verities are to be esteemed Catholike, and such as are necessarily to be beleeued, for the attaining of saluation, which either expressely are deliuered in Scripture, or by necessary consequence may be inferred from things so expressed. [d] Then only, *sayth* Cameracensis, doe we say, a thing is Theologically prooued, when it is concluded out of the words of holy Scripture. That Wicle affirmeth, that neither Friars nor Prelats may define any thing in matters of faith, vnlesse they haue the authoritie of sacred Scripture, or some speciall reuelation, I dislike not, *sayth* [e] Waldensis: but his waywardnesse and craft I condemne, and thinke it necessary (least we wrest the Scriptures, & erre in the interpretation of them) to follow the tradition of the Church, expounding them vnto vs, and not to trust to our owne priuate and singular conceits. *This is that which* Vincentius Lirinensis *long since deliuered, to wit*, That the Scripture is sufficient, and containeth all things necessary, but that for auoyding of the manifold turnings of heretikes, peruerting the same to their owne perdition, we must carefully looke to the tradition of the Church, deliuering vnto vs the true sense and meaning of it.

c Dialog. li. 2. part. 1. cap. 1.

d Li 1. sentent. qu. 1. E. E.

e Doctrinalis fidei, li. 2. art. 2. cap. 19.

III.

Of the vulgar Translation, and original Text of Scripture.

See the fourth booke, Chap. 27, 28.

IIII.

Of the three supposed different estates of men; and the difference betweene a man, in the state of pure nature, and in the state of sinne.

THere might haue been, *sayth* [a] Scotus, a man created in the state of pure nature, or nature onely, aswell without grace, as sinne: [b] a man in this state of pure nature, or nature onely without addition of grace or sinne, differeth from him, who being created in originall righteousnesse, by sinne falleth away: not because the sinner hath

a Li. 2. dist. 28

b Dist. 29.

ath any euill or crooked disposition, the other hath not; but be-
ause the sinner is worthily blamed for the losse of righteousnesse
nce receiued, and the other is not. [c] Bellarmine *sayth*, The state of
man after the fall of *Adam*, differeth no otherwise from the condi-
on of the same man in pure nature, but as a man that had rich ap-
arell, but hath lost it, from him that was alwayes naked; neither
man after the fall more subiect to ignorance, infirmities, and the
ke euils, then he would haue been in the state of pure nature, and
herefore the corruption of nature is not from the want of anye
aturall gift, or any thing required to the integritie of nature, nor
om the bringing in of any euill qualitie, but onely from the losse
f supernaturall gifts, (without which the integrity of nature consi-
eth) forfeited by *Adams* sinne. *Notwithstanding he confesseth, that
here are some of excellent and admirable learning, who thinke, that
oth Saint* Thomas, *and the rest of the best, and most approoued Di-
ines, were of a contrary iudgement, though this were the more com-
non opinion: so that he is forced to acknowledge, that this poynt of er-
onious and false doctrine, touching the three estates of man, did neuer
enerally preuaile in the* Romane Church; *for there were some, and
hey excellently learned, that thought as we doe, that man must either
e lifted aboue himselfe by grace, or fall below himselfe by sinne; that
here is no middle estate; that originall righteousnesse was required,
o the integritie of nature; and consequently, that being lost, nature is
orrupted and depriued of all naturall and morall rectitude: so that a
an after the fall of* Adam, *till hee be renewed by grace, can doe no-
hing morally good, or that may be truely named a vertue:* [d] *As like-
ise* Adam *before he fell was not able to doe any thing morally good,
y natures power, without assistance of speciall grace.*

[c] De gratia primi hominis, liuaie, cap. 5.

[d] Grego. Arminensis. lib. 2. dist. 29. qu. 1.

V.

Of originall sinne.

A Ndradius [a] *saith*, Albertus Pighius *did so conceiue of the nature of
original sin, and think it properly named sin, that yet indeed it may
eem, according to his opinion to be nothing lesse: for he supposeth that
fants are not defiled with the impurity of any sin particularly inherẽt
them, but that only the fault of* Adams *trãsgression resteth on them,
nd is imputed to thẽ: of the same opinion was* Ambrosius Catharinus.

[a] Li. 5 defens. fidei Trident.

These

These men tooke occasion of this their errour from Durandus, *who thought, that the act of* Adams *will, turning it selfe from God, was no otherwise to be iudged our auersion from him, but onely because it deserued that we should lose originall righteousnesse, and run into euerlasting destruction, neither was* Pighius, Catharinus, *and* [b] Durandus, *onely of this opinion, but* [c] William *Bishop of* Paris, *who denied originall sinne to be a fault, and affirmed, that it is not punished at all by Almighty God. These errours, touching originall sinne,* Andradius *reiecteth, and refuteth: so that though there were found* Pelagian *conceits in the Church, touching the fall of man and originall sinne, yet they were not allowed by the Church.*

b a Sent. dist. 1 30. quæst. 3.
c Li. de vitiis & peccatis. c. 7

VI.

Of *Maries* conception without sinne.

a BOnauentura, [b] Caietanus, [c] Gregorius Ariminensis, *and many other worthy Diuines, were of opinion, that she was conceiued in originall sinne, and therefore the conceipt of her spotlesse conception though greatly preuailing, was not the doctrine of the Church.*

a Li. 3. dist 3. quæst 2.
b Tom. 2. opusc. tract. 1. de conceptione Virginis.
c Li. 2. d st 30. quæst. 2. art. 1.

VII.

Of the punishment of originall sinne, and *Limbus Puerorum.*

a PElagius, *saith* [a] Bellarmin, *excluded little Infants, not regenerate, out of the kingdome of heauen, and the blessed life promised to the Saints: yet yeelded to them eternall life, and a kinde of naturall happinesse free from al paine and griefe in a middle place, without the confines of the heauenly kingdome, and farre from the prison of the damned.* Catharinus, *in his booke of the state of children dying without Baptisme,* Pighius *in his first controuersie, and* Sauanarola *of the triumph of the Crosse, are not farre from the same error: for they teach that Infants dying without Baptisme shall after the Iudgement enioy a kind of naturall felicity in an earthly Paradise, and liue most happily for euer.* Thomas, *and others say, they are subiect to no punishment but the losse of the sight of God; and that they are afflicted with no paine or griefe inward or outward. These* Pelagian *conceits,* [b] Gregorius Ariminensis *refuteth in this sort:* Augustine, *sayth he, writing*

a De amissione gratiæ, & statu peccati. l. 6. c. 1
b Li. 2. dist. 31 quæst 3. art. 1.

ainſt Pelagius, *who ſuppoſed that infants dying without Baptiſme, do ot enter into the kingdome of heauen, and yet haue eternall life without ll pain or griefe, proueth, that if they do not enter into the kingdom of eauen, they muſt needs be caſt into euerlaſting fire, there to be tormen- ed and afflicted; and addeth,* The firſt place the Catholike faith be- eueth to be the kingdom of heauen, the ſecond hell: *But that there any third or middle place, ſuch as the Papiſts make their* Limbus uerorum, *we are altogether ignorant. It ſeemeth to me, ſayth* Gre- ory *a fearefull thing to reiect the teſtimonies and authorities of the oly Fathers: and on the contrary ſide alſo, it is not ſafe to go againſt the mon opinion and conſent of the great Maſters of our Schooles.* [c] Drie- o *thinketh, that Infants dying in originall ſinne not remitted, ſhall be uniſhed with both kindes of puniſhment, aſwell that of ſmart and riefe, as the other of the loſſe of the ſight of God.*

c Li. 1. de gratia & libero arbitrio, tract. 3. cap. 2.

VIII.

Of the diſtinction of Veniall and Mortall ſinnes.

[a] Erſon *ſheweth, that all ſinnes, euen they that ſeeme leaſt and ligh- teſt, are by nature mortall:* [b] Caietan *ſayth, ſome ſins may there- re be called Veniall, becauſe either by reaſon of the matter, wherein en ſinning, doe offend, or becauſe they are not fully conſented vnto, ey exclude not grace, the roote of remiſſion and pardon; for other- iſe he thinketh, that euery the leaſt ſinne not remitted, ſhall be puni- ed euerlaſtingly. Of the ſame opinion is* Richardus de ſancto Victore, his tract of the difference of Veniall and Mortall ſinnes. *But* [c] Bellar- mine *ſayth, that the Romaniſts with one conſent doe teach, that ſome nnes in their own nature, no reſpect had to Predeſtination or Reproba- ion, to the ſtate of men regenerate or not regenerate, are Mortall, o- her Veniall, and that the former make men vnworthy of the fauour of od, and guilty of eternall condemnation, the other onely ſubiect thē o puniſhments temporall, and fatherly chaſtiſements. Yet is he forced o confeſſe, that* Gerſon, Almaine, *and* Fiſher *ſometime Biſhop of* Ro- heſter, *were of another minde;* [d] *he ſayth, that Veniall ſinnes are not gainſt, but beſide the Law; yet* [e] Durandus *and others teach, that they re contrary to the Lawe, and not onely beſides it. Thus it appeareth, he doctrine of the Papiſts, touching the difference of Veniall and Mor- all ſinnes, is not the doctrine of the Church.*

a De vita ſpirituali animæ, lect. 1.

b In primam ſecundæ quæſt. 87. art. 5.

c De amiſſione gratiæ & ſtatu peccati, li. 1. c. 4

d Lib. 1. ca. 11.

e Lib. 2. diſt. 42. quæſt. 6.

Of

IX.

Of the power of nature to doe things morally good, of keeping the Law, and louing God aboue all.

a 1. sent. dist. 1 quæst. 2.

MAny doctors, sayth a Cameracensis, *doe teach, that a man by the force and power of nature, may fulfill the precept of louing God aboue all, in respect of the substance of the thing commanded, though not according to the circumstance, and intention of the commander. I grant the conclusion, saith* b Scotus, *that the will of man by the power of nature, without addition of grace, at least in the state of nature, as at first it was instituted, may loue God aboue all.* c Bellarmin *professeth himselfe to be of opinion, howsoeuer some men haue inconsiderately written the contrary, that no man can loue God, neither as author of nature nor grace, vnlesse God doe frame him to it: and yet thinketh, a man may doe things morally good, and keepe or fulfil the Law, according to the substãce of the things prescribed, without the help or assistance of speciall grace. But* d Gregorius Ariminensis *sayth, that to affirme, that man by his naturall strength, without the speciall helpe of God, can do any vertuous action, or morally good, is one of the damned heresies of* Pelagius, *or if in any thing it differ from his heresie, it is further from trueth; whence it followeth, that no Catholike man, ought to defend any such opinion: and in the same place, distinguishing things good, in respect of the duety performed, and good in respect of the circumstance required, he pronounceth with* Augustine, *that the workes of Infidels that seeme to be vertuous, are indeede sinfull, and deserue punishment, as not being done in such sort, nor to such ends as they should.*

b In sent. lib. 3 dist. 27. q vnica

c De gratia & libero arbitrio, lib. 6. Lib. 5. cap. 5.

d Lib. 2. dist. 26. q. 1. art 2.

X.

Of Election and Reprobation depending on the foresight of something in the parties elected or reiected.

a Li. 1 dist. 40 qu. 1. art. 2

WHy these or these men are predestinated or reprobated, a Arminensis *sayth, some yeeld a positiue reason, to wit, workes, or the well vsing of free will; others, a priuatiue, to wit, the not resisting against grace: against these opinions he opposeth these conclusions; the first, that no man is predestinated, for that God foresaw he would vse the liberty of his will aright; the second, that no man is predestinated*

ſtinated, becauſe God foreſawe, he would not reſiſt againſt his grace; e third, that whom God did predeſtinate, he did freely, and onely of ercie predeſtinate them, according to the good pleaſure of his will; e the diuers opinions touching predeſtination formerly found in the omane Church, in [b] Cameracenſis.

b In ſent. q 12.

XI.

Of the merit of Congruence and Condignitie.

Here is no action of ours, ſayth [a] Scotus, *that without the ſpecial ordinance of God, and his diuine acceptation, is worthy of the reward ith which God rewardeth them that ſerue him, in reſpect of the inard goodneſſe, that it hath from the cauſes of it; becauſe alwayes the ward is greater than the merit, and ſtrict iuſtice doth not giue a bet- thing for a thing of leſſe value; and againe,* [b] *he ſayth, that ſpeaking ſtrict Iuſtice, God is bound to none of vs, to beſtowe rewards of ſo gh perfection, as he doth; the rewards being ſo much greater in worth, an any merits of ours.* [c] Cameracenſis *prooueth by many reaſons d authorities of Scripture, that no act of ours, from how great cha- ie ſoeuer it proceede, can merit eternall life, of condignitie.* [d] Ari- inenſis *confirmeth the ſame.* [e] Waldenſis *ſayth, that certaine School- en, to expreſſe their opinion of merit, found out the tearmes of con- uence and condignitie; but confeſſeth, that he thinketh him a ſounder uine, a more faithfull Catholike, and to ſpeake more conſonantly to e Scriptures, that ſimply denieth ſuch merit, and with the qualifi- tion of the Apoſtle, and of the Scriptures, confeſſeth, that ſimply and ſolutely no man meriteth the kingdome of heauen, but obtaineth the me by the Grace of God, and free will of the giuer.*

a Lib. diſt. 17. q. 2.

b Li. 4 diſt. 49. qu. 6.

c 1. ſent. diſt. 2. qu. 2.

d 1. ſent. diſt. 17. quæſt. 1. art. 2.

e Tom. 3. de ſacram. cap 7.

XII.

Of workes of Supererrogation and counſailes of perfection.

He Papiſts imagine certaine degrees of morall goodneſſe: the loweſt whereof, who ſo attayneth not, doeth ſinne, as not doing at the precept requireth; the higher, ſuch as men are counſelled to, if they will be perfect, though not by any precept vrged there- to: they that attaine to ſuch height of vertue, are ſayd by them

to

to doe workes of supererrogation. But [a] Gerson *sheweth, that these men erre, in that they discerne not betweene the matter of precepts and counsailes, imagining that the precept requireth the inferiour degree of vertue, and the counsailes the more high and excellent; whereas the precept requireth all the actions of vertue in the best sort they can be performed, and the counsailes are conuersant in another matter, namely, in shewing vs the meanes, whereby most easily, if all things be answerable in the parties, men may attaine to the height of vertue. Hereunto agreeth* [b] Iansenius, *alleaging the authority of* Aquinas, *secunda secundæ quæst. Artic. 5. who affirmeth, that the perfection of Christian life, consisteth essentially in keeping the commaundements, and of another, who sayth, that watchings, fastings, nakednesse, and forsaking all, are not Christian perfections, but the instruments of perfection, not the ends of Christian discipline, but the meanes whereby men doe often times attaine to the height of vertue: so that, as* Gerson *and* [c] Paludanus *doe shew, some men at sometime, and in some state of things, may attaine to as great height of perfection, liuing in marriage and possessing much, as they that liue single, and giue away all they haue.* [d] *But the conceit of the Iesuites is, that the entring into a Monasticall life, wherein are implied the vowes of single life and voluntary poverty, is essentially of so great merit, and acceptation with God, that it is a kinde of Baptisme freeing from all temporall punishments otherwise due for precedent sinnes.*

a De consilijs Euangelicis & statu perfectionis,

b In concordiã euangelicam, cap. 100.

c In sent. lib. 3. dist. 34. qu. 3.

d Bellar lib. 2. de Monachis. cap. 6.

XIII.

Of Iustification by perfection of inherent qualities.

That we are not iustified by the perfection of any inherent qualities we haue testimonies of such, as liued in the Church of Rome. Barnard *in his fift Sermon, de verbis Esaiæ,* [a] Gerson, *de Consolatione Theologica,* Contarenus *in his tract of Iustification,* Pighius *of Faith and Iustification, besides many more.*

a Li. 4. prosa. 1.

XIIII.

Of the certainetie of grace.

That wee may be sure, wee are in the state of grace, these Authors are cleare; [a] Alexander *of* Hales, [b] Iohn Bacon, [c] Ambrosius Catharinus, [d] Andreas Vega, *with many others.*

a Part. 3. qu. 61 memb. 7 art. 3.
b Li. 3. dist. 30 qu. 1. art. 2.
c In apol cõtra Dominicum à Soto.
d Li. 9 in Concil. Trident.

XV.

Of the ſeuen Sacraments.

DVrandus [a] *denieth Matrimony to bee a Sacrament properly ſo named, and of the ſame nature with the reſt, or to giue grace.* [b] Cajetan *ſayth, the Diuines ſpeake vncerteinly of the matter & forme of Matrimony, and that they doe not certainely reſolue, whether it giue grace or not.* [c] Alexander *of* Hales *ſayth, that there are onely foure, which are in any ſort properly to be ſayd Sacraments of the new law, that the other three ſuppoſed Sacraments had their being before, but receiued ſome additiō by Chriſt manifeſted in the fleſh, that amongſt them which began with the new Couenant, onely Baptiſme and the Euchariſt were inſtituted immediatly by Chriſt, receiued their formes from him, and flowed out of his wounded ſide; whence it commeth, that water is the matter of Baptiſme, and bread and wine of the Euchariſt, without any other cōſecration, but that which they receiue from the words of ſacramentall forme: but the matter of the other two ſuppoſed Sacraments, requireth conſecration, and halowing, before it can bee the matter of thoſe Sacraments; ſo that though the words of forme bee pronounced, they haue no vertue of Sacraments, but from precedent conſecration: whereby it appeareth, that they take their force from the prayers of the Church, by the miniſtery whereof they were appointed, and not from the words of forme, as the other doe. Hence alſo it commeth, that they are variable both in their matter and forme. The Apoſtles, ſayth* Alexander of Hales, *confirmed with the only impoſition of their hands without any certaine forme of words or outward matter or Element, but afterward it was otherwiſe ordained, both in reſpect of the one, and the other: the formes of Baptiſme, and the Euchariſt being appointed by Chriſt, are kept inuiolably without all change; but touching the words of forme to be vſed in any other of the ſuppoſed Sacraments, there is no certainty, but they are diuerſly and doubtfully deliuered. The reaſon whereof is, becauſe they are of humane deuiſing. By this which hath been ſayd, it may appeare, that the other pretended Sacraments are not of the ſame nature with Baptiſme and the Euchariſt, as euen* [d] Bellarmin *himſelfe is forced to cōfeſſe, the ſacred or holy things, ſaith he, which the Sacraments of the new Law ſignifie, are three fold; the grace of Iuſtificati-on, the Paſſion of Chriſt, and eternall life, as* Thomas *teacheth: touching*

a Li. 4. diſt. 25. quæſt. 3.

b Lib. 8. cap 5

c Part. 4. q. 5. memb. 2. art. 1. qu. 5. memb. 3. art. 2. quæſt. 9. memb. 2. art. 2.

d De ſacramēti, in genere, li. 1. de definitione Sacramenti, cap. 9.

Baptiſme, and the Euchariſt, the thing is moſt euident, concerning the other it is not ſo certaine.

XVI.
Of the being of one body in many places at the ſame time.

THe poſſibility of the being of one bodie, in many places at the ſame time, was euer denied by many worthy members of the Church, and conſequently the locall preſence of Chriſts body in the Sacrament, whether definitiue, or circumſcriptiue, was likewiſe reiected, as a thing impoſſible. To affirme, ſayth a Aquinas, *that one body, may be locally in this place, and yet alſo in another at the ſame time, implieth a contradiction: and therefore the power of God extendeth not to the effecting of any ſuch thing.* b Scotus *confeſſeth, that* Egidius, Godfredus de fon. Alanus, *and* Henricus, *are of the ſame opinion with* Thomas. c Durandus *ſayth, that which is preſent in one place definitiuely or circumſcriptiuely, cannot in any ſuch ſort be in many places at the ſame time. Whereupon he pronounceth, that the body of Chriſt is no otherwiſe in the Sacrament, but by reaſon of a certaine habitudinarie vnion betweene it, and the ſacramentall elements; whence it was wont to bee ſayd, that Chriſts body is* perſonaliter in verbo, localiter in cœlo, ſacramentaliter in Euchariſtia: Perſonally in the eternal word, locally in heauen, ſacramentally in the Euchariſt. *The firſt that taught otherwiſe, and brought in the locall preſence, was* Scotus, *whom* d Occam *followed, though he denie not, but the former opinion had great fauourers.*

a Quolib. 8. quæſt. 1. art. 2.

b Li. 4. diſt. 10 quæſt. 2.

c Li. 4. diſt. 11 qu. 1. & 11.

d Li. 4. qu. 4.

XVII.
Of Tranſubſtantiation.

THe conuerſion of the bread and wine into Chriſts body and blood all of vs, ſayth a Caietane, *do teach in words, but indeed many denie it, thinking nothing leſſe. Theſe are diuerſly diuided one from another: for ſome by the* Conuerſion *that is in the ſacrament vnderſtand nothing but Identitie of place, that is, that the bread is therfore ſaid to be made the body of Chriſt, becauſe where the bread is, the body of Chriſt becomes preſent alſo; other vnderſtand by the word* Cõuerſion *nothing elſe but the order of ſucceſſion, that is, that the body ſucceeds*

a In 3 part. q. 75. art. 1.

eth, and is vnder the vailes of those accidents, vnder which the bread, hich they thinke to be annihilated, was before. This opinion in sub- ance Scotus followeth, though in the maner of his speach hee seemeth decline it. Some admit both the word and thing, but yet not wholly, t onely in part, as Durandus. [b] Bonauentura sayth, that some seeing e accidents to remaine both in their being and operation, thinke the atter of the sacramentall element still remaineth; Other, the forme; t that the more Catholike or generall opinion is, that the whole sub- ance of the elements is turned into Christs body and blood. We see, he aketh the doctrine of Transubstantiation to be but an opinion. [c] Oc- am saith, there are three opinions of Transubstantiation, of which, the rst supposeth a conuersion of the sacramentall elements; the second an nnihilation; the third affirmeth the bread to be in such sort transub- antiated into the body of Christ, that it is no way changed in sub- ance, or substantially conuerted into Christs bodie, or doeth cease to e, but onely that the bodie of Christ in euery part of it becomes present euery part of the bread. This opinion, hee sayth, the Master of ntences mentioneth, not much disliking it; yet is it not commonly lden. [d] Cameracensis sayth, that the more common opinion is, that e substance of bread doth not remaine, but wholly ceaseth; and that ough this opinion bee not euidently deduced from the Scriptures, r concluded out of any determination of the vniuersall Church, r ought hee can see, yet hee is resolued to followe it. [e] Waldensis yth, hee founde in a certaine old booke of decrees, that in the yeere 49. there was a meeting of Archbishops, Bishops, and other re- gious persons in a Synode, and that when they were come together, ey began to speake of the body and blood of Christ, some saying one hing, some another; but that before the third day of meeting, they hat denied the substantiall conuersion of the sacramentall elements, ere silent. [f] But in the same booke hee reporteth out of Chriſto- olitanus Zacharias, his booke intituled Quatuor vnum, that there ere some, perhaps many, but hardly to be discerned and noted, that ought still, as Berengarius did, whom they then condemned, and yet ndemned him with the rest, in this respect, onely disliking him, for at refusing the forme of words the Church vsed, with the naked- sse of his maner of speaking, he gaue offence, not following the vse of e Scriptures, which euery where call things that are signes, by the

[b] Li. 4. dist. 11 quæst. 2.

[c] Centilogij concluſ. 39.

[d] 4. sent. q. 6.

[e] Tom. 2. de sacram. Eucharistiæ, cap. 43.

[f] Cap. 19.

names

names of things ſignified, eſpecially in the matter of Sacraments, the more liuely to expreſſe their vertue and efficacie: theſe men ceaſed not to charge others ſecretly, that they knew not the nature of figuratiue ſpeaches, and therfore not without groſſe errour, killing the ſoule, tooke ſignes for the things, whereof they are ſignes; ſcorning not a little the folly, of them that ſay, the appearing accidents of bread and wine after the conuerſion, doe hang in the ayre, or that the ſenſes are deceiued. In the ſame place he ſaith, that Guitmundus *reporteth ſome other that were not of the faction of* Berengarius, *but with great vehemencie contrary and oppoſite vnto him, to haue been of opinion, that the bread and wine in part are changed, and in part remaine; theſe ſuppoſed ſo much onely to be changed, as is to ſerue for the communicating of the worthy receiuers: others thought the whole to bee changed, but that when vnworthy men come to communicate, the body & blood of Chriſt ceaſe to be preſent, and the ſubſtances of bread and wine returne, and are there preſent to bee receiued by them. But that it may yet more clearely appeare, that the opinion of Tranſubſtantiation neuer paſſed currantly in the Church, let vs adde another teſtimony of the ſame*

g Cap. 64. Waldenſis, g *who ſayth, that ſome ſuppoſed the conuerſion that is in the Sacrament, to be in that the bread and wine are aſſumpted into the vnitie of Chriſts perſon: ſome thought it to bee by way of Impanation, and ſome by way of figuratiue or Tropicall appellation. The firſt and ſecond of theſe opinions, found the better entertainment in ſome mens mindes, becauſe they graunt the eſſentiall preſence of Chriſts body, and yet denie not the preſence of the bread ſtill remaining to ſuſtaine the appearing accidents. Theſe opinions hee reports to haue beene very acceptable to many, not without ſighes, wiſhing the Church had decreed that men ſhould follow one of them; Whereupon* Iohn Paris *writeth that this way of Impanation ſo pleaſed* Guido *the* Carmelite, *ſometime Reader of the holy Palace, that hee profeſſed, if he had been Pope, he would haue preſcribed and commaunded the imbracing of it. Neither was it leſſe pleaſing to many in* Waldenſis *time, who, as he ſayth, did as it were wiſh in their hearts, it were free for them to defend it, and that a decree in the Church were paſſed in the fauour of it.*

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XVIII.

Touching orall Manducation.

Lexander [a] of Hales, and [b] Bonauentura doe teach, that no man can eate the flesh of Christ, and drinke his blood, without faith: and at the eating of Christ is mysticall, not corporall, Bonauentura shew- h; for that whereas there are three things implied in corporall eating, wit, a mastication or chewing, a traiection into the stomacke and llie, and a conuersion of the thing eaten into the substance of the ea- r; this later, which is most essentiall in eating, cannot agree vnto the dy of Christ, which is not turned into our substance, but rather in my- call sort turneth vs into it selfe. It appeareth by that of Waldensis ed before, that many thought; the wicked doe not eate the flesh of rist, seeing they supposed so much onely of the bread to be turned in- the body of Christ, as is to be receiued by the beleeuers; or if all bee rned, that yet the body of Christ ceaseth to be in the Sacrament, when icked man is to receiue it, and that the bread returneth againe.

a 4. part. qu. 11 memb. 2. art. 2.
b Lib. 4 sent. dist. 12. art. 3. quæst. 1.

XIX.

Of the Reall sacrificing of Christs body on the Altar, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quicke and dead.

Ouching the Reall sacrificing of Christs body on the Altar, the Church neuer taught any such thing, as the Romanists now teach, appeareth by these testimonies folowing. Although, saith [a] Biel, Christ ere once offered, when he appeared in our flesh, he is offered notwith- anding dayly, hidden vnder the vailes of bread and wine; not touching y of those things which import punishment or suffering, (for Christ not dayly wounded, he suffereth not, he dieth not) but for two other ses, the consecration and receiuing of the holy Eucharist, may bee na- ed a sacrifice and oblation; first, because it is a representation and emoriall of the true sacrifice and holy oblation made on the Altar of e Crosse; secondly, because it maketh vs partakers of the effects of the me: now the resemblances of things, as Augustine noteth, writing to implicianus, are called by the names of those things whereof they are semblances, as we are wont to say, when we behold a painted table or all, this is Cicero, this Salustius. Wherefore seeing the celebration of this

a In canonem missæ lect. 85.

this sacrifice is a liuely resemblance of the Passion of Christ, which is the true sacrificing of him, it may rightly be named the sacrificing of him.

b 2. Tom. contro. 3. lib. 5. de Eucharistia qui est 1. de missa, cap. 15.

Peter Lombard, Thomas, & *the other schoolemen, saith* b Bellar. *were not carefull of that, which is now in question, touching the dayly reall sacrificing of Christ, but only sought to shew how the sacrifice of the Masse, may be called an offering of Christ, that is a slaying of him; and therefore proposing the question, whether the Eucharist be a sacrifice, they answere, for the most part, that it may be said to be an offering or sacrifice, because it hath a resemblance of the true and Reall offering which was on the Altar of the Crosse, and because it communicateth vnto vs, the effects of the true and Reall killing of Christ.*

XX.

Of Remission of sinnes after this life.

THat Remission of sinnes after this life was not taught, nor beleeued in former times, by the Church, appeareth by the iudgment of the

a Li. 4. dist. 45. quæst. 1.

Diuines, who teach the contrary. The prayers of the liuing, saith a Durandus, *may be vnderstood to benefit the dead two wayes; either in respect of remitting the fault, or diminishing or taking away the punishment: in the first sort, the prayers of the liuing cannot profit the dead, because either the sinne, wherein they depart out of this life, is mortall or veniall; if it be mortall, he that so departeth is not capable of Remission; if veniall, he needes no helpe, because such remission of sinne consisteth in the ordering the will aright againe, whereby men rightly dislike, that they ill affected before: now the willes of them, that depart hence in grace, and yet with veniall sinne, so soone as they are out of the body, are brought into due order, because, as weight and lightnesse carry the things that are heauy or light, if there bee no impediment to their owne places; so Grace and Charitie carry men going hence, to the possessing of eternall happinesse, so that all things hindering or staying from the present enioying thereof, are bitter and vnpleasant. Neither because not onely punishments for mortall sinnes formerly committed, but also veniall sinnes, if any be found in him that dieth in state of grace, hinder from such desired enioying, therefore they must needes bee disliked: in which dislike, the will is reordered againe, which in the time of that it should not, was disordered &c. The merits, sayth* b Scotus, *of him that dieth in charity, are a sufficient cause of the remission of*

b Li. 4. dist. 21. q. ast. 1.

al sins; neither is this cause hindered from the working the proper ef-
ct therof, in him that dyeth, as it ofte is, in him that liueth; for in him
at liueth, there is a stop and hinderãce, so long as he remaineth actual-
in sin; but after death there is no stop, because then a man committeth
sin, and therfore by such merits sins are remitted: Whence it follow-
h, that in the instant of death, all veniall sins are remitted, to men dy-
g in state af grace. [c] Alexander *of* Hales *maketh grace to be of three*
rts; the first, that which is giuen in Baptisme; the second, that which
found in men repenting of sinne committed after Baptisme; and the
ird, that which is in men departing hence, which he calleth final grace:
is last, he sayth, taketh away all sinfulnesse out of the soule, because
hen the soule parteth from the body, all proneneſſe to ill, and all per-
rbations which were found in it, by reason of the coniunction with
e flesh, doe cease, the powers thereof are quieted, and perfectly subie-
ed to grace, and by that meanes all veniall sinnes remooued; so that
veniall sinne is remitted after this life, but in that instant, wherein
ace may be sayd to be finall grace, it hath full dominion and absolute
mmaund, and expelleth all sinne. Whereas therefore, the Master of
ntences, and others doe say, that some veniall sinnes are remitted af-
r this life, we must so vnderstand their sayings, that therefore they
e sayd to bee remitted after this life, because it being the same mo-
ent or instant, that doeth continuate the time of life, and that after
fe, (so that the last instant of life, is the first after life) they being re-
itted and taken away in the very moment of dissolution, are sayd to
e remitted after this life: for otherwise, the willes of men after death
e vnchangeable, and there is no more place left for merit. Hereunto
Gregorie *seemeth to agree, saying, that the very feare that is found*
men dying, doth purge their soules going out of the body, from the
sser sinnes. Seeing therefore, as [c] Barnard *sayth, if all sinne be per-*
ctly taken away, which is the cause, the effect must needs cease, which
punishment; it followeth, that seeing after death, there is no sin found
men dying in state of grace, there remaineth no punishment, and con-
quently no purgatory.

c Lib 4 q.15. mem.3.art.3.

d Dialog.li.4. cap.46.

e In Psalm.qui habitat, ser.10.

Of

XXI.
Of Purgatorie.

a Bellarm. lib. 2. de Purgatorio, cap. 11.
b Cap 6.
c Cap. 9.
d In 4. dist. 19. qu. 3. art. 2.
e Cap. 13.
f Li. 4. dist. 4; quæst. 1.

TOuching Purgatorie, [a] *whether they, that are to be purged, be purged by materiall fire, or by some other meanes, is doubtfull: likewise* [b] *touching the place, the Romane Church hath defined nothing. Whereupon some thinke, that soules are purged, where they sinned, some in one place, some in another: neither is there any more certaintie* [c] *touching the continuance of sinfull soules in their purgation.* [d] Dominicus à Soto *thinketh, that no man continueth in this purgation ten yeeres: his reason is, for that seeing, men may pacifie Gods wrath, by very short penance in this life, where they can neither endure any great extremitie, nor are perfectly apprehensiue of smart and griefe, therefore much sooner in the other, where they may endure greater extremity, & are more apprehensiue of it; so that the extremity of their passion may counteruaile long continuance in paine. This of* Soto, *if we grant it be true, sayth* Bellarmine, *no soule needs stay in purging one houre: neither indeed can he prooue, that any doeth, by Scripture, or Fathers, or any resolution of the Church, but onely becauſe they vse to pray for men departed a long time after their death; which doth no more proue, that they need prayers so long as they are prayed for, then pardons for thousands of yeeres prooue Purgatorie to continue so long; and by certaine visions, which sometimes* [e] *he regardeth not. For howsoeuer sundrie visions reported by* Beda, Dionysius Carthusianus, *and in the fift booke of the life of* Barnard, *import, that the soules of men in Purgatorie, are tormented by diuels, yet he thinketh that the children of God ouercomming Satan in the last conflict, and being secure of their future state for euer, are neuer molested by Satan any more. Thus then we see that notwithstanding any thing defined in the Church, the soules of men may be purged from all the drosse of sinfull remainders, and freed from all punishments, in the very moment of dissolution; which is that we seek.* Hereupon [f] Iohn Bacon *sayth, there be some, who thinke that Purgatorie after this life cannot be prooued by the authority of the Scripture, and that these doe say, the bookes of* Maccabees *are not Canonicall, that the Apostle,* 1. Cor. 3. *speaketh of that fire, that shall purge the elements of the world, in the last day: And touching that saying of Christ, of sinne, that shall neither bee remitted in this world, nor that to come*

ey say, it prooueth not the remission of any sinnes in the other world, t that this forme of speaking is vsed, onely for the better enforcing of t he intendeth to deliuers as if a man should say to a barren woman, u shalt neuer beare child, neither in this worlde, nor that which is come.

XXII.

Of the Saints hearing our prayers.

THat the Saints doe heare our prayers, or are acquainted with our particular wants, was neuer resolued in the Church of God. [a] Biel th, that the Saints by that naturall, or euening knowledge, whereby y see and know things, as they are in themselues, doe not knowe or cerne our prayers, neither mentall nor vocall, by reason of the im- derate distance betweene them and vs: and touching that morning wledge, whereby they see things in the eternall word, it no way per- ing to their essentiall felicitie, to see and knowe our desires, and it g vncertaine, whether it appertaine to their accidentall happinesse, ayth, it is not certaine, but that it may seeme probable, that God ealeth vnto them all those suits, which men present vnto them. The laster of sentences sayth, it is not incredible, that the soules of the ts, that delight in the secrets of Gods countenance, in beholding same, see things that are done in the world below. [b] Hugo de San- Victore leaueth it doubtful whether the Saints doe heare our pray- r not, and reiecteth that saying of Gregorie, brought to proue they doe, Qui videt videntem omnia, videt omnia. The inter- all glosse vpon Esay 63. sayth Augustine, was of opinion, that the d, though Saints, knowe not what the liuing, though they bee their e children, doe here in this world. Which appeareth to be true by owne wordes, pronouncing, that if so great Patriarkes, as was A- ham, knew not what befell to the people that came of them, it is no likely that the dead, doe intermeddle with the affaires of the liuing, er to knowe them, or to further and set them forward: whereupon concludes, that, for ought is knowen to the contrary, the Saints re- ing onely in heauen, and praying for vs onely in generall, God by ministery of Angels, or immediately by himselfe, without their par- lar intermeddling, giueth vs the things we haue neede of. [d] Willi- helmus

a In canonem missæ lect. 31.

b Li. 4 dist. 45

c De Sacram. l. 2. cap. 11.

d In 4. sent. li. 3. tract. 8. cap. 5 quæst. 6.

helmus Altisiodorensis *sayth, that many doe thinke, that neither we doe properly pray to the Saints, nor they pray for vs in particular, but that improperly onely we may be sayd to pray to them, in that we desire God that the fauour which they finde with him, resting from their labours, and their works being gone after them, may procure vs their brethren, acceptation likewise, whom they haue left behinde them in the warfare of this worlde. Whereupon the prayers are,* Adiuuent nos eorum merita &c. *In the margent hee sayth, that this was a common opinion in his time.*

XXIII.

Of the Superstition and Idolatrie committed formerly, in the Worshipping of Images.

That many in the Romane *Church did see the abuse and superstition, that was in the vse of Images, appeareth by* Picus Mirandula *his Apologie of his Conclusion proposed in* Rome, *that not the Crosse, nor any other Image is to bee worshipped with diuine worship: by* [a] Durandus, *blaming many things in the practise of the Church at that time, and by* [b] Gerson, *disliking the honour that was giuen to Images, their number and fashion, as being occasions of Idolatrie in the simple; which to bee true, the wordes of* [c] Augustine *are proofe sufficient, who demandeth who it is, or where he may be found that adoreth or prayeth, beholding an image, as the manner is in the* Romane Church, *and is not in such sort affected, that he perceiueth himselfe it heareth him, and is able and ready to graunt him the things he desireth, and seeketh him his prayer.*

a Rational. diuin lib. 1. de picturis.

b De defectibus virorum Ecclesiasticorū.

c In Psal. 113.

XXIIII.

Of Absolution.

Absolution is now supposed by those of the Church of Rome to bee a Sacramentall Acte, giuing grace, ex opere operato, so remitting sinne, both quoad culpam & pœnam: but in the primitiue Church it was nothing else, but a restoring of men formerly from the Sacrament, and cast out of the Church, to the Church

vse of the Sacraments againe; as appeareth by Cyprians Epistles. ither was Absolution giuen in those times, till penance were first formed. Amongst the auncient, sayth a Lindan, Absolution was ome giuen, but after penance performed; onely in time of persecu-, pestilence, warre, or dangerous sickenesse of the partie, the ma- was sometimes to giue Absolution presently at the suit of the pe- ent, and to require of him the performance of penance afterward, hee escaped those dangers. Hence in time it came, that ordinarily, y gaue Absolution first, and then imposed penance, to bee perfor- d afterward. Now because they could not conceiue, from what is Absolution should free them, not being formerly subiected to y censure of the Church, some began to thinke, that it freeth em from the staine of sinne, and the punishments due vnto the same, reby making it a Sacramentall Acte: yet so, as many retained ight perswasion still. The Priest, sayth b Alexander of Hales, is Mediatour betweene God and man: to God hee ascendeth, as an eriour, by way of petition, and as a suiter; to man he descendeth, as ommaunder and Iudge. In the first sort, hee obtaineth grace for n, by his prayer, and procureth acceptation with God: in the se- d, he reconcileth them to the Church, his prayer obtaineth grace, absolution presupposeth it, so that the Keyes of the Church extend he remission of sinne, by way of request obtaining it, not by way uthoritie giuing it.

a Panoplix. 4. cap. 70.

b Part. 4. qu. 21 memb. 1. Bonauentura in 4. dist. 18. art. 2 quæst. 1.

XXV.

Of Indulgences and Pardons.

Touching Indulgences or Pardons, they were originally nothing else, but the releasing of some part of that penance, that had been enioyd, as appeareth by the whole course of antiquitie. Whereupon it was a g time, the opinion of many in the Romane Church, that Indulgences of force, onely in iudicio Ecclesiæ, not in iudicio Dei: and that free men only from inioyned penance, which the forme of them was nt to import, it being euer added in those relaxations, ab iniunctis eni ētijs; & a Caietan sheweth the same, affirming, that an Indulgēce rincipally an acte of iurisdiction, and the freeing from enioined pe- ce. That which bred another conceit in the Romane Church in later times,

a Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 15. ca. 1. 2. 3.

times, was an errour in practise: for whereas aunciently they vsed to remitted any part of the penance they had enioyned, but out of the consideration of the extraordinary signes of repentance, appearing in the penitent, arguing that to bee performed in shorter time, than was expected, which was intended; in later times they granted these relaxations, and remissions in fauour, when there was no inducement, in respect of any thing, appearing in the parties. Now because to free them from these penitentiall exercises, tending to the preuenting of Gods Iudgements, before so much was performed, as was necessary for the turning away of his displeasure, might seeme hurtfull, rather than beneficiall to them, to whom such fauours were shewed, in that they were left to Gods Iudgements, into whose hands it is fearefull to fall, they began to bethinke them, howe they might supplie the defects of penitentiall conuersion vnto God, in those they thus pardoned, and not leaue them to the danger of his future iudgement. This they could not otherwise deuise to doe, but by casting the ouerplus of other mens satisfactions vpon them, and releeuing them out of the treasurie of the Church: which groweth, as they suppose, out of the satisfactorie sufferings of Christ and his Saints, multis tamen doctoribus aduersantibus, as [b] Caietan noteth; where hee sheweth, that Durandus teacheth, that the Saints had no superfluous merits, not rewarded in themselues. Touching Indulgences, [c] Durandus saith, little can bee said of any certainetie, or as vndoubtedly true, seeing the Scripture speaketh not expresly of them, neither the Fathers, as Augustine, Hilary, Ambrose, Hierome, and the rest; so that in speaking of them, we must follow the common course. Touching the force of these pardons, how vncertainly and vnconstantly their greatest doctors dispute, it is not vnknown; for Bonauenture [d] noteth, that many were of opinio, that pardons haue no other vse, nor haue any further force or vertue, but onely to remit certaine dayes penance, if the cause, in respect whereof they be granted, be equiualēt vnto the penance, which was to haue been performed: so making them to bee, but onely a commutation of penance, and not a relaxation or remission. [d] Gerson sayth, the inuitiall and publike power of the keyes extendeth not it selfe principally, or directly, to the diminishing or taking away of any punishments, but such, as it selfe inflicted, or might haue inflicted, as are the punishments of Excommunication, irregularitie, and other disablings to performe Ciuile et Ecclesiastical

b Opusc. tom. 3 tract. 8. qu. 3.

c In 4. dist. 20 quæst 3.

d De indulgētijs consid. 2.

cleſiaſticall actes. And in [e] another place he ſayth, the granting of Indulgences extendeth not it ſelfe to puniſhments, following the corruption of nature, and flowing from original ſinne; for it is certaine that the Pope doeth not abſolue, and free men from thirſt, hunger, infirmities, and death; ſo that ſuch abſolutions extend onely to the puniſhments aboue mentioned, and ſuch as may be inflicted by the iuſt iudgement and preſcription of him that impoſeth penance for actuall ſinnes. Whether the power of the Keyes extend onely, to ſuch as are in earth, or to them alſo that are in Purgatory, the opinions, hee ſaith, of men are contrarie and vncertaine: [f] but howſoeuer, this hee pronounceth confidently, that onely Chriſt can giue ſuch pardons for thouſands of dayes and yeeres, as many Popes aſſume to themſelues power to graunt.

[e] Conſid.11.

[f] Conſid.8.

XXVI.

Of the Infallibilitie of the Popes iudgement.

TOuching the Infallibilitie of the Popes iudgement: it was ſo farre from being a thing reſolued of in the Church of God before our time, that [a] Stapleton confeſſeth, it is yet no matter of faith, but of opinion onely; becauſe ſo many famous and renowmed Diuines, haue euer holden the contrary, as Gerſon, Almaine, Occam, almoſt all the Pariſians, all they that thought the Councell to be aboue the Pope, Adrianus Sextus, Durandus, Alfonſus à Caſtro, and many moe.

[a] Controu.3. qu.4.

XXVII.

Of the power of the Pope, in diſpoſing the affaires of Princes and their States.

LAſtly, touching the power of the Pope, in diſpoſing the affaires of Princes and their States, there were euer many worthy men, that oppoſed themſelues againſt his vniuſt and Antichriſtian claimes. There are ſome, ſayth [a] Waldenſis, that erre, ſuppoſing, that the roote of all terrene power, dependeth in ſuch ſort of the Pope, that it is deriued vnto Princes, by commiſſion from him; and that if they abuſe the ſame, he may take the diſpoſing of ſuch affaires, as belong vnto them, into his owne hands. This they indeuour to proue, becauſe the

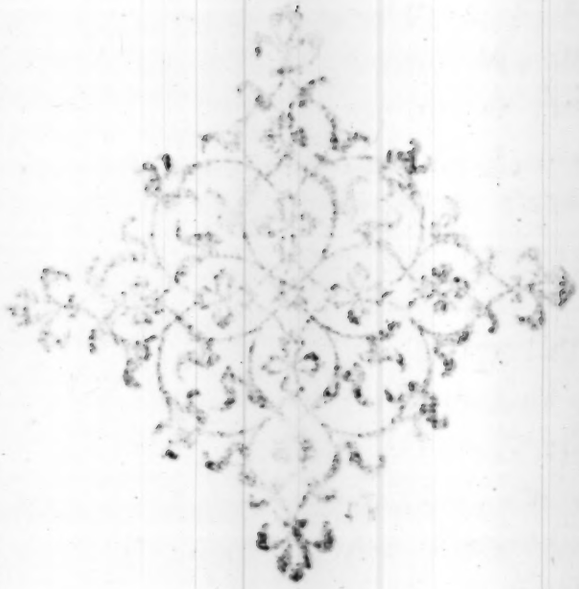
[a] Doctrinal. fidei, lib.2. art.3. queſt.78.

Eccleſi-

Eccleſiaſticall power is more eminent and excellent than the power of Princes; but this their proofe is too weake: for let vs runne through all examples of things which are different in degree of excellencie, and one of them more worthy than another, we ſhall ſee that the Sunne is better than the Moone, yet the power and vertue of moyſtening that is in the Moone, is not imparted to it from the Sunne; the ſoule is more excellent than the body, yet the body was before the ſoule came into it, and in it many workes of ſenſe are performed, which the ſpirit by it ſelfe cannot performe; gold is better than leade, yet doeth it not giue being vnto it; ſo that though it were granted, that Epiſcopall dignitie is more high and eminent than the authoritie of Princes, yet the firſt ſpring of Regall power, is in the King from God, and not from the Pope. There is, ſayth Waldenſis, *one doctor* Adam, *a Cardinall, who in a dialogue betweene a Biſhop and a King, indeuoureth altogether to deriue the authoritie of Kings from the Papall power, both in the being and exerciſe of it, and reſerueth onely a power of execution to Princes, at the commaund of the high Biſhop: this errour he condemneth, and ſayth, that howſoeuer the ſolemnities of the oath, vnction, crowning, and the like, are performed to Kings by Biſhops, yet hath not kingly dignitie her beginning from Prieſthood, but by the miniſterie of Prieſts Kings receiue it from God, and are put in poſſeſſion of it. Fawning and deceitfull flattery, ſayth* b Gerſon, *whiſpereth in the eares of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, eſpecially of the Pope, in ſhameleſſe manner ſaying vnto them, O ſacred Clergie, how great, how great is the height and ſublimitie of thy Eccleſiaſticall power! how is all ſecular authoritie, compared thereunto, altogether nothing! For as all power in heauen and earth was giuen to* Chriſt, *ſo* Chriſt *left it all to* Peter, *and his Succeſſours: ſo that* Conſtantine *the Emperour gaue nothing to Pope* Sylueſter, *that was not his before, but onely reſtored that, which had been vniuſtly detained: beſides, as there is no power but of God, ſo is there none, whether Temporall or Eccleſiaſticall, Imperiall or Regall, but from the Pope, in whoſe thigh* Chriſt *hath written,* King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: *of whoſe power to diſpute is ſacrilegious boldneſſe, to whom no man may ſay, Sir, why doe you ſo? though he alter, ouerturne, waſte and confound all States, Rules, Dominions, and poſſeſſions of men, whether Ciuill or Eccleſiaſticall; let mee bee iudged a Liar, ſayth hee, if theſe things bee not found written,*

b De poteſtate eccleſiaſtica conſid. 12.

written, by them that ſeeme wiſe in their owne eyes, and if ſome Popes haue not giuen credit to ſuch lying and flattering words. Nay, I am greatly deceiued, if before the holding of the ſacred Synode of Conſtance, this tradition did not ſo farre forth poſſeſſe the mindes of very many men, rather literall then literate, that whoſoeuer ſhould haue taught the contrary, ſhould haue beene noted and condemned for hereſie.



THE FOVRTH BOOKE, OF THE PRIVILEDGES OF THE CHVRCH.

CHAP. 1.

Of the diuers kindes of the priuiledges of the Church, and of the different acceptions of the name of the Church.

NOw it remaineth, that wee proceede to the other parts of our first generall diuision, to wit, the priuiledges that pertaine to the Church, and the diuerse and different degrees, orders, and callings of them, to whom the gouernement of it is committed. The priuiledges, that pertaine to the Church, are of two sorts: The first, proper to the best, and most essentiall partes of it, to wit, the elect and chosen of God; as are the promises and assurances of euerlasting loue and happinesse: the second, such as are communicable vnto others, not partaking in that highest degree of vnitie, the partes of the Church haue amongst themselues, or with Christ their head. These are specially foure: the first, the possession of the rich treasure of heauenly truth; whence it is called by [a] *Irenæus, Depositorium diues*; and by the [b] Apostle, *the pillar and ground of truth*. The second is the office of teaching and witnessing the same truth. The third, the authoritie to iudge of such differences, as arise amongst men, concerning any part of it. The fourth, is power to make lawes, for the better guiding and gouerning of them, that professe this truth.

[a] *Contra hæreses li. 3. cap. 4.*
[b] 1. Timothy, 3, 15

Touching the first, that wee may the better vnderstand, in what degree and sort, and vpon what assurances, the Church is possessed of the knowledge & professiō of the truth reuealed in Christ; we must obserue the diuers acceptiōs of the name of church: for accordingly, more or lesse in

this kinde is attributed to it, and verified of it. The *Romanistes* make the Church to bee of three sorts. For there is as (as they say,) *Ecclesia virtualis, representatiua, & essentialis*. By the name of virtuall Church, they vnderstand the Bishoppe of *Rome*, who, being by *Christes* appointment (as they suppose) chiefe Pastor of the whole Church, hath in himself, eminently and virtually, as great certainetie of truth, and infallibility of iudgement, as is in the whole Church, vpon whom dependeth all that certainty of truth, that is found in it. By the name of representatiue Church, they vnderstand the assembly of Bishops in a general Counsel, representing the whole body of the Church, from the seuerall parts whereof they come. By the name of the essentiall Church, they vnderstand the whole multitude of the beleeuers.

This essentiall Church, either comprehendeth all the faithfull, that are and haue beene since *Christ* appeared in the flesh; or all that are, and haue beene since the Apostles time; or onely those that now presently liue in the world.

CHAP. 2.

Of the different degrees of infallibilitie found in the Church.

IF wee speake of the Church, as it comprehendeth the whole number of beleeuers, that are and haue beene, since *Christ* appeared in the flesh, it is absolutely free from all errour and ignorance of Diuine things, that are to be knowen by reuelation. *Quidenim latuit Petrum. &c.* For, as [a] *Tertullian* saith rightly and aptly to this purpose, *What was hidden and concealed from* Peter, *vpon whome Christ promised to build his Church, and to whom he gaue the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen? from* Iohn *the Disciple hee so dearely loued, which leaned on his breast at the mysticall supper? and the rest of that blessed company that should after be manifested to succeeding generations?* so that touching the Church taken in this sort: there is noe question, but it is absolutely led into the knowledge of all truth, without any mixture of ignorance, errour, or danger of being deceiued.

[a] *Li. de præscrip. aduersus hæreticos.*

Let vs come therefore to the second acception of the name of Church, as it comprehendeth onely all those beleeuers, that are, and haue beene since the Apostles time. The whole Church, taken in this sort, may be ignorant in sundrie thinges, which though they bee contained within the compasse of reuealed truth, yet are not of necessitie to bee expressely knowne by all that will be saued: but that the whole Church in this sort conceiued should erre in any thing of this nature, it is impossible; seeing errour, which is an aberration, declining, or swaruing from the truth once deliuered, necessarily implyeth a kinde of particularitie and singuletie.

Neither

Neither onely is the whole Church (comprehending all the beleeuers that are, and haue beene since the Apostles times) freed from errour in matter of faith; But wee thinke it impossible also that any errour, whatsoeuer, should be found in all the Pastours and guides of the Church, thus generally taken. Secondly, though there may bee some question, whether any errour may bee found in all them, whose writings now remaine, yet because they haue all written of nothing, but that which is absolutely necessary to be knowen, for the attaining of euerlasting saluation, and that was euer generally receiued, it is not possible they should all be conuinced of errour. Thirdly, though all, whose writings remaine, haue not written of a thing; yet if all that mention it, do constantly consent in it, and their consent bee strengthened by vniuersall practise, wee dare not charge them with errour. Yea, though their consent bee not strengthened by such practise, if it be concerning things expressed in the worde of trueth, or by necessary and euident deduction to bee demonstrated from thence, wee thinke no errour can bee found in all them, that speake of things of that nature, if in euery age of the Church some be found to haue written of them. [b] But in things that cannot be clearely deduced from the rule of faith, and word of diuine and heauenly trueth, wee thinke it possible, that all that haue written of such things, might erre and be deceiued.

This matter is excellently handled by [c] *Pererius*, *Augustinus*, *Eugubinus*, *Cornelius Iansenius*, & *Hieronimus ab Oleastro*: who hold it probable, that Paradise doeth not now remaine in originall beauty, notwithstanding the consent of all the auncient (that haue written of that matter) to the contrary. So likewise, [d] *Caietane* and [e] *Andradius* professe, they dare goe against the torrent of all the Doctours, and dissent from them, in the interpretation of some parts of Scripture.

[f] *Bellarmine* blameth *Pererius*, *Eugubinus*, and the rest, for that they durst imbrace an opinion contrary to the iudgement of antiquities; yet doth he not fasten vpon them any note of heresie, or sauouring of heresie.

Touching the Church, as it comprehendeth onely the beleeuers that now are, and presently liue in the world, it is [g] most certaine and agreed vpon, that in things necessary to be knowen and beleeued expressely and distinctly, it neuer is ignorant, much lesse doth erre. Yea, in things that are not absolutely necessary to be knowen and beleeued expressely and distinctly, wee constantly beleeue, that this Church can neuer erre, nor doubt pertinaciously, but that there shall euer bee some found ready to imbrace the trueth, if it bee manifested vnto them, and such as shall not wholly neglect the search and inquiry after it, as times and meanes giue leaue.

[b] *Eorum quę dubia esse possunt circa fidem, quædã sunt quę ex scripturis diuinis deductione infallibili inferri possunt; quædam, quæ non possunt: quemadmodum per beatum Hieronimum beatam virginem esse corporaliter in cœlo, ex scripturis certitudinaliter haberi non potest; sicut etiam nec quòd illi, de quibus dicitur Matth. 27. multa corpora sanctorum surrexerunt cum eo &c. corporaliter ascenderint in cœlum; nec quòd corporaliter non ascenderint infallibiliter deduci non potest ex scripturis diuinis. Occam lib. 3. 1. tractat. 3. part cap. 10.* [c] *Pererius in Genesim lib. 7. quæst. 7. Cornelius Iansenius cap. 143. concordiæ Euangelicæ. Bellarmin. de gratia 1. hominis lib. 1. cap. 12, 14. ostendit neminem ex veteribus dicere paradisum periisse, & omnes qui de eo scripserunt, affirmare adhuc superesse; & tamen aliter sentire Pererium Eugubium, Iansenium, Hieron. ab Oleastro & Vatablum.* [d] *Caietan in procem. commentar. in Genes.* [e] *Andradius de scriptura sacra & traditionum auctoritate lib. 2. Fol. 237. 261.*

[f] *Bellarm. de gra. prim. hominis. lib. 1. cap. 14.*

[g] *Occam dialog 1. part. lib. 3. cap. 28.*

As therefore wee hold it impoſsible, the Church ſhould euer by Apoſtaſie and misbeliefe wholly depart from God (in prouing whereof, [b] *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, his fellowes haue taken much needleſſe paines, ſeeing no man of our profeſsion thinketh any ſuch thing); ſo we hold that it neuer falleth into any hereſie: ſo that he is as much to be blamed, for idle and needeleſſe buſying himſelfe, in prouing that the viſible Church neuer falleth into hereſie, which we moſt willingly grant.

[b] *Bellar. de eccleſia militante. li. 3. c. 13*

CHAP. 3.

Of the meaning of certaine ſpeaches of Caluine, *touching the erring of the Church.*

THat [a] which he alleageth out of *Caluin*, and others, as if they ſuppoſed the true Church to be ſometimes altogether inuiſible, and that the outward profeſsion of the trueth doth ſometimes wholly faile, is to no purpoſe; for they meane not that it is wholly inuiſible at any time, but that it is not alwayes to bee eſteemed by outward appearance; that ſometimes the ſtate of things is ſuch, that the greateſt, in place of Miniſtery in the Church, peruert all things; and that they, that defend the truth, make themſelues a reproche.

[a] *Bellar. de eccleſia militante. li. 3. c. 13.*

To this purpoſe, [b] *Occam* hath diuers excellent things out of *Hierome* and [c] *Vincentius Lirinenſis* ſheweth, that the poiſoned doctrine of the *Arrians* did infect, not only a part, but almoſt the whole Church: ſo that almoſt all the Biſhops of the Latine Church were miſſeled, and fewe found to defend and maintaine the trueth, as beſeemed them.

[b] *Dialog. part. 1. li. 5. cap. 28.*
[c] *Contra profanas hæreſium nouitates.*

There are therefore foure things, [d] which *Caluin* ſaith. The firſt, that the Church may not ſo far preſume of the aſsiſtance of the ſpirit of truth, as that ſhe may deuiſe new articles of faith; and, without the certaine direction of the worde of God, proceede in the determination of doubtful matters of religion. The ſecond, that ſhe muſt not relie vpon traditions, and a pretended vnwritten word, but muſt containe her ſelfe within the compaſſe of that heauenly doctrine, which is comprehended in the ſcripture. The third, that ſo containing her ſelfe ſhe cannot erre. The fourth, that we haue no aſſurance, that the Church ſhall alwayes ſo preciſely follow the directions of the word of trueth, as that ſhee ſhall neuer erre; but ſo farre foorth onely, that ſhee ſhall euer be free from all errour in things neceſſarie to ſaluation, and ſuch things that men cannot bee ignorant of, or erre in, without pertinacie, or ouer-groſſe and damnable negligence; yea, that ſhee is ſecured from erring in any thing, with hereticall pertinacie.

[d] *Caluin. inſtit. li. 4. cap. 8. ſect. 11. 12. cited by Bellar. de militante eccleſia lib. 3. cap. 14.*

This laſt part of *Caluins* ſpeach it is, that the Ieſuite diſliketh, that he ſayth, The Church is not abſolutely freed from errour, but from ſome kinde

kinde of error onely. Yet [e] *Melchior Canus* confeſſeth, that ſundry great Diuines ſeeme to be of this opinion: as the *Author of the Interlineall gloſſe*, *Thomas Aquinas*, Cardinal *Turricremata*, and *Alfonſus à Caſtro*; Yea, *Picus Mirandula* in his theoremes is of the ſame opinion, confirming it by the authoritie of *Aquinas*, who thinketh, that the Church may erre in Canonizing of Saints, and propoſing ſuch to bee honoured, whom God reieeteth from his preſence, as veſſels of his wrath.

[e] *Melchior Canus de auctoritate eccleſiæ Catholicæ, l. 4 cap. 2. Picus theoremate 4. eccleſiæ vniuerſalis in his quæ pertinent ad ſubſtantiam fidei errare non poteſt: in alijs poteſt, vt oſtendit Thomas &c.*

Notwithſtanding, the [f] Romaniſts at this day ſeeme to hold, that the whole Church, that preſently is in the worlde, cannot erre in any thing, that either concerneth faith or manners, which they endeuour to prooue by theſe reaſons.

[f] *Bellarm. de eccleſia militante. lib. 3. cap. 14.*

CHAP. 4.

Of their reaſons who thinke the preſent Church free from all error in matters of faith.

FIrſt, for that it is the pillar and ground of trueth: ſecondly, for that it is guided by Chriſt her head, and ſpouſe: and thirdly, becauſe it is led by the ſpirit of trueth. Theſe reaſons will be found exceeding weake, if wee examine them. Let vs therefore take a particular view of them:

[a] Firſt the Apoſtle (ſay they) calleth *the Church the Pillar and ground of trueth*; therefore it cannot erre. Theſe wordes cannot proue that; for confirmation whereof our aduerſaries alleage them; ſeeing he ſpeaketh in this place of a particular Church, to wit, the Church of the *Epheſians*, in which he left *Timotheus*, when he departed from it. Now, that particular Churches may erre in matter of faith, and become hereticall, our aduerſaries make no queſtion.

[a] 1. Tim. 3. 15.

That the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the Church of *Epheſus*, and calleth it *The Pillar and ground of trueth*, it appeareth by all circumſtances of the place. *Theſe things haue I written*, ſayth hee, *hoping to come ſhortly vnto thee; but if I tarrie longer, that thou mayeſt knowe, how to behaue thyſelfe, in the houſe of God.* That houſe of God, in which *Paul* left *Timothie*, in which he direeteth him, how to behaue himſelfe till hee come, he calleth *The Church of God, and Pillar of trueth*; that *Timothie* might bethinke him the better, how to demeane himſelfe in the gouernement of it.

The Church of God is named the *Pillar of trueth*; not, as if the trueth did depend on the Church; or, as if God could not otherwiſe manifeſt it, than by her Miniſtery; or, that our faith ſhould be built on the authority of it; or, that we ſhould thinke it abſolutely free from all ignorance and error: but becauſe it doth ſtrongly hold & maintain the ſauing profeſſion of the truth, notwithſtāding all the violence of wicked & cruel enemies, as both

As therefore wee hold it impossible, the Church should euer by Apostasie and misbeliefe wholly depart from God (in prouing whereof, [b] *Bellarmine* confesseth, his fellowes haue taken much needlesse paines, seeing no man of our profession thinketh any such thing); so we hold that it neuer falleth into any heresie: so that he is as much to be blamed, for idle and needelesse busying himselfe, in prouing that the visible Church neuer falleth into heresie, which we most willingly grant.

[b] *Bellar. de eccles. militante. li. 3. c. 13*

CHAP. 3.

Of the meaning of certaine speaches of Caluine, *touching the erring of the Church.*

THat [a] which he alleageth out of *Caluin*, and others, as if they supposed the true Church to be sometimes altogether inuisible, and that the outward profession of the trueth doth sometimes wholly faile, is to no purpose; for they meane not that it is wholly inuisible at any time, but that it is not alwayes to bee esteemed by outward appearance; that sometimes the state of things is such, that the greatest, in place of Ministery in the Church, peruert all things; and that they, that defend the truth, make themselues a reproche.

[a] *Bellar. de ecclesia militante. li. 3. c. 13.*

To this purpose, [b] *Occam* hath diuers excellent things out of *Hierom*: and [c] *Vincentius Lirinensis* sheweth, that the poisoned doctrine of the *Arrians* did infect, not only a part, but almost the whole Church: so that almost all the Bishops of the Latine Church were misseled, and fewe found to defend and maintaine the trueth, as beseemed them.

[b] *Dialog. part. 1. li. 5. cap. 28.*
[c] *Contra profanas hæreticorum nouitates.*

There are therefore foure things, [d] which *Caluin* saith. The first, that the Church may not so far presume of the assistance of the spirit of truth, as that she may deuise new articles of faith; and, without the certaine direction of the worde of God, proceede in the determination of doubts in matters of religion. The second, that she must not relie vpon traditions, and a pretended vnwritten word, but must containe her selfe within the compasse of that heauenly doctrine, which is comprehended in the scripture. The third, that so containing her selfe she cannot erre. The fourth, that we haue no assurance, that the Church shall alwayes so precisely follow the directions of the word of trueth, as that shee shall neuer erre; but so farre foorth onely, that shee shall euer be free from all errour in things necessarie to saluation, and such things that men cannot bee ignorant of, or erre in, without pertinacie, or ouer-grosse and damnable negligence; yea, that shee is secured from erring in any thing, with heretical pertinacie.

[d] *Caluin. instit. li. 4. cap. 8. sect. 11. 12. cited by Bellar. de militante ecclesia lib. 3. cap. 14.*

This last part of *Caluins* speach it is, that the Iesuite disliketh, that he sayth, The Church is not absolutely freed from errour, but from some kinde

kinde of error onely. Yet [e] *Melchior Canus* confesseth, that sundry great Diuines seeme to be of this opinion: as the *Author of the Interlineall glosse*, *Thomas Aquinas*, Cardinal *Turricremata*, and *Alfonsus à Castro*; Yea, *Picus Mirandula* in his theoremes is of the same opinion, confirming it by the authoritie of *Aquinas*, who thinketh, that the Church may erre in Canonizing of Saints, and proposing such to bee honoured, whom God reiecteth from his presence, as vessels of his wrath.

Notwithstanding, the [f] Romanists at this day seeme to hold, that the whole Church, that presently is in the worlde, cannot erre in any thing, that either concerneth faith or manners, which they endeuour to prooue by these reasons.

[e] *Melchior Canus de cuctoritate ecclesiæ Catholicæ, li. 4 cap. 2. Picus theoremate 4. ecclesia vniuersalis in his quæ pertinet ad substantiam fidei errare non potest: in alijs potest, vt ostendit Thomas &c.*

[f] *Bellarm. de eccles. sia militante. lib. 3. cap. 14.*

CHAP. 4.

Of their reasons who thinke the present Church free from all error in matters of faith.

FIrst, for that it is the pillar and ground of trueth: secondly, for that it is guided by Christ her head, and spouse: and thirdly, because it is led by the spirit of trueth. These reasons will be found exceeding weake, if wee examine them. Let vs therefore take a particular view of them:

[a] First the Apostle (say they) calleth *the Church the Pillar and ground of trueth*; therefore it cannot erre. These wordes cannot proue that, for confirmation whereof our aduersaries alleage them; seeing he speaketh in this place of a particular Church, to wit, the Church of the *Ephesians*, in which he left *Timotheus*, when he departed from it. Now, that particular Churches may erre in matter of faith, and become hereticall, our aduersaries make no question.

[a] 1. Tim. 3. 15.

That the Apostle speaketh of the Church of *Ephesus*, and calleth it *The Pillar and ground of trueth*, it appeareth by all circumstances of the place. *These things haue I written*, say th hee, *hoping to come shortly vnto thee; but if I tarrie longer, that thou mayest knowe, how to behaue thy selfe, in the house of God.* That house of God, in which *Paul* left *Timothie*, in which he directeth him, how to behaue himselfe till hee come, he calleth *The Church of God, and Pillar of trueth*; that *Timothie* might bethinke him the better, how to demeane himselfe in the gouernement of it.

The Church of God is named the *Pillar of trueth*; not; as if the trueth did depend on the Church; or, as if God could not otherwise manifest it, than by her Ministery; or, that our faith should be built on the authority of it; or, that we should thinke it absolutely free from all ignorance and error: but because it doth strongly hold & maintain the sauing profession of the truth, notwithstading all the violence of wicked & cruel enemies, as both

both the *Ordinary glosse*, and that of *Lyra* doe interpret it; and for that by instructions, admonitions and comforts, it strengtheneth, stayeth, and supporteth such as otherwise would fall, as the *Interlineall glosse* seemeth to expresse it. So then the Church is *The pillar of trueth*, not, because it is absolutely free from all errour, or, that our faith should bee builded vpon the infallibility of it; but because it alway retaineth a saving profession of heauenly trueth, and by strength of reasons, force of perswasions, timelinesse of admonitions, comforts of Sacraments, and other meanes of saving grace, (the powerfull force whereof the sonnes of God doe feele) it strengtheneth and stayeth the weakenesse of all them, that depend vpon it.

This is it, that *Caluine* meaneth, when hee sayth the Church is called *The pillar of trueth*, because it firmely holdeth the profession of it, and strengtheneth others by the knowledge of it. *Bellarmines* cauill, that, if this were all, the Church might more fitly bee compared to a chest, than a *Pillar*, is not worth the answering: for it doth not onely preserue the truth as a hidden treasure, but by publike profession, (notwithstanding all forces endeuouring to shake it) publisheth it vnto the world, and stayeth the weakenesse of others, by the knowledge of it; in which respect it is fitly compared to a *Pillar*, and not vnto an Arke or chest.

The second reason is much more weake than the former. For thus they argue: The Church is gouerned by *Christ*, as by her head and spouse, and by *the spirit*, as by the soule and fountaine of her life; therefore if she erre, her errour must bee imputed vnto *Christ*, and to *the spirit of trueth*. This their consequence is blasphemous and impious. For, who knoweth not, that particular men, companies of men, and Churches, are gouerned by *Christ*, as by their head and spouse, and by *the spirit of trueth*, as being the fountaine of their spirituall life; as the Churches of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, and [b] the Churches mentioned in the *Reuelation of Saint Iohn*, called *golden Candlesticks, in the midst whereof the Sonne of God did walke*, yet had their dangerous and grieuous errors, and defaults, for which they were blamed; so that by the argument of our aduersaries, men may blame *the spirit of trueth*, for their errours.

b Reuel. 1. 12.

That which the Iesuite addeth, that *Christ*, the husband of the Church, is bound to free it from all errour in matter of faith, whence any great euill may ensue; is as childish an argument, as may bee deuised. For if great and grieuous euils may be found in the Church, then notwithstanding this argument, errours also. Now that the Church is subiect to great and grieuous euils, he, that maketh any question, seemeth to knowe nothing at all. As therefore God giueth that grace, whereby the children of the Church may auoide great and grieuous euils, and neuer withdraweth the same but for punishment of former sinne, and contempt of grace; so hee giueth the gracious meanes of illumination, and neuer withdraweth the meanes of know-

knowledge, but when the contempt of the light of knowledge, and the abusing of it procure the same. So that the sinnes and errors of the children of the Church, proceede from themselues, and not from any defect, or want of Christ, the husband of the Church.

The third reason is, he that heareth not the Church, must be holden for an Ethnike; therefore it cannot erre. [f] But they should know, that Christ speaketh in that place of the *Sanedrine* of the Iewes; which whosoeuer refused to obey, they held him as an Ethnicke. Yet was not that great Councell of State, among the Iewes, free from daunger of erring. If these wordes of our Sauiour be applied to the Church, as they are ordinarily by the Fathers, they must be vnderstood of the censures of the Church, which are not alwayes iust and righteous, [d] as *Augustine* sheweth, and not of her doctrinall determination.

But, sayth *Bellarmine*, the Councells were wont to denounce *Anathema*, to all that obey not their decrees; therefore they thought they could not erre To this we answere, that they denounce *Anathema*, not because they thinke euery one, that disobayeth the decree of a Councell, to be accursed; but because they are perswaded in particular, that that is the eternall truth of God, which they propose, therefore they accurse them, that obstinately shall resist, as [e] *Paul* willeth euery Christian man, to *Anathematize an Angell comming from Heauen, if he shall teach him anie other doctrine*, then he hath alreadie learned; yet is not euery particular Christian, free from possibility of erring.

The other argument, that because the Church is holy, and her profession holy, therefore she cannot erre; will proue as well, that particular Churches cannot erre, as the vniuersall. If they say, the vniuersall Church is holy, and the profession of it holy, in such a degree as freeth it from error, it is *petitio principij*.

Their next argument is, that if the Church be not free generally from erring, but onely from erring in things necessarie to saluatiō, many Catholique verities may be called in question and doubted of: for that there are many things that pertaine to faith, which are not absolutely necessary to saluation. This argument holdeth not: for though the Church which comprehendeth onely the number of beleeuers, that are at one time in the worlde, may erre, yet haue men other meanes to finde out the truth, as namely, the scriptures, and resolutions of former times, which whosoeuer findeth, is bounde to beleeue, though the rest of the Church not finding them, may in the mercies of God be saued.

That which is alleadged out of the Fathers, is to no purpose: for they speak of the Church, as it comprehendeth the faithfull that are, and haue been, which we confesse cannot erre in matters of faith.

[f] See the same proued at large by *Erastus*, writing of the *Presbyteries* & excommunicatiō; and by Doctour *Bilson* now B. of Winch: in his booke of the perpetuall gouernmēt of the Church. *cap* 4.

[d] *De vera religione cap.* 6

[e] Galat. 1.

CHAP. 5.

Of the Promises made vnto the Church, how it is secured from errour, and of the different degrees of the obedience, we owe vnto it.

THE right vnderstanding of the promises made, and due consideration of the parties, to whome they are made, will leade vs to the right vnderstanding of the Churches infallibilitie, and assurance of truth. For seeing, though they be made to all the faithfull generally, and to the particular Churches aswell as to the whole, yet they are vndetstood to be performed proportionably, according to the measure, and degree, of each part, to the whole Church wholly, and entirely; the Church being particular not only in respect of place, but also of time, the whole is not necessarie be performed, to the Church of one time, (vnlesse we speake of the Primitive, wherein the whole was originally) but to the Church that comprehendeth the whole number of belieuers, that are and haue been: in which sense that promise is to be vnderstood, [a] that *the spirit shall lead the Church into all truth.*

[a] Ioh. 16, 13

Hither we may refer, those different degrees of obedience, which we must yeeld to them, that commaunde and teach vs, in the Church of God, excellently described, and set downe, by [b] *Waldensis*: *We must*, sayth he, *reuerence, and respect, the authority of all Catholicke Doctours, whose doctrine and writings the Church alloweth: we must more regard the authority of Catholicke Bishops; more then these, the authority of the Apostolicke Churches; among them, more specially the Church of Rome; of a generall Councell, more then all these: yet we must not listen so to the determinations of these, nor so certainely assent vnto them, as to the things contained in the Scripture, or belieued by the whole vniuersall Church, that hath been, euer since the Apostles times, but as to the instructions of our Elders, and fatherly admonitions and directions. We must*, sayth he, *obey without scrupulous questioning, with all modestie of minde, and reuerence of body, with all good allowance, acceptation, and repose in the words of them that teach vs, vnlesse they teach vs anie thing, which the authority of the higher and superior controlleth; yet so, as then the humble, and obedient childrē of the Church must not insolently insult vpon them, from whō they are forced to dissent, but must dissent with a reuerent, childe-like, and respectfull shamefastenesse.*

[b] *Waldensis doctrinal: fidei lib: 2: art: 2. c. 22*

This he proueth out of [c] *Augustine*, *Tom. 7. lib. 2. De baptismo contra Donatistas*. *Who knoweth not*, (sayth S. *Augustine*) *that the sacred and Canonicall Scriptures of the olde and new Testament, are contained within their certaine bounds; and that they are so, and in such sort, set in a higher degree of authority, then any of the writings of the succeeding Bishops, that of them we may not doubt nor make any question, whether it be true or right, that is there*

[c] *Lib. 2. de baptismo, contra Donatistas. Cap. 3.*

ained: but the writings of the Bishops of the Church, which either haue been pub-
shed since the perfecting of the Canon of Scripture, or which shall be hereafter,
ay be censured and reprooued, by the wiser iudgement of anie, that are skilfull in
he same things, whereof they write; or by the grauer authority of other Bishops,
nd the wisedome of them that are learned themselues, and able to teach others: &
y the determinations of Councels, if happily they haue gone aside from the truth;
And the Councels themselues, which are holde in seuerall Countries and Prouin-
es, must give place to the authoritie of generall Councels, gathered and assembled
ut of the whole Christian World: and of plenarie Councels, often times, the
former are to be corrected by the later, when by experience, and more perfect
nowledge of things, that which was shut, is opened, and that knowen which was
idden before. Euerie of these must be content to yeeld one to another, without the
uffe of sacrilegious pride, without swelling arrogancy, without enuious conten-
ding, with all holy humilitie, with all Catholicke peaceable disposition, and Chri-
stian charity.

Thus then wee thinke, that particular men and Churches may erre damnably, because notwithstanding, others may worship God aright, but that the whole Church, at one time, cannot so erre; for that thē, the Church should cease vtterly for a time, and so not be Catholicke, being not at all times; and Christ should sometimes be without a Church; yet, that errours, not preiudicing the saluation of them that erre, may be found in the Church that is at one time in the world, we make no doubt; only the whole Symbolicall and Catholicke Church, which is, and was, being wholly free from errour.

Thus touching the possession of the rich treasures of heauenly truth, I haue sufficiently cleared our iudgement, which is the same, that all wise and learned men haue euer been of, to wit, that the Church which comprehendeth the whole number of belieuers, that are and haue beene, since Christ appeared in the flesh, (so including the Apostles) can neither erre in, nor bee ignorant of any thing that was to bee reuealed by Christ, the eternall Word and Angell of the great Couenant of God. Secondly, that the Church, that comprehendeth all the faithfull that are and haue been since the Apostles, may be ignorant of some things, which in processe of time shall be knowē, but cannot erre in any thing. Thirdly, that al the Pastours of this Church, cannot erre. Fourthly, that all the Pastours, that haue cōmitted the treasures of their wisdome and learning to writing, cannot erre in any thing wherein they consent in their writings; because it is not possible, that they should all haue written of any thing, but such as touch the very life of the Christiā faith generally receiued in al their times. Fiftly, that it is not possible, that all that do speake of a thing, consenting together, should erre, if it be a matter of substance, and if in euery age some haue written of it, though many that haue written, be silent and say nothing of it. Sixtly, that the most famous and renowmed in all ages,

consenting in anie thing, that toucheth the substance of the Christian faith, and no man dissenting from them, (without note of noueltie and singularitie,) may not without intolerable rashnesse, be charged with error.

d Seuenthly, that though the writings of the auncient may be much corrupted, so that the consent of antiquitie cannot alwaies be easily known, yet there will bee euer some meanes to finde it out, and to discry the errours and fraudes of the corruptors: and so I vnderstande that of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, that the iudgement of antiquitie is to be sought out, at the verie first rising of heresies, and not afterwards, when they are growne inueterate; for that then they will corrupt the monuments of antiquitie. Eightly, that the whole present Church may be ignorant of some things, & erre in them; but that in matters necessarie to be knowne and believed expresly, it cannot erre, and that it cannot erre in any the least thing, with pertinacie, such and so great as is found in hereticks. Ninthly, that Concels, and Popes, may erre in matters of greatest consequence.

This our opinion thus laied down, is defended by *Waldensis*, *Occam* & others. e *Waldensis* saith, *the Church, whose faith neuer faileth, according to the promise made to* Peter, *who bare the figure of the Church, whē Christ said I haue prayed for thee that thy faith faile not, is not any particular Church, as the Church of* Africa, *within the bounds whereof* Donatus *did inclose it; nor the particular Romane Church, but the vniuersall Church, not gathered together in a generall Councell, which hath sometimes erred, as that at* Ariminium *vnder* Taurus *the Gouernour, and that at* Constantinople *vnder* Iustinian *the younger; but is the Catholicke Church, dispersed through the whole world, from the baptisme of Christ vnto our times, which doth holde and maintaine the true faith, and the faithfull testimony of Iesus.*

d *Vincentius Lirinensis* saith, if heresies be inueterat, and so haue time and means to corrupte the monumēts of antiquitie, for the confutation of them, wee must flee to the Scriptures onely. So did *Luther* and the rest in the beginning, seeming to decline the triall by the fathers, becauſe the corruptions of their writings were so manie, as coulde not easily be discouerd at the first: but now hauing found out by the helpe of so many learned men, both of our aduersaries and amongst our selues, that haue trauailed in that kind, which are their vndoubted workes, & which doubtfull or vndoubtedly forged, we willingly admit the tryall by the Fathers.

e *Waldensis doctrinalis fidei l. 2. art. 2, cap. 19. ibidem certiores indices esse dicit in causa fidei successiue, quàm synodum Antiſt. tum generalem. & cap. 20. ait Gregorium non comparare 4. concilia scripturis, sed similiter eadem venerari; sicut Christus in Euangelio,* volo vt sitis perfecti sicut Pater vester.

CHAP. 6.

Of the Churches office of teaching and witnessing the truth; and of their error, who thinke the authoritie of the Church is the rule of our faith, and that she may make new articles of faith.

THus hauing spoken of the Churches assured possession of the knowledge of the truth, in the next place we are to speake of her office of teaching, and witnessing the same: touching the which, our aduersaries fall into two dangerous errours; the first that the authority of the Church is *Regula fidei, & ratio credendi*, the rule of our faith and the reason why wee believe: The second that the Church may make new articles of faith.

Touching

Touching the first of these erroneous cõceipts, the most of them do teach, that the last thing to which the persuasion of our faith resolueth it selfe, and the maine ground wherupon it stayeth, is the authoritie of the Church guided by the spirit of truth. For (say they) if infidels and misbeleeuers demand of vs, why wee beleeue the Trinitie of persons in the Vnitie of the same Diuine essence, the Incarnation of the sonne of God, the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come; we answere, because these things are contained in the scriptures. If they proceede farther to aske, why wee beleeue the scripture; wee answere, because it is the word of God: if, why we beleeue it to be the word of God; because the Church doth so testifie of it: [f] if, why wee beleeue the testimonie of the Church; because it is guided by the spirit of truth: so that, that, vppon which our faith settleth her persuasion touching these thinges, is the authoritie of the Catholike Church, ledde and guided by the spirit of truth.

If it be said, that it is one of the things to be beleeued, that the Church is thus guided by the spirit, and therefore that the authority of the Church cannot be the reason and cause of beleeuing all thinges, that pertaine to the Christian faith, because not of those which concerne her owne authoritie; [g] *Stapleton*, who professeth to handle this matter most exactly, Sometimes seemeth to say, that this article of faith, that the Church is guided by the spirit, and appointed by God to be a faithfull mistresse of heauenly truth, is not among the Articles of faith, nor in the number of things to be beleeued. Which the *Rhemistes* vpon these words, *The* [h] *Church is the pillar and grounde of truth*, most constantly affirme, saying, *We must beleeue, heare, and obey the church, as the touch-stone, Pillar, and firmament of truth: for all this is compriſed in the prineiple, I beleeue the holy Catholique Church.*

Sometimes, that though perhaps in that Article it be implyed, that we beleeue whatsoeuer the Church teacheth vs, yet not necessarily, that we beleeue, that the Church is a faithfull and infallible witnesse, and mistresse of truth.

And sometimes, as in his [i] triplication against *Whitaker*, hee saith, that when we professe we beleeue the holy Catholike Church, wee doe not onely professe to beleeue that there is such a Church in the world, but that wee are members of that, and do beleeue and embrace the doctrine of it, as being guided infalliblie by the spirit of truth; & that we are taught in the Articles of our faith, that the Church ought to be listned vnto, as to an infallible mistresse of heauenly truth. Surely it seemeth, his braine was much crased whē he thus wrote, saying, vnsaying, & saying, he knew not what. That which he addeth, that this proposition, God doth reueale vnto vs his heauenly truth, and teach vs the mysteries of his kingdome by the ministerie of his Church, is a transcendent, whereupon that Article,

f *Primum inter credibilia, quod est ratio credendi alia, & ad quod sit vltima resolutio credibilium, est, credere ecclesiã regi à spiritu sancto. Durandus li. 3. dist. 24. quæst. 1. Vera esse contenta in scripturâ, & à Christo reuelata, per nullam viã scimus, nisi quia hoc credit ecclesia; & sic audiuimus à patribus nostris. Gregorius Ariminensis lib. 1. distinct. 1. q. 1. Art. 4.*

g *Relect. contro: 4. de potestate ecclesiæ in se. q: 3. art: 2. respons: ad argument. 5.*

h 1. Tim. 3. 15.

i Fol. 189.

wherein we professe to beleeue the Catholike Church, doth depend, as all the rest do, and is not an Article of the Creede; doth but more & more shew the distemper of his head. But in that which hee addeth for confirmation hereof, that we doe not professe in the first Article of our faith to beleeue God as the reuealer of all hidden and heauenly truth, and to rest in him as in the fountaine of all illumination, is the note and brand of an impious miscreant. For this doubtlesse is the first thing implyed in our faith towards God, that wee yeeld him this honour, to bee the great master of all truth, vpon whose authority wee will depend, renouncing all our owne wisedome, and knowing, [k] that as *no man knoweth the things of a man, but the spirit of a man; so no man knoweth the things of God, but the spirit of God*; [l] and, that *flesh and blood cannot reueale these things vnto vs, but our father which is in heauen*.

[k] 1. Corint. 2: 11

[l] Matth. 16. 17.

That the precept of louing God aboue all, is not distinctly set down among the rest of the tenne Commaundements, but is implyed, though principally in the first, yet generally in all, is to no purpose. If he thinke, it is not at all contained in the Decalogue, his folly is too too great.

CHAP. 7.

Of the manifolde errors of Papistes, touching the last resolution of our faith, and the refutation of the same.

THus we see, he cannot auoide it, but that the Church is one of the things to be beleeued, and therefore cannot be the first and generall cause of beleeuing all thinges that are to bee beleeued. For when we are to bee perswaded of the authority of the Church, it is doubtfull vnto vs, and therefore cannot free vs from doubting, or settle our perswasion; because that which settleth the perswasion, must not be doubted of.

There is no question then, but that the authoritie of the olde Testament may be brought to proue the newe, to him, that is perswaded of the old, and doubteth of the newe; and the authoritie of the newe, to proue the olde, to him, that is perswaded of the new, and doubteth of the old: but to him that doubteth of both, we must not alledge the authority of either of these, but some other thing: so likewise, we may proue the authoritie of the Scripture by the Church, to him that is already perswaded of the Church; and of the Church by the scripture, to him, that is perswaded of the scripture; but to him that doubteth of both, wee must bring other reasons. For no man proueth a thing doubtfull, by that which is as much doubted of, as it selfe. So that to proue the authoritie and infallibilitie of the Church, by the testimony and authority of the Church, which

the thing doubted of, is, as if one taking vpon him to bee a Lawgiuer, whose authoritie is doubted of, should first make a law, and publish his proclamation, and by vertue thereof giue himselfe power, to make lawes; his authoritie of making the first law, being as much doubted of, as the second.

Thus then it being cleare and euident, that it is one of the thinges that are to bee beleeued, that the Church is guided by the spirit, if *Stapleton* be asked, why hee beleeueth it to bee so guided, hee saith, hee so beleeueth, because the spirit moueth him so to beleeue. But he should know, that three things concurre to make vs beleeue that whereof we are doubtfull: The light of Diuine vnderstanding, as that whereby wee apprehend the things of God; The spirit, as the author of this illumination; and the reasons and motiues, by force whereof, the spirit induceth, moueth, and perswadeth vs. Euen as in the apprehension of things within the compasse of the light of nature, when we are to be perswaded of a thing, seeming doubtfull vnto vs, not onely the action of him that perswadeth vs, & the light of naturall vnderstanding, are required to the effecting of it, but also the force of reasons winning vs to assent to that, we are to be perswaded of. We therefore demand not of *Stapleton*, who it is that perswadeth vs to beleeue, or what that light of vnderstanding is, that maketh him capable of such perswasion; but, what those reasons, or motiues are, by force wherof, the spirit settleth his minde, in the perswasion of the truth of those things, he formerly doubted of.

Surely he sayth, the highest and last reason, that moueth a man to beleeue the thinges that pertaine to faith, is the authoritie of the Church. Let vs suppose it to be so, touching all other things; yet can it not bee so, in respect of those things, wee are to beleeue touching the authoritie of the Church it selfe. What is is the motiue then, whereby the spirit mooueth vs to beleeue, that the Church hath diuine authoritie? He sayth, because it is so contained in the scripture; and in the Articles of the Creede. See then, if he be not forced to runne round in a circle. Hee beleeueth other matters of faith, because contained in the scripture; and the scripture, because it is the word of God; and that it is the word of GOD, because the Church deliuereth it to be so; and the Church, because it is ledde by the spirit; and that it is ledde by the spirit, because it is so contained in the Scripture, and the Creede. This kinde of circulation, [b] *Campian* reckoneth amongst the Sophismes, hee wrongfully imputeth vnto vs: but it will euer bee founde true, that the Prophet pronounceth of the wicked; [c] *Impij ambulant in circuitu*; The wicked runne round, till they bee giddie, and are in the ende, where they were, when they began.

[a] Triplicatio, fol. 188.

[b] Campiani 10. rationes.

[c] Psal. 11. 9.

Out of this maze *Stapleton* cannot get himselfe, vnlesse hee flye to humane motiues and inducementes, and make them the highest and last

laſt reaſon of his faith, and ſo indeede he doth. For fearing that he hath not ſaid well, in ſaying he beleeueth the Church is guided by the ſpirit, becauſe it is contained in the ſcripture, hee addeth another reaſon, why hee ſo beleeueth, becauſe it is the generall opinion, and conceipt of all Chriſtian men, that it is ſo guided: & ſo indeede his perſwaſion ſtayeth it ſelfe vpon humane grounds, though he be vnwilling that men ſhould ſo think, and conceiue.

These mazes and labyrinths, other Papiſts ſeeking to auoyde, runne without any ſuch ſhew of feare, as *Stapleton* bewrayeth, into moſt groſſe abſurdities. Some thinking, that the authoritie of the Church, is the reaſon moouing vs to beleeue all other thinges; and that wee beleeue that the Church is ledde and guided by the ſpirit, and that the truth of God, which the Church teacheth vs, moued thereunto by humane motiues, namely for that, that muſt needes be the truth, which ſo many miracles haue confirmed, which a fewe weake and ſilly men, contemptible in the eyes of the world, haue wonne all the world to beleeue, and haue holden out the defence of it, againſt all the furies of enemies whatſoeuer: which they coulde not haue done, had not the ſpirite and power of the moſt high beene with them, making them more then conquerours. This is the opinion of [d] *Durandus*, who maketh humane motiues & inducements, the higheſt and laſt reaſon of his faith; to which alſo *Stapleton* flyeth, though vnwillingly. Others thinke, that wee beleeue by the ſole and abſolute commande of the will, either finding nothing, or nothing of ſufficient force to perſwade vs. Both theſe conceipts are to be examined by vs.

[d] *Durandus. li. 3. diſtinct. 24. quæſt 1. art. 2. et diſtinct. 25. q. 3.*

Concerning the firſt, we are to obſerue, that the Schoolemen make two kindes of faith, calling the one *fidem infuſam*, an infuſed faith, wrought in vs by the inlightning ſpirit of God, and ſtaying it ſelfe vpon the truth of God: the other *fidem acquiſitam*, a humane and naturall faith, grounding it ſelfe vpon humane authority, and wrought by humane motiues and perſwaſions. So that, according to the opinion of theſe men, wee beleeue the Articles of our Chriſtian faith, and whatſoeuer is contained in the bookes of the Prophets and Apoſtles; becauſe we are perſwaded, that they were reuealed by Almightie God; & this pertaineth to infuſed faith, as they thinke: but that they were reuealed, there is nothing that perſwadeth vs, [e] but the authority of the Church, and becauſe we haue ſo learned, and receiued of our forefathers; and this pertaineth to humane faith, and is meerely a naturall and humane perſwaſion, like that the *Saracens* haue, touching the ſuperſtitions of *Mahomet*, who therefore beleeue them, becauſe their auncеſtors haue deliuered them vnto them.

[e] *Greger. Arimin. li. 1. diſtinct. 1. q. 1. fol. 7.*

If this opinion were true, (as *Melchior Canus* rightly noteth,) the firſt ſtay of our infuſed faith, and the firſt reaſon moouing vs ſo to beleeue ſhould

hould not be the truth of God, but humane authoritie. For wee ſhould eleeue the Articles of our faith, becauſe they were reuealed, and be-eue they were reuealed, becauſe our Auncestors ſo deliuered vnto vs, d the Church ſo beleeueth. And from hence it would farther follow, at ſeeing the aſſent, yeelded to the concluſion, can bee no greater, nor ore certain, then that which is yeelded to the premiſſes, whence it is dedu-ed and inferred, we ſhould haue no greater certainetie of things Diuine d reuealed, then ſuch as humane meanes and cauſes can yeeld. f And ſeeing wee can neuer be ſo well perſwaded of any man, or multitude men, but that we may iuſtly feare, either they are deceiued, or will de-iue; if our faith depend vpon ſuch grounds, wee cannot firmely and doubtedly beleeue. Nay it is conſequent vpon this abſurde opinion, at the Children of the Church, and they of the houſehold of faith, haue infuſed or Diuine faith at all: for that, whatſoeuer is reuealed by the od of truth, is true, the heathens make noe doubt, but doubt whe-er any thing were ſo reuealed; and that any thing was ſo reuealed, theſe men ſay true, wee haue no aſſurance, but by humane meanes d cauſes.

f Canus lib. 2. cap. 8

But the abſurditie hereof, the ſame *Canus*, out of *Caluin*, doth verie lear-edly demonſtrate, reaſoning in this ſort; If all they that haue beene our achers, nay, if all the Angels in Heauen, ſhall teach vs any other, or ntrarie doctrine to that wee haue receiued, wee muſt holde them accur-d, and not ſuffer our faith to bee ſhaken by them, as the Apoſtle char-th vs in the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*: therefore our faith doth not relie on humane cauſes or grounds of aſſurance. g *Ne mens noſtra vacillet, al-ſi petenda, quàm ab hominum vel ratione, vel auctoritate, ſcripturæ authori-tas.* ſids, our faith & that of the Apoſtles & prophets being the ſame, it muſt eder haue the ſame obiect, and the ſame ground and ſtay to reſt vpon, both: but they builded themſelues, vpon the ſure and vnmooueable cke of Diuine truth, and authoritie; therefore we muſt do ſo likewiſe. any man deſire farther ſatisfaction herein, let him reade *Canus* and *luin*, to whom in theſe things *Canus* is much beholding.

g Caluin. inſtitut. lib. 1. cap. 7. 4.

Others therefore, to auoide this abſurditie, runne into that other before tioned, that we beleeue the things that are diuine, by the meere and ab-ute command of our will, not finding any ſufficient motiues & reaſons perſwaſion; and hereupon they define faith in this ſort: *Fides eſt aſſen-firmus meuidens*; that is, faith is a firme, certaine, and full aſſent of the nd, beleeuing thoſe things, the truth whereof no way appeareth vnto For farther explication, and better clearing of this definition of faith, y make two kinds of certaintie, for there is, as they ſay, *certitudo euiden-* and *certitudo adhæreitiæ*; that is, there is a certaintie of euidence, which has thoſe things, the truth whereof appeareth vnto vs; and another of adhe-ce and firme cleauing to that, the truth whereof appeareth vnto vs. This

later they suppose to be the certaintie that is found in faith, and there-on they hold, that a man may beleeue a thing meerely because he wil, without any motiues or reason of perswasion at all: the contrarie whereof when *Picus Mirandula* proposed, among other his conclusions to be disputed in *Rome*, hee was charged with heresie for it. But he sufficiently cleared himselfe from all such imputation, and improued their fantasie that so thinke, by vnanswerable reasons, which I haue thought good to lay downe in this place.

[b] *Apologia quæst. 8. de libertate credidi.*

It [b] is not, sayth he, in the power of a man, to thinke a thing to be, or not to be, meerely because he will, therefore much lesse firmely to beleeue it. The truth of the antecedent we finde by experience, and it euidently appeareth vnto vs, because if a doubtfull proposition bee proposed concerning which the vnderstanding & minde of man resolueth nothing, seeing no reason to lead to resolue one way or other, the mind thus doubtfull cannot incline any way, till there be some inducement, either of reason, sight of the eye, or testimony or authoritie of them wee are well conceited of, to settle our perswasion. Secondly, a man cannot assent to any thing, or iudge it to be true, vnlesse it so appeare vnto him; but the sole will of a mans will, cannot make a thing to appeare and seeme true or false, but either the euidence of the thing, or the testimony & authoritie of some one, of whose iudgement hee is well perswaded. Thirdly, though the action of vnderstanding *quoad exercitium*, as to consider of a thing, to thinke vpon it, or to turne away such consideration from it, depend on the will; yet not *quoad specificationem*, as to assent or dissent: for these opposite and contrarie kinds of the vnderstandinges actions, are from the contrarie and different appearing of things vnto vs. Fourthly, the sole cōmand of the will cannot make a man to beleeue that, which being demanded why hee beleeueth, he giueth reasons and alledgeth inducements, but so it is, that in matters of our Christian faith, we alledge sundry reasons, mouing vs to beleeue as Christians doe, as appeareth by the common [i] of all Diuines, who lay downe eight principall reasons mouing men to beleeue the Gospell; namely the light of prophetical prediction, the harmony and agreement of the scriptures, the diligence of them that receiue them, carefully seeking to discerne betweene truth and errour, the authoritie and grauitie of the writers, the reasonablenesse of the things written, the vnreasonablenesse of all contrary errours, the stabilitie of the Church, and the miracles that haue beene done for the confirmation of the faith it professeth. Fifthly, if there be two, whereof one beleeueth precisely because he will, and another, onely because hee will not beleeue, refusing to beleeue the same thing, the act of neither of these is more reasonable than the other, being like vnto the will of a Tyrant, that is not guided with reason, but makes his owne liking, the rule of his actions. Now, who is so impious as to say, The Christians, that beleeue the Gospell, haue no

[i] *Scotus prolog. sent. ad primum quæst. 2.*

reason to lead them so to doe, then the Infidels that refuse to beleeue?

With *Picus*, in the confutation of this senseleſſe conceipt, we may ioyne Cardinall *Cameracensis*, who farther sheweth, that as a man cānot perswade himselfe of a thing, meerely because hee will, without any reason at all; so, hauing reason, he cannot perswade himself more strongly and assuredly of it, then the reason hee hath, will afforde; for if hee doe, it is so farre, an vnreasonable act, like that of a Tyrant before mentioned. [1] *Durandus* likewise is of the same opinion. *Assentiri nulla potest, nisi ei quod apparet verum: igitur oportet quòd illud quod creditur, appareat rationi verum, vel in se, vel ratione medij per quod assentitur; & si non in se, sed tantum ratione medij, illud medium apparebit verum, vel in se, vel per aliud medium, & si non est processus in infinitum, oportet quòd deueniatur ad primum, quod appareat rationi esse verum in se, & secundum se.* That is, *No man can yeelde assent to any thing, but that which appeareth to him to be true: therefore whatsoeuer a man beleeueth, must seeme and appeare vnto him to bee true, either immediatly and by it selfe, or in respect of that* medium, *by force whereof he is perswaded to beleeue; and if it doe so appeare vnto him, to be true in and by it selfe, but onely in respect of the medium, that* medium *must appeare true, either in respect of it selfe, or by another medium, and because there is no infinite proceeding in these things, we must at last come to some first thing, which in and by it selfe, must appeare to bee true.*

[k] *Scrutentur nos quæst. 1. art. 2. sicut impossibile est assentire sine ratione, ita videtur impossibile assentire plus quàm ratio probat, vel videtur probare.*

[l] *Durand. in 3. sententiarum distinct. 24 quæst. 3.*

CHAP. 8.

Of the last resolution of true faith, and whereupon it stayeth it selfe.

IN naturall and humane knowledge, there are two sortes of thinges: some that are euident vnto vs immediately in, and by themselues; and some, that are not. The former of these, are likewise of two sorts: for ther are some known onely by intuitiue knowledge, as cōtingent things: so that we cānot apprehend the truth of any proposition framed of such things, vnlesse we intuitiuely apprehend the things, wherof such propositions are framed, (as, that *Peter & Iohn* now walke, now leape for ioy, or tremble for feare, we cannot know, vnlesse we intuitiuely behold, both these men, and these things agreeing vnto them.) Other things there are vniuersal, necessarie, and alwayes of one sort; these may be euidently known by abstractiue knowledge. Of these, there may be framed two sorts of propositions: for there are some propositions *per se notæ*, originally cleare and euident, the *termini* or single words wherof, being tightly conceiued by vs, we cannot but know the truth of the whole propositions: (as, that euery whole and entire thing, is greater and better then any part of it.) [a] And other propositions there are, which are not thus originally cleare and euident, vpon the sight

[a] *Aluarez 1. sententiarum disput. 1. post cap. 2.*

vnderstanding of the *termini* or single words whereof they are compos
but a man doubteth of them, till hee see them deduced by cleare and e
dent consequence from the former; these things a man is properly sayd
learne.

Thus hauing spoken of things euident in themselues, let vs come to th
things that in themselues are neuer euident vnto vs, either that they are
what they are: but that they are, and what they are, appeareth vnto vs
a forraine *medium*, without the compasse of the things themselues. Of th
sort are those things we are perswaded of, vpon the report of others; th
is the certainetie we haue of things beleeued: the truth of them in the
selues appeareth not vnto vs, nor is seene of vs; in which sense faith
rightly be named a firme assent without euidence; and there may be a ce
taintie of adherence, as the Schoolemen call it, without euidence; yet m
the credite of him that speaketh, be known vnto vs, & we must euident
discerne, that he doth speake vnto vs, vpon whose testimony we rely.

1 The Schoolemen make three sorts of things; some that are beleeued b
cause they are first known, as the first principles originally cleare and e
dent vnto vs, and the conclusions demonstratiuely proued out of th
principles: other thinges, 2 that are beleeued and neuer known, as
the matters of fact that are reported in the scripture, which wee cannot
know by the immediate euidence of the things themselues, but mediatly
in that we know they are deliuered vnto vs by him that cannot lye. An
3 a third sort of things that are first beleeued, and afterwardes the vnde
standing being inlightned, and the heart clensed, they are discerned of
to be true.

The opinion of the ordinarie Papists is, that the thinges pertaining
to our faith, are beleeued, because GOD reuealeth and deliu
them to bee so, as wee are required to beleeue; but that wee kn
not, that GOD hath reuealed any such thing; but by humane co
iectures and probabilities: so weakely doe they make our faith to b
grounded. We confesse, that faith may rightly bee sayde to be a firm
assent, without euidence of many of the thinges beleeued, in the
selues: but the *Medium*, by force whereof wee are drawen t
beleeue, must bee euident vnto vs, as *Durandus* doth rightly demo
strate.

Augustine noteth, that there are three things found in the soule of
Opinion, Beleefe or Faith, and Science; the first of these is neces
rily and euer ioyned with imperfection and defecte, to wit, dang
and feare of erring: the thirde is euer perfect, excluding both
secondo, standing in the middest, is of a middle nature, and depe
deth vpon the thirde. For otherwise, to beeleeue those report
whose credite is not known vnto vs, is leuitie and rashnes
Faith therefore, that is commendable, and without sinne, presuppo
know-

De vtilitate credendi ad Honoratum cap. 12.

knowledge, and right beleeuing groweth out of it. We holde therefore, that euery true Christian doth most euidently discerne and know, that it is God that speaketh in the Scriptures; which *Caluin* excellently expresseth. *Illius virtute* (sayth he) *illuminati, iam non aut nostro, aut alterius iudicio credimus à Deo esse Scripturam, sed supra humanum iudicium vere certo certius constituimus, non secus, ac si ipsius Dei numen illic intueremur, hominum ministerio ad nos usque dei ore fluxisse.* *After we are inlightened by the spirit, we doe no longer trust, either our owne indgement, or the indgement of other men; that the Scriptures are of God; but aboue all certainty of humane indgement, we most certainly resolue, as if in them we sawe the Maiestie and glorie of God, as Moses saw it in the Mount, that by the ministrie of men, they came vnto vs from Gods owne most sacred mouth.* c Lib. 1. institutionis cap. 7. 5.

Hereunto doth S. *Augustine* fully agree, shewing that the authority of the Church, is but an introduction to the spirituall discerning of diuine things, and that men rest not in it. Whereupon he sayth; d *Homini non valenti verum intueri, vt ad id fiat idoneus, purgarique se sinat, præsto est auctoritas, quam partim miraculis, partim multitudine valere nemo ambigit.* that is, *Men that are not yet able to discerne the heauenly truth, that they may be fitted to it, & offer themselues to be purged from their impuritie, hindring them from it, haue the benefit of the direction of authoritie, which standeth vpon two things: the one, the greatnesse of miracles, and wonderous workes done; the other, multitude.* Christ e (sayth *Augustine*) being to bring a saluing medicine into the world, and to reforme the most corrupt and wicked manners of the sons of men, by miracles got himselfe authority, by authority wonne credit, by the credit hee had gotten, drew multitudes after him, which continuing long in one course of profession, in tract and continuance of time gained the reuerend estimation of antiquity, and so strengthened the opinion of religion professed by them. These things (sayth *Augustine*) are not necessarie to men of spirituall and heauenly vnderstanding: but we are now f to shew how men may become wise, and attaine the knowledge of spirituall things. This they cannot attaine to, vnlesse they be purged frō their soules vncleanesse: from which they cannot be purged, vnlesse they listen to them, that are alre already wise and exercised in things that are diuine, and therefore they must begin with authoritie. d De Vtilitate credidi ad Honoratum cap. 16. e Cap. 14. 15. 16. f In sententijs.

Hugo de Sancto victore maketh three sortes of beleeuers: for there are (sayth he) *qui solâ pietate credere eligunt, qui vtrùm credendum sit, vel non credendum, ratione non comprehendunt, alij ratione approbant quod fide credunt, alij puritate cordis, & mundâ conscientiâ, interius iam gustare incipiunt, quod fide creduntur.* *The first are moued to beleeue out of pietie, finding the Maiestie of God to present it selfe vnto them in the word of truth, and happy communion of the people professing the same, challenging their attention and readinesse to be taught by him: the second the light of diuine reason causeth approbation of that they beleeue: the third sort, the puritie of diuine vnderstanding, apprehendeth most certaine-*

ly, the things beleiued, and causeth a foretasting of those things, that hereafter more fully shall be enioyed. They that are thus established in the faith, doe now already begin to foretaste that, which they long in heauen distinctly to know and enioy, and begin already to haue God present with them, by force of diuine contemplation; so that if all the world should be turned into miracles, they could not remoue them from the certainety of their perswasion. Hence it is, that *Pyck* sayth in his Conclusions, that as faith which is but a barre credulity, is in degree of perfection lesse then Science, so true faith is greater and more certaine, then any science gotten by demonstration.

Thus then we may easily discerne, what is the formall reason of our faith, or inducing vs to beleeue. In things that are therefore beleiued, becauſe knowen, as in the principles and conclusions of naturall knowledge, the euidence of the things appearing to vs, is the formall reason of our beliefe & perswasion. In things first beleiued, & afterwards knowen, the euidence of the things appearing vnto vs, being inlightned by the light of grace. In things onely beleiued, and not knowen, the authority of God himselfe, whome we doe most certainely discerne, to speake in the word of Faith, which is preached vnto vs. *Si è puros oculos, & integros sensus, illuc afferimus* (sayth Caluin) *statim occurret Dei maiestas, quæ subactâ reclamandi audaciâ, nos sibi parere cogat. If we bring pure eyes, and perfect senses, the Maiestie of God presently presenteth it selfe vnto vs, in the diuine Scripture, and beating downe all thoughtes of contradicting or doubting of things so heauenly, forceth vs to obey.* [h] For *Non dubium vim quandam diuinitus illic vigere & spirare sentimus, quâ ad parendum scientes quidem, & volentes, vividiùs tamen & efficaciùs, quàm pro humana, aut voluntas aut scientia, trahimur ac accendimur. We finde a greater light of vnderstanding shining vnto vs in this doctrine of faith, then is found within the compasse of nature; a satisfaction touching many things, which humane reason could not satisfie vs in; a ioy and exultation of the heart, such and so great, as groweth not out of nature.* This maketh vs assure our selues, that the doctrine which thus affecteth vs, is reueiled from God; that they are the onely people of God, and haue the meanes of happinesse, where the treasure of heauenly wisedome is found; that those bookes are the rich chest iewell, that the World possesseth, and ought to bee the Canon of our faith, which this people deliuereth vnto vs, as receiued from them, to whome these things were first of all made knowen and reuealed.

So then that God speaketh in the Scripture, and is the Author of it, wee know more certainely, than any thing that is knowen by naturall light of reason; and thereupon wee beleiue all things therein contained, though many of them are such, as can neuer be knowen of vs, as those that are historicall, and other such, as are not knowen at first, but after wee haue beleiued, we begin to vnderstand and knowe them.

[g] *Calvin. Institut. lib. 1. cap. 7. 4.*

[h] *Lib. 1. 7. 5.*

vnto agree the best learned, and most deuoute and religious amongst the Schoole-men. For the greater part of them were giuen to curious disputes, but voyde of deuotion, as i *Gerson* complayneth. k *Alexander* of *Hales* sayth, there is a certainety of speculation, and a certainety of experience; a certainety in respect of the vnderstanding, and a certainety in respect of the affection; a certainety in respect of the spirituall man, and a certainety in respect of the naturall man; and pronounceth that the things apprehended by vs in diuine knowledge, are more certainely discerned by such as are spirituall, in the certainety of experience, in the certainety which is in respect of affection, and by way of spirituall taste and feeling, than anie thing is discerned in the light of naturall vnderstanding. *Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua!* l (sayth the Prophet *Dauid*) *How sweete are thy wordes (O Lord) vnto my mouth! They are sweeter than the hony, and the honey combe.* And againe, *I haue knowen long since, that thou hast established them for euer.* Thus then it is true, that the authoritie of Gods Church, prepareth vs vnto the faith, and serueth as an introduction, to bring vs to the discerning and perfect apprehension of diuine things, but is not the ground of our faith, and reason of beleeuing. And that doubtlesse is the meaning of those wordes m of *Augustine, that he would not beleeue the Gospell, if the authoritie of the Church did not moue him thereunto.*

i *Gers. de examinatione doctrinarū.*
k *Lib. 1. quæst. 1. summæ theologiæ, membr. 4. art. 2.*
certitudo 2 ex
l *Psal. 118*
m *Contra epist. fundamenti cap. 5.*

CHAP. 9.

Of the meaning of those wordes of Augustine, *that hee would not beleeue the Gospell, if the authority of the Church did not moue him.*

THe Diuines giue two explications of these words of *Augustine*. For a *Occam* and some others say, the Church, whereof hee speaketh, is not the multitude of beleeuers, that now are in the World, but the whole number of them, that are, and haue beene, since Christ appeared in the flesh; so including the Apostles: in which sense, they confesse the Church comprehending in it the Apostles, and writers of the whole Scripture of the new Testament, is of greater authority, then the bookes of the Gospell written by them, and deliuered to posterities. Others, taking the name of the Church, to signifie onely the beleeuers that now presently are in the world, say the meaning of *Augustine* is, that he had neuer beleeued the Gospell, if the authoritie of the Church had not bin an introductiō vnto him: Not that his faith rested vpon it, as a finall stay, but that it caused him so far to respect the word of the Gospell, to listen vnto it, and with a kinde of acquisite and humane fayth, to beleeue it, that hee was thereby fitted to a better illumination, by force whereof hee might more certainely know, and beleeue it to be of God. To which purpose b *Waldensis* out of *Tho. Aquinas* obserueth

a *Dialog. lib. 1. part. 1. cap. 4. vbi ait totam multitudinem viuentium non esse maioris auctoritatis quàm euangelium sanctum, quia debet illud credere vsque ad sanguinem.*

b *Doctrinal fidei lib. 2. art. 2. cap. 21. vbi adfert exemplum Nathanaelis, quem Philippus induxit ad credendum in Christum, quem ad modum non inducunt parentes et pædagogi: nec tamen sunt maioris auctoritatis quā Christus.*

obserueth, that as the Samaritanes beleeued that Christ was the promised Sauiour, vpon the report of the woman, that talked with him, made vnto them; but afterwardes hauing seene him, and talked with him, they professed that they beleeued, not for her saying any longer: for themselues had heard him speake, and did know that he was the Sauiour of the World indeed. So men at the first beginne to beleeue, moued so to doe, by the authoritie of the Church; but rest not in it, but in the infallible assurance of diuine truth. Vpon the mistaking of this saying of S. *Augustine*, and an erroneous conceit, that our faith stayeth wholly vpon the authoritie and testimony of the Church, hath growne that opinion, that the authoritie of the Church is greater, than the authoritie of the Scriptures.

CHAP. 10.

Of the Papists preferring the Churches authoritie before the Scripture.

TOuching which odious comparison, I find some shew of difference amongst the Papists, but none indeed. Some affirme, that the authorities of the Church, and of the Scripture, being in diuers kindes, may in diuers sorts, and respects, either of them be sayd to be greater, then the other: to wit, the one in nature of an euidence, the other of a Iudge; and that therefore the comparing of them in authority is vnfit and superfluous. Others say, that the Church is greater then the Scriptures. [a] The *Rhemists* seeme to be of the first sort, seeking to conceale that, which indeed they think, because they would not incurre the dislike and ill opinion of men, naturally abhorring from so odious a comparison. Yet in the same place they doe make the comparison, and preferre the Church before the Scriptures. 1. In respect of antiquitie, in that it was before them. 2. In excellencie of nature, in that the Church is the spouse of Christ, the temple of God, the proper subiect of God, and his graces, for which the Scriptures were, and not the Church for the Scriptures. 3. In power of iudging of doubts and controuersies, the Church hauing iudiciall power; the Scripture not being capable of it. 4. In euidence, the definitions of the Church being more cleare and euident, then those of the Scriptures.

a *Annotat. in 2. ad Galatas.*

b *Rolell. contro. 4. de potestate eccles. in sect. 5. explicat. quæst.*

b *Stapleton* sayth, the comparison may be made, and the Church preferred before the Scriptures, foure wayes. 1. So, as if the Church might define contrarie to the Scriptures, as she may contrarie to the writings of particular men, how great so euer. In this sense, they of the Church of *Rome* make not the comparison, neither do we charge them with any such thing, though *Stapleton* be pleased so to say of vs. 2. So, as the Church may define, though not contrary to, yet beside the Scripture or written word of God. This comparison is not made properly, touching the pre-

heminence

eminence of one aboue another in authority, but the extent of one be-
ond the other, as *Stapleton* rightly noteth. In this ſenſe, the Romaniſts
ake the Church greater in authoritie than the Scriptures, that is, the ex-
ent of the Churches authoritie; larger than of the Scriptures, to bring in
eir traditions; but this we denie, and will in due place improoue their
ror herein. Thirdly, in the obedience they both challenge of vs, where
ey all ſay, that wee are bound, with as great affection of pietie, to obey
d ſubmit our ſelues, vnto the determinations of the Church, as of the
riptures: both being infallible, of diuine and heauenly authority, againſt
hich no man may reſiſt, and that it is a matter of faith ſo to thinke. Yea,
me of them, as *Stapleton* in the ſame place, are not aſhamed to ſay, that we
e bound, with greater certaintie of faith, to ſubſcribe vnto the determi-
ations of the Church, than of the Scriptures; & that it is the authoritie of
e Church, that maketh vs accept, imbrace, and beleeue the Scriptures.
ourthly, in the nature of the things themſelues, in which reſpect, they
efer the Church before the Scriptures; as being in it ſelfe, more excellent
en the Scriptures: as the ſubiect, by which the ſpirit worketh, is more
cellent, then the thing hee worketh by it.

CHAP. 11.

Of the refutation of their errour, who preferre the authoritie of the Church before the Scripture.

THat we may the better diſcerne, what is to bee reſolued, touching theſe two later compariſons betweene the Church and the Scriptures, we muſt remember, that which I haue before noted, touching them both. For firſt, the name of the Church metimes comprehendeth onely the beleeuers, that now preſently are li-
ng in the world. Sometimes not only theſe, but all them alſo, that haue
ene ſince the Apoſtles times. Sometimes all that are, and haue been,
nce Chriſt appeared in the fleſh.

If the compariſon be made betweene the Church, conſiſting onely of
e faithfull that now are, and the Scripture, we abſolutely denie the equa-
ie of their authoritie; and ſay it is impietie to thinke, that both may chal-
nge an equall degree of obedience, and faith, to bee yeelded to them:
r it cannot be prooued, that the Church, thus taken, is free from errour;
y themſelues with one conſent confeſſe, [a] that general Councels, repre-
nting this Church, may erre, though not in matters of ſubſtance, which
ey purpoſely meete to determine, yet in other paſſages, and in the rea-
ns, and motiues, leading to ſuch determinations; and conſequently
e whole Church may erre in the ſame things; the one, in their opinion,
ing no more infallible, than the other. Yea, ſome of them feare not

[a] *Canus li. 5. cap. 5 pag. 170.*

to pronounce, [b] that Popes and generall Councels may erre damnably, and that the Church it selfe may erre in matters not fundamentall, though without pertinacie, as *Picus* in his theoremes, and *Waldensis*, who freely the vniuersall Church, consisting of the faithfull that are, and haue beene, from errour, and not the present Church, as I shewed before. Wee are so farre then, from preferring the Church thus taken, (as *Stapleton* in the place aboue mentioned, professeth hee taketh it) in authoritie before the Scripture, that wee thinke it impietie, to imagine it to be equall.

[b] *Multi opinantur Concilium generale errare posse, quia non innititur proxime diuinæ reuelationi, sed procedit secundum sensum proprium, sistente sibi influxu generali &c. Occam lib. 3, tract. 2. part. 3, cap. 8.*

That the authority of the Church maketh vs to beleeue, with an humane, and acquisite faith, wee denie not; but that it maketh vs to beleeue with a diuine faith, we denie, as before. If the comparison bee made between the Church consisting of al the faithful that haue been since, and besides the Apostles, and writers of the holy Scriptures, though wee thinke the Church thus taken to bee free from any errour; yet dare we not make it equall to the Scripture: For that the Scripture is infalliblie true, as inspired immediatly from the spirit of trueth, securing the writers of it from errour; The Church not in respect of the condition of the men, of whom it consisteth, or the manner of the guiding of the spirit, (each particular man being subiect vnto errour) but in respect of the generality and vniuersalitie of it, in euery part whereof, in euery time, no errour could possiblie bee found; And for that, whatsoeuer is vniuersally deliuered by it is thereby prooued to bee from the Apostles, of whose faith wee are secure. Thus then the whole Church thus taken, is subiect to the Scripture, in all her partes, and hath her infallibilitie from it; and therefore her manner of hauing the trueth, is inferiour vnto it, neither are we bound to receiue her doctrines as the sacred Scriptures. Besides, though the Church taken in this sort bee free from errour, yet not from ignorance of many things, wherein wee may bee instructed by the Scripture. So that it is possible for a man to vnderstand the naturall and literall sense of some parts of Scripture, and from thence some things, that were not in such sort knowen and deliuered by any, that went before; as *Andradius* and *Caietanus*, doe prooue at large.

If the comparison bee made betweene the Church, consisting of the beleeuers, that are and haue been, since Christ appeared in the flesh, so including the Apostles, and their blessed assistants the Euangelists, we denie not, but that the Church is of greater authoritie, antiquitie, and excellencie, than the Scripture of the new Testament, as the witnesse is better than his testimonie, and the Lawgiuer greater than the Law made by him, as *Stapleton* alleageth. But hee is to prooue the present Church greater in authoritie than the Scripture; which he vndertaketh, but performeth not. His reason, that the Scripture was giuen for the good of the Church, and that therefore the Church is better than the Scripture,

prou

roueth not the thing intended. For, as the people are more excellent in gree of being, and nature of things, than the lawes that bee made for eir good, yet are the lawes of more authoritie, and muſt ouer-rule and reſt the people: ſo though the Scriptures, being but ſignifications, de-arations, and manifeſtations of diuine trueth, be not better in degree things, than the Church, yet in power of preſcribing, directing, and er-ruling our faith, they are incomparably greater. That which the emiſts adde, to ſhewe the greatneſſe of the Church aboue the Scrip-re, becauſe the Church hath iudiciall power, to determine doubts and ntrouerſies, whereof as they ſuppoſe, the Scripture is not capable, I ill examine in the next part, when I come to ſpeake of the power of dging, which the Church hath.

This errour of the Romaniſts, imagining the authoritie of the Church bee greater than the Scripture, all the beſt learned in the Church of me euer reſiſted, as [c] *Waldenſis*, [d] *Occam*, [e] *Gerſon*, and ſundry other.

[c] *Waldenſ. doctrin. fidei lib. 2, art. 2, cap. 21.*
[d] *Occam. 1, part. 1, cap. 4.*
[e] *Gerſ. de vita ſpiritual. anima. lect. 3, corollario. 7.*

CHAP. 12.

Of their errour who thinke the Church may make new articles of faith.

VNto this errour is ioyned, and out of this hath growen another not vnlike, that the Church may make newe Articles of faith; which though *Stapleton* and ſome other of our time ſeeme to diſclaime, yet doe they indeede fall into it. For the better vnderſtanding whereof wee muſt obſerue, as [a] *Occam* y noteth, that an Article of faith is ſometimes ſtrictly taken, onely one of thoſe diuine verities, which are contained in the Creede of Apoſtles: ſometimes generally for any Catholike veritie. This que-n is not meant of articles of faith in the firſt ſenſe, but in the ſecond; ſo the meaning of the queſtion is, whether the Church that nowe is, y by her approbation make thoſe aſſertions and propoſitions to bee holike verities, that were not before, or thoſe hereticall that were not. atholike veritie is a diuine trueth, which euery Chriſtian is bound to eue. The things which Chriſtiã men are bound to beleeue, are of two s, and conſequently there are two ſorts of Catholike verities; to ſome ſo neerely touching the matter of eternall ſaluation, that a man not be ſaued, vnleſſe hee expreſſely knowe and beleeue them; others her remooued, which if a man beleeue *implicitè*, and *in præparatione i*, it ſufficeth; Theſe muſt bee beleeued expreſſely and diſtinctly, if r coherence with, or dependence on the former, do appeare vnto vs ſo, the manifeſt deduction of them fom the former, will make them ſuch, uſt be expreſſely beleeued.

[a] *Dialog. 1, part. lib. 2, cap. 14.*

Our aduersaries confesse, that the approbation and determination of the Church, cannot make that a trueth which was not, nor that a Diuine or Catholike trueth, that was not so before: but they thinke, that the Church by her bare and sole determination, may make that veritie to be in such sort Catholike, that euery one, vnderstanding of such determination, must expressely beleeue it, that was not so and in such degree Catholike before. But we thinke, that it is not the authoritie of the Church, but the cleare deduction from the things which we are bound expressely to beleeue, that maketh things of that sort, that they must bee particularly and distinctly knowen and beleeued, that were not necessarily so to bee beleeued before: [b] and therefore before, and without such determination, men seeing clearly the deduction of things of this nature from the former, and refusing to beleeue them, are condemned of hereticall pertinacie: and men not seeing that deduction, after the decree of a Councell hath passed vpon them, may still doubt and refuse to beleeue, without hereticall pertinacie.

[b] Diceret fortè aliquis, quod simplices non debent credere nisi ea quæ Papa & Cardinales tradunt credere explicitè, nec debeat inuestigare secreta scripturæ, sed communibus contenti de intellectu proprio nō debent præsumere, vt aliquid credant explicitè, nisi quòd ijs Papa & Cardinales tradiderint: dicendum est quòd simplices non debent præsumere, sed sacræ scripturæ firmiter inhærere, vt quod euidenter conspexerint ex sacris scripturis inferri, hoc explicitè credant, siue fuerit siue non fuerit à Papa & Cardinalibus declaratum: & ratio huius est, quoniam Papa & Cardinales non sunt regula fidei nostræ; sed si contra regulam fidei, quam scriptura docet, definire præsumpserint, non sequendi, sed à Catholicis arguendi sunt. Occam tract. 1. 2 part. 2. cap. 10. Quidam moderni dicunt multas esse veritates consonas scripturæ, quæ non sunt Catholicæ, quia non definitæ à Papa; & multos errores non habendos pro hæresibus, quia non damnati à Papa: sed si aliqua sit veritas scripturæ consona, & definiatur à Papa, dicunt quòd sit Catholica. Occam lib. 2. part. 1. cap. 11. & cap. 12. improbat hanc opinionem: & cap. 14. ostendit Papam non facere nouam Catholicam veritatem, sed tantùm vt non asserendo nec opinando dicatur contrarium illius quod antè fuit Catholica veritas; & quod dicentes contrarium, excommunicationis sententiæ subdantur. Waldens. doctrinal fidei, lib. 2. art. 2. cap. 22. ait ecclesiam non posse condere nouum articulum fidei, [illegible] in perfectum &c.

Wee cannot therefore condemne the Grecians as heretikes, as the Romanists doe, because we cannot perswade our selues of them generally, that they see that, which they denie touching the proceeding of the holy Ghost, deduced from the indubitate principles of our Christian faith, or that they impiously neglect the search of the trueth. What is it then (will some man say) that the decree of a Councel doth effect? Surely nothing else, but the reiecting of such as are otherwise minded, from the societies of those men and Churches, with whom the decree of the Councel doth preuaile; and with all wise men, the more wary and fearefull pronouncing any thing of those matters, concerning which so graue authoritie hath passed her sentence. The Papists proceede further, and thinke it hereticall pertinacie, to gainesay the decrees of a Councell, though they finde the reasons, by which they of the Councell were mooued so to thinke and determine, to bee weake, and not to conclude the thing intended; [c] as, in the matter of Transubstantiation, they thinke it heresie to gainesay the decrees of the Councels that haue defined it, and yet many of them iudge all the reasons, alleaged to prooue it, too weake, to prooue it. In deede if it were certaine, as they suppose, that a general Councell could not erre, it were a sufficient deduction, These things are decreed in a general Councell: Therefore true; because it is consequent, that that is true, which is confirmed by him that cannot erre.

[c] Occam in 4. dist. 11. q. 1. soluit omnes rationes adductas pro confirmatione dogmatis transubstantiationis; & tamen tenet, quia definitum ab ecclesia. Biel in Canonem missæ, lect. 41. ostendit rationes probantes transubstantiationem non esse efficaces, tenendam tamen hanc veritatem propter ecclesiæ determinationem.

The

Thus wee see what is to be thought, touching this question, whether the Church may make new Articles of faith: onely one thing must bee added for the further clearing hereof. The Papists thinke, that the Church may ad to the Canon of the scripture books not yet admitted, as the books of *Hermas* the scholler of *Paul*, intituled *Pastor*, and the constitutions of *Clement*; which if it should doe, we were to receiue them with no lesse respect, then the Epistle of *Iames*, and other bookes of the new testament. This we thinke to be a most grosse heresie, and contrarie to their owne principles, who making the number of Canonicall bookes a tradition, must necessarily receiue it, from a certaine and constant report of the ancient. But hereof no more in this place, because the exact handling of it pertaineth to another place, to wit, touching the scriptures.

d *Qui adhuc credit Scripturarum canonem imperfectum, & posse adhuc augeri per authoritatem ecclesiæ, cum Iudæi plenitudinem temporis expectant sub Iudaico forsitan Messiâ. Waldens. doctrinal. fidei l. 2. art. 2. cap. 20*

CHAP. 13.

Of the Churches authoritie to iudge of the differences that arise, touching matters of faith.

THus hauing spoken of the Churches assured possession of diuine truth, and her office of teaching, testifying, and proposing the same, the next thing that followeth, is her authoritie to iudge of the differences that may arise, touching matters of the faith taught by her, or any part thereof, and more specially touching the interpretation of the scriptures and worde of God. Iudgement is an act of reason, discerning whether a thing be or not, and whether it be that it seemeth to bee, and is thought or sayde to bee.

This iudgement is of two sortes: The first, of definitiue and authenticall power. The second of Recognition. The iudgement of authenticall power, defining what is to be thought of each thing, and prescribing to mens consciences so to thinke, is proper to God; being originally found in the father, who by his sonne as by the immediate & prime messenger, and Angell of his secrete Counsell, and by the holy Ghost as the spirit of illumination, maketh knowen vnto men what they must thinke, and perswadeth them so to thinke. So that the supreme iudgement wherein the conscience of men doth rest, in the things of God, is proper to God, who onely by his spirit teacheth the conscience, and giueth vnto it assurance of truth. Neither is God the supreme Iudge, onely in respect of the godly, who stay not, till they resolue their perswasions into the certaintie of his diuine testimonie and vndoubted authoritie, but also in respect of the wicked, who in their erronious conceipts are iudged by him, and of whose sinister and vile courses hee sitteth in iudge-

ment, while he cõfoundeth their tongues, diuideth them one frõ another, maketh them crosse themselues, & bringeth all they doe to nothing. This iudgement all are forced to stand vnto, and this is that, that maketh a final end of all controuersies, according to that of [a] *Gamaliel; If this thing bee of God it will prosper and preuaile, and we in resisting it, shall bee found fighters against God, if not it will come to naught.* Thus then the iudgement of God the father as supreme, the iudgement of the sonne as the eternall word of God, of the spirit as the fountaine of all illumination, making vs discerne what is true, is that, in which we finally rest. The iudgement or determination of the word of God is that, wherein wee rest as the rule of our faith: and the light of Diuine vnderstanding, as that, whereby we iudge of all things.

a Acts. 3. 34

The iudgement of Recognition is of three sorts. For there is a iudgement of discretion, common to all Christian men, a iudgement of direction proper to the guides of the Church, and a iudgement of iurisdiction proper to them, that are in cheefe places of authoritie. The first of these is nothing else, but an acte of vnderstanding, discerning whether thinges bee or not, and whether also they bee that which they seeme to bee. The second endeuoureth to make others discerne likewise: and the third by authoritie suppresseth all those, that shall thinke and pronounce otherwise, then they iudge that haue the iudgement of Iurisdiction.

1) 2) 3)

Touching the iudgement of Recognition, wee acknowledge, the iudgement of the vniuersall Church, comprehending the faithfull that are and haue beene, to be infallible. In the Church that comprehendeth onely the beleeuers that liue at one time in the world, [b] there is always found a right iudgement of discretion, and right pronouncing of each thing necessarie, all neuer falling into damnable errour, nor into any error pertinaciously; but a right iudgement of men by their power of Iurisdiction maintaining the truth, and suppressing errour, is not always found.

So that sometimes almost all, may conspire against the truth, or consent to betray the sinceritie of the Christian profession, as they did in the Councells of *Ariminium* and *Seleucia*, in which case as *Occam* aptly obserueth out of *Hierome*, men haue nothing left vnto them, but with sorrowfull hearts to referre all vnto God. If (sayth *Hierome*) iniquitie preuaile in the Church which is the house of God, if iustice be oppressed, if the madnes of them, that should teach & guide others, proceede so farre, as to peruert all the straight wayes of God, to receiue rewards, to doe wrong, to treade downe the poore in the gates, and to refuse to heare their complaints, let good men in such times hold their peace, let them not giue that which is holy vnto dogges, let them not cast pearles before swine, least they turne againe and trample them vnder feete, let them imitate *Ieremie* the

b *Est iudicium certum & veridica cognitionis, quo vnusquisque bene iudicat de ijs quæ nosci; & illud iudicium permanet ad quemlibet in qualibet arte peritum: est aliud iudicium authoritatis seu iudicialis sententiæ: 1. Modo loquendo de iudicio in ecclesia militante est certum iudicium de ijs quæ necesse est credere explicitè: & semper erunt aliqui Catholici, qui tali modo in vera fide explicitè permanebunt: sed circa illa quæ non sunt necessaria explicitè credere, non semper erit tale iudicium, quia de multis, licet piè dubitare, nunquam tamen omnes circa ista pertinaciter errabūt vel dubitabūt: iudicium verò authoritatis non est semper certum in ecclesia, sicut patuit tempore Liberij. Occam dial: lib: 5. part: 1, cap, 28*

the Prophet, who ſpeaketh of himſelfe in this ſort, I ſate alone, becauſe I was full of bitterneſſe. Euen ſo (ſayth *Occam*) when hereſies preuaile in the Chriſtian world, when truth is trampled vnder feete in the ſtreetes, and Prelates, and Princes being enemies to it, endeuour with all their power to deſtroy it, when they ſhal contemne the doctrine of the Fathers, moleſt, diſquiet, and murder the true profeſſours, let good men in ſuch times, hold their peace, keepe ſilence, and be ſtill, let them not giue holy things to dogges, nor caſt pearles before ſwine, leaſt they turne and tread them vnder feete, leaſt they wreſt and abuſe the Scriptures to their own perdition, and the ſcandall of others: but let them with the Prophet ſitte alone, and complaine that their ſoules are full of bitter heauineſſe.

CHAP. 14.

Of the rule of the Churches iudgement.

THus hauing ſet downe the diuerſe kinds of iudgement, which muſt determine and ende all controuerſies in matter of faith and religion, it remaineth to ſhew what is the rule of that iudgment, whereby the Church diſcerneth betweene truth & falſehood, the faith and hereſie, and to whome it properly pertaineth to interpret thoſe things which touching this rule are doubtfull.

As the meaſure of each thing is that, by vertue whereof wee know what it is, and the quantitie of it; ſo the rule is that, by application whereof, wee know whether it bee that which it ſhould bee, and bee ſo, as it ſhould bee. The rule of action is that, whereby wee knowe whether it bee right, and performed as it ſhould bee, or not. The rule of doctrine is that, whereby wee knowe whether it bee true or falſe.

[a] The rule of our faith in generall, whereby wee know it to be true, is the infinite excellencie of God; (who in eminent ſort poſſeſſeth all thoſe perfections, which in the creatures are diuided, and found in an inferiour ſort:) in the full and perfect vnion with whom, and enioying of whom, conſiſteth all happineſſe.

For by this rule wee knowe, that the doctrine of faith, which onely profeſſeth to bring vs backe to God, to poſſeſſe and enioy him, (not as hee is participated of vs, but as hee is in himſelfe) and maketh vs, already, to beginne to taſte the ſweeteneſſe of ſo great and happy an vnion, is not onely true, but Diuine and Heauenly, ſuch as nature could not teach vs, but is to bee learned onely of God himſelfe.

It being preſuppoſed in the generality, that the doctrine of the Chriſtian

[a] *Theologorum ſententiã de fœlicitate ſupernaturali altiſſimis philoſophiæ radicibus nixam & ſtabilitam ſtare diſtincte comprobabo: fœlicitas eſt poſſeſſio alicuius adepti primi boni: bonum adipiſci dupliciter poſſunt res creatæ: aut in ſeipſis, aut in ipſo: nam & in ſeipſo hoc bonũ eſt ſuper omnia exaltatum, ſua inhabitans diuinitatis abyſſos, & per omnia diffuſum in omnibus inuenitur; vmbra potius fœlicitatis quàm vera fœlicitas eſt attingere Deum in creatura, non in ipſo Deo quemadmodũ creatura non ſumma bonitas, ſed ſumma bonitatis, id eſt diuinæ, tenuis vmbra eſt: Vide vtraque conſummata fœlicitas ad Dei faciem contuendam, quæ eſt omne bonum, vt ipſe dixit, & ad perfectã cum illo principio, à quo emanauimus, vnionem, nos reuehit & adducit; ad hanc fœlicitatem ſola religio Chriſtiana nos dirigit, & impellit* P. ou Heptaplis, l. 7. in præmio.

Christian faith is of God, and containeth nothing but heauenly truth; in the next place we are to enquire, by what rule we are to iudge of particular things contained within the compasse of it. This rule is first, the summarie comprehension of such principall articles of this diuine knowledge, as are the principles whence all other things are concluded, and inferred. These are contained in the Creede of the Apostles. Secondly, all such things as euery Christian is bound expressely to beleeue, by the light and direction whereof hee iudgeth of other things, which are not absolutely necessarie, so particularly to be knowen. These are rightly sayd to be the rule of our faith, because the principles of euerie science are the rule whereby wee iudge of the truth of all things, as being better and more generally knowen, then any other thing, and the cause of knowing them.

Thirdly, the Analogie, due proportion, and correspondence, that one thing in this diuine knowledge hath with another, so that men cannot erre in one of them, without erring in another; nor rightly vnderstand one, but they must likewise rightly conceiue the rest. Fourthly, whatsoeuer bookes were deliuered vnto vs, as written by them, to whom the first and immediate reuelation of diuine truth was made. Fifthly, whatsoeuer hath been deliuered by all the Saints with one consent, which haue left their iudgement and opinion in writing. Sixtly, whatsoeuer the most famous haue constantly and vniformely deliuered, as a matter of faith, no man contradicting, though many other Ecclesiasticall writers be silent, and say nothing of it. Seuenthly, that which the most and most famous in euerie age constantly deliuered, as matter of faith, and as receiued of them that went before them, in such sort that the contradictors and gaine-sayers were in their beginnings noted for singularitie, noueltie and diuision, and afterwards in processe of time (if they persisted in such contradiction) charged with heresie.

These three later rules of our faith we admitte, not because they are equall with the former, and originally in themselues containe the direction of our faith, but because nothing can be deliuered, with such and so full consent of the people of God, as in them is expressed, but it must needes bee, from those first authors and founders of our Christian profession. The Romanistes adde, vnto these, the degrees of Councells, determinations of Popes, making these also to be the rules of faith: but because we haue no proofe of their infallibilitie, wee number them not with the rest.

Thus then wee see, how many things, in seuerall degrees and sorts are saide to be rules of our faith. The infinite excellencie of God, as the whereby the truth of heauenly doctrine is proued. The articles of faith and other verities euer expressely knowen in the Church, as the first principles, are the Canon, by which wee iudge of conclusions from thence de-

rred. The ſcripture, as containing in it all that doctrine of faith, which hriſt the ſonne of God deliuered. The vniforme practice, and con-nting iudgement of them that went before vs, as a certaine and vndoub-d explication, of the things contained in the ſcripture.

The ſcripture (ſayth b *Vincentius Lirinenſis,*) is full and ſufficient all purpoſes: but becauſe of the manifold turnings of heretiques, it is ceſſarie, that the line of propheticall and Apoſtolicall interpretation, drawen downe, and directed vnto vs, according to the rule of Eccleſi-icall and Catholique ſenſe. So then, we do not ſo make the ſcripture rule of our faith, but that other things, in their kinde, are rules like-ſe, in ſuch ſort, that it is not ſafe, without reſpect had vnto them, to dge of things by the ſcripture alone. For without the firſt rule, we can-t know the ſcripture to bee of God. Without the ſecond and third, we ue no forme of Chriſtian doctrine, by the direction whereof to iudge particular doubts & queſtions: without the other rules, we cānot know authors, and number of the bookes of Scripture, nor the meaning of things therein written. c For who ſhall bee able to vnderſtand them, t he that is ſettled in theſe things, which the Apoſtles preſuppoſed, in eir deliuery of the ſcripture.

Wee do not, therefore, ſo make the ſcripture the rule of our faith, as neglect the other, nor ſo admitte the other, as to detract any thing, m the plenitude of the ſcripture, in which all things are contained t muſt be beleeued.

b *Contra profanas haereticorum fabulas.*

c The Apoſtles wrote to them they had formerly taught more at large; neither can the ſcriptures bee vnderſtood now, but onely by ſuch as will be taught by the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles & guides of the Church; though being ſo taught, they may finde aſſuredly by the ſcriptures themſelues, that they doe vnderſtand them aright.

CHAP. 15.

Of the Chalenge of Papiſts againſt the rule of Scripture, charging it with obſcuritie, and imperfection.

THis rule our aduerſaries leaſt eſteeme of, charging it with obſcuritie and imperfection, and thereuponrelye vpon humane interpretations and vncertaine traditions. Touching their firſt chalenge made againſt this rule of the ſcripture, as being obſcure and darke, and ſo not fit to giue direction to r faith, vnleſſe it borrowe light from ſome thing elſe: wee aunſwere, re is no queſtion, but there are manifold difficulties in the ſcripture, oceeding partly from the high and excellent nature of the things ther-contained, which are without the compaſſe of naturall vnderſtanding, d ſo are wholly hidden from naturall men, & not knowen of them that e ſpirituall, without much trauaile, and ſtudious meditation; partly out the ignorance of tongues, and of the nature of ſuch things, by the com-riſon whereof, the matters of diuine knowledge are manifeſted vnto vs.

But the difference betweene their opinion and ours, concerning this difficultie is, first in that they thinke the scripture so obscure and hard to be vnderstood, that Heretiques may wrest and abuse it at their pleasure, and no man bee able to conuince their follie, by the euidence of the scripture it selfe. Secondly, in that they thinke, that we cannot by any helpe be assured out of the scripture it selfe, and the nature of the things therein contained, that that is the true meaning of it, which wee thinke to be, but that we rest in it, onely for the authoritie of the Church. But wee say, that men, not neglecting that light of direction, which the Church yeeldeth, nor other helpes and meanes, may be assured out of the nature of the things themselues, the conference of places, the knowledge of tongues, and the sutable correspondence, that one part of diuine truth hath with another, that they haue found out the true meaning of it, and so be able to conuince the aduersaries, and gainesayers.

CHAP. 16.

Of the Interpretation of Scripture, and to whom it pertaineth.

TOuching this point, there are two questions vsually proposed, the one to whome the interpretation of the scripture pertaineth: the other by what rules and meanes, men may finde out the true meaning of it. Touching the first, our Aduersaries iangle much, with many declamations, against priuate interpretations, and interpretations of priuate spirits, and make the world beleeue, that wee follow no other rule of interpretation, but each mans priuate fancie.

[a] *Contro. 5. q. 4. art. 2. explicat. ar. 3.*

For answere hereunto, we say with [a] *Stapleton*, that interpretations of scripture may be sayd to be priuate, and the spirits whence they proceede named priuate, either *Ratione personæ, modi*, or *finis*: That is, in respect of the person who interpreteth, the manner of his proceeding in interpreting, or the ende of his interpretation. A priuate interpretation, proceeding from a priuate spirit in the first sense, is euerie interpretation deliuered by one of priuate condition. In the second sense, is that, which men of what condition soeuer, deliuer, contemning and neglecting those publike meanes which are knowen to all, and are to be vsed by all that desire to finde out truth.

In the third sense that, which proceeding from men of priuate condition, is not so proposed and vrged by them, as if they would binde all others to receiue and imbrace it, but is intended onely to their owne satisfaction. The first kinde of interpretation, proceeding from a priuate spirit, is not to be disliked, if the parties so interpreting, neither neglect the cõmon rules & meanes, of attaining the right sense of that they interpret, contemne

dgement of other men, nor presumptuously take vppon them, to teach hers, and enforce them to beleeeue that, which they apprehend for uth, without any authoritie so to doe.

But priuate spirits in the second sense, that is men of such dispositions, as ill follow their own fancies, and neglect the common rules of direction, *Enthusiasts*, and trust to their owne sense, without conference and due espect to other mens iudgements, we accurse. This is all we say touching is matter: wherein I would faine knowe, what our aduersaries dislike. urely nothing at all, as it will appeare to euery one, that shall but looke to the place aboue alledged out of *Stapleton*. But say they, there must be me authenticall interpretation of Scripture, which euery one must bee ound to stand vnto, or elsethere will be no end of quarrels and contentis. The interpretation of Scripture is nothing else, but the explication nd clearing of the meaning of it. This is either true or false. The true inerpretation of the Scripture, is of two sorts. For there is an interpretation, hich deliuereth that which is true, and contained in the Scripture, or om thence to be concluded, though not meant in that place which is exounded.

This is not absolutely & perfectly a true interpretation, because though truely deliuereth such doctrine as is contained in the scripture, and noing contrarie to the place interpreted, yet it doth not expresse that, that particularly meant, in the place expounded. There is therefore anoer kind of true interpretations, when not onely that is deliuered which contained in the scripture, but that which is meant in the particular plas expounded.

Likewise false interpretations are of two sorts: some deliuering that hich is vtterly false, and contrarie to the Scripture; some others onely iling in this, that they attaine not the true sense, of the particular places xpounded. An example of the former, is that interpretation of that lace of [b] *Genesis*, *The sonnes of God saw the daughters of men, &c.* [c] which me of the Fathers haue deliuered, vnderstanding by the sonnes of God, e Angels of Heauen, whose fall they suppose proceeded from the loue women. Which error they cõfirme by that of the Apostle, that women ust come vailed into the Church for the Angels: that is as they interpret, ast the Angels should fall in loue with thẽ. A false interpretation of the er kind; [d] *Andradius* sheweth, some think that exposition of the words the Prophet *Esaie*, [e] *Quis enarrabit generationem eius? Who shall declare generation*, deliuered by many of the Fathers, vnderstanding thereby e eternall generation of the sonne of God, which no man shall declare. Whereas, by the name of generatiõ, the Prophet meaneth that multitude, at shall beleeue in Christ, which shall bee so greate, as cannot be exessed.

An authenticall interpretation, is that, which is not onely true, but so clearely

b *Genesis 6.2.*

c *Tertul. de velãdis Virginibus. Debet adumbrari facies tam periculosa, qua vsq; ad cœlum scandala iaculata est &c. Iustinus Martyr et Clemens, Gen. 6. dei filios qui hominum filias conspexerunt, Angelos interpretantur: Andrad: de script. & traditionum authoritate, lib. 2. fol. 262.*

d *Andrad: ibid: fo. 257.*

e *Esay 53.*

clearely & in such sort, that euery one is bound to imbrace and to receiue it. As before wee made three kinds of iudgement, the one of discretion common to all, the other of direction cõmon to the Pastors of the Church, and a third of iurisdiction, proper to them that haue supreme power in the Church: so likewise wee make three kindes of interpretation; the first priuate, and so euery one may interpret the scripture, that is priuately with himselfe conceiue, or deliuer to other, what hee thinketh the meaning of it to be; the second of publike direction, and so the Pastors of the Church may publikely propose what they conceiue of it; and the third of Iurisdiction, and so they that haue supreme power, that is the Bishoppes assembled in a generall Councell, may interpret the scripture, and by their authoritie suppresse all them that shall gainesay such interpretations, and subiect euery man that shall disobey such determinations as they consent vppon, to excommunication and censures of like nature.

But for authenticall interpretation of Scriptures, which euery mans conscience is bound to yeeld vnto, it is of an higher nature: neither doe wee thinke any of these to bee such, as proceeding from any of those before named and specified; to whom we graunt a power of intepretation. Touching the interpretations which the Fathers haue deliuered, wee receiue them as vndoubtedly true, in the generall doctrine they consent in, and so farre forth esteeme them as authenticall: yet doe wee thinke that holding the faith of the Fathers, it is lawfull to dissent from that interpretation of some particular places, which the greater part of them haue deliuered, or perhaps all that haue written of them, and to find out some other not mentioned by any of the Auncient.

CHAP. 17.

Of the interpretation of the Fathers, and how farre wee are bound to admitte it.

THe Fathers, [a] (saith *Andradius*) especially they of the Greeke Church, being ignorant of the Hebrewe tongue, following *Origen*, did rather striue, with all their wit & learning, to deuise Allegories, & to frame the manners of men, then to cleare the hard places of the law & the Prophets. Nay euen *Hierome* himselfe, who more diligently thē any of the rest, sought out the meaning & sense of the prophetical & diuine Oracles; yet often to auoyde the obscurities of the words, betaketh himself to Allegories. In this sense it is that [b] Cardinal *Caietane* saith, hee will not feare to goe against the torrent of all the Doctors, for which saying, *Andradius* sheweth, that *Canus* & others doe vniustly blame him. For though we may not goe frō the faith of the Fathers, no

[a] *Andradius defens. &c. lib. 2. fol. 259. et 260.*

[b] *Caietan. prefatio commentariorum in Genes.*

from the maine trueth of doctrine, which they deliuer in different interpretations, yet may wee interpret some parts of the Scripture otherwise, then any of the Auncient euer did, weighing the circumstances of places, the nature and force of wordes in the Originall, and hauing other helpes necessary.

Neither is this to contemne the vniforme and maine consent of the Fathers, but rather more exactly to illustrate and explane those things, which they did allegorically vnderstand, or not so diligently trauaile in, as is fit for them that come after, to doe. It is not then so strange a thing to say, that there are many places of Scripture, the true literall, and naturall sense whereof, we cannot finde in any of the Ancient. Neither is this to charge them with errour in faith: seeing the sense they giue, tendeth to the furtherance of the true faith, and the better forming of mens manners to godlinesse. Wherefore, we feare not to pronounce with *Andradius*, that whosoeuer denieth, that the true and literall sense, of sundry textes of of Scripture, hath been found out in this last age (wherein [c] as *Guido Faritus* rightly noteth, all things seeme to bee renewed, and all learning to bee newly borne into the world, that so Christ might bee newly fashioned in vs, and wee new borne in him) is most vnthankefull vnto God, that hath so richly shed out his benefits vpon the children of this generation, and vngratefull towards those men, who with so great paines, so happie successe, and so much benefit to Gods Church, haue trauailed therein.

[c] *In præfatione in nouũ Testamentũ Syriacæ Latinam interpretationem.*

Neither is *Andradius* onely of this opinion, but *Iansenius*, and *Maldonatus* also, who both of them doe in sundry places professe, they rest not satisfied in any interpretation giuen by the Fathers, but preferre other found out in this age. For example, in the explication of that place of *Iohn*, Of his fulnesse, we haue all receiued, grace for grace; [d] *Maldonatus*, refuseth all the interpretations of the Fathers, and giueth this of his owne, We haue receiued, of Christs fulnesse, most excellent gifts of grace, yet no man hath receiued all, but euery one is defectiue, yea, euery one lacketh something, that another hath. But hee may acknowledge the goodnesse of GOD towards him, in that hee hath some other in stead of it, which the other hath not, and so may rightly bee sayd to haue receiued grace for grace, because in stead of that grace hee wanteth, and another hath, hee hath receiued some other, which the other wanteth. Many other instances might bee giuen out of *Caietane*, *Andradius*, *Iansenius*, *Maldonatus*, and other worthy Diuines of the Church of *Rome:* but this may suffice.

[d] *Commentar. in Iohan. cap. 1.*

CHAP. 18.

Of the diuers senses of Scripture.

THus hauing set downe to whom the interpretation of the Scripture pertaineth, it remaineth, that we speake of the rules, directions, and helpes, that men haue to leade them, to the finding out of the right meaning of it. But, because some suppose the Scripture hath many, & vncertaine senses, before we enter into the discourse of the rules, which must direct vs in interpreting, we must speake something of the multiplicity of senses, supposed to be in the words of Scripture, which may seeme to contrary all certainty of interpretation. There is therefore a double sense of the sacred words and sentences of Scripture. For there is a literall sense, and a spirituall or mysticall sense. The literall sense is either proper, or natiue, when the words are to be taken, as originally in their proper signification they import, or figuratiue, when the words are transiated from their naturall and proper signification, to signifie some thing resembled by those things, they doe primarily import. [a] As when Christ sayth, *hee hath other sheepe, which are not of this fould.*

a Iohn 10,16.

The spirituall or mysticall sense of the Scripture is, when the words either properly, or figuratiuely, signifie some things, which are figures and significations of other things. This is three-fold: Allegoricall, Tropologicall, Anagogicall. The first is, when things spoken of in the old Testament, are figures of some things in the Newe. So it was literally true, that [b] *Abraham* had two sonnes, the one by a bondwoman, the other by a free: but these two sonnes of *Abraham* imported some other thing in the state of the new Testament, to wit, two different sorts of men. [c] And here we may obserue the difference, betweene an Allegory and a Type. A Type is, when some particular person, or fact, in the old Testament, demonstrateth, & shadoweth out vnto vs, some particular person, or fact in the new. An allegory, when some thing in the old Testamēt, in a spiritual & mysticall sort, shadoweth out vnto vs in a generallity, things in some proportion answering in the new. So [d] *Dauid*, ouercomming *Goliah*, was a Type of *Christ*, and allegorically did shadow out that victory, which we obtaine in the state of the new Testament, ouer those ghostly enemies that rise vp against vs.

b Gala.4,22.

c *Illyricus in clauc Scripturæ, de multiplici sacrarum literarum sensu, hæc doctissimè tradit collecta ex veris authoribus.*

d 1,Sam,17,50.

The Tropologicall sense of Scripture is, when one thing deliuered and reported in the Scripture, signifieth some other thing, pertaining to the behauiour & conuersation of men: as when God forbade to [e] *muzzle the mouth of the oxe, that treadeth out the corne.* This prohibition did literally signifie, that God would not haue laboring oxen restrained from feeding while they were treading out the corne. But this respect, which God had

e Deut 25,4 1,Cor.9,9

nto these his creatures of inferiour condition, did signifie, that much lesse ey, which labour for our soules good, are to be denied the things of this fe.

Anagogical, when the things literally expressed to vs, do signifie some ing in the state of heauen happinesse. f *God sware in his wrath*, to the Israe- f Psal. 95, 8. es, *that they should not enter into his rest*, meaning the land of *Canaan*: but Hebr. 4, 1. he Apostle from thence concludeth, that vnbeleeuers shall not enter into at eternall rest of the Saints in heauen; because the rest of the Israelites in he land of *Canaan*, after their manifold dangers, vexations, and trauels, as a figure of the eternall rest in heauen. This diuision of the manifold nses of Scripture is taken out of *Eucherius*.

Hierom maketh three kinds of exposition of Scripture, Historical, Tro- 3 ological, & Spirituall: that which he nameth spirituall comprehendeth oth those before expressed by *Eucherius*, to wit, Allegoricall and Anago- icall. *Augustine* maketh the exposition of the scripture to bee twofold, 2 Historical, and Allegorical. The former he maketh to be two fold, to wit, nalogical, and Ætiologicall: & the later he maketh to comprehend that, hich properly is called Allegoricall, and the other two, to wit, Tropolo- icall, and Anagogicall.

The reason of this diuersity of mysticall sensesis, because the old Testa- ent was a figure of the new; and the new, of future glory. This multiplici- e of senses breedeth no vncertainty in the scripture, nor Æquiuocation, ecause the wordes of the scripture doe not doubtfully signifie so diuers nd different things; but the things certainly signified by the wordes, are gnes & significations of diuers things. All these are founded vpon one terall and certaine sense, from which onely in matter of question and oubt an argument may be drawen. The thing wherein *Origen* offended, as not, that hee found out spirituall and mysticall senses of the diuine cripture, but because hee thought there is no literall true sense of them, ut mystical onely, so ouerthrowing the trueth of the sacred history of the ooke of God. And the fault of many others in former times was, that fol- wing him too much, they neglected the literall sense, and ouer-curiously ought out allegories, and mysticall senses; whereas yet the literall sense one hath force and power to establish trueth, and improoue error. g And g *Sixtus Senens. Bibliothecæ lib. 3. de vsu & vtilitate historiæ, & mysticæ expositionis.* his doubtlesse is the first and chiefest vse and necessitie of following the terall sense. Another is; for that, beeing the foundation of the mysti- all, if wee finde it not out, wee may runne into many errours. The *Ma- chees* out of those wordes of the *Psalmist*, where hee sayth, that *God ath made a Tabernacle for the Sunne in heauen, out of which, it commeth in the orning, as a Bridegroome out of his chamber, to shew the brightnes of his counte- ance to the sonnes of men*; reading, *Posuit tabernaculum suum in Sole, God pla- d his Tabernacle, or appointed & made himselfe a Tabernacle in the Sun*, infer- d, that Christ ascēded into the highest heauēs, without our flesh, leauing his

his bodie behinde him, within the compaſſe of the globe of the Sunne, ſo that his fleſh is to bee adored in the Sunne, as in a Tabernacle wherein it reſteth, and remaineth. [h] Now as their courſe is not to bee excuſed, which follow the myſticall ſenſe onely, and neglect the literall: ſo they are no leſſe faulty, that followe the literall ſenſe onely, and doe not at all conſider the myſteries of ſpirituall vnderſtanding, and information of Chriſtian and godly conuerſation, which in the word of God, doe offer themſelues vnto them. For they make the Scriptures, eſpecially of the olde teſtament, where ſo many things of outward obſeruation, ceremonie, and purification were preſcribed, vnſauorie, and to ſeeme leſſe diuine than the lawes and preſcriptions of the Gentiles, as the *Athenians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and other, and the manifold hiſtories of former times, to ſerue little to edification.

h *Intellectus ſacri eloquij, inter textũ & myſterium, magna eſt libratione penſandus. Multæ enim eius ſententiæ tantâ allegoriarum conceptione ſunt grauidæ, vt quiſquam eas ad ſolam tenere hiſtoriam nitatur, earũ notionẽ per ſilium in curuam prioctur: nonnulli verò ita exterioribus inſeruiunt, vt ſi quis eas ſubtiliùs penetrare deſiderat, intus quid nihil inueniat, ſed etiam ſibi quod foris loquuntur abſcondat. Greg. moral. lib. 21. in cap. 31. cap. 1.*

Betweene both theſe extreames, a meane is to be kept, that neither the one, nor the other be neglected: ſo that we muſt neither be like them, that reiecting the literall expoſition, ſeeke out fond and childiſh Allegories, and ſo ouerthrowe the trueth of the diuine hiſtorie, as *Origen* did, or neglect the knowledge of it, publiſhing their owne idle and ridiculous conceits, as if they were the great & hidden myſteries of the Chriſtian faith & religion; nor like thoſe, which reſt in the bare and naked words, and ſyllables, without collecting frõ thence, ſuch inſtructions as are fit. The former (ſayth *Sixtus Senenſis*) are to knowe, that howſoeuer they imagine the literall expoſition of Scripture to be eaſie, obuious, and triuiall, yet is indeed the hardeſt of all other. Whereupon, both *Hierome* and *Auguſtine* confeſſe, that at firſt, to decline the obſcurities and difficulties of the text of Scripture, they followed myſticall ſenſes, as being more eaſie: but afterward when they grew in age, and ſo in ripeneſſe of iudgement they ſought out the other, which is literall.

Thus wee ſee the difference betweene the literall and myſticall ſenſe of Scripture, and how and in what ſort the one is the ground of the other. Which that wee miſconceiue not, nor take one for another, wee muſt remember, that by the literall ſenſe of Scripture, wee vnderſtand not that onely, which the wordes doe properly afford, but which they primarily affoord, according to the intention of him that vſeth them, and the conſtruction of them that heare them. The myſticall ſenſe oppoſite hereunto is that, which is not primarily intended by him that ſpeaketh words hauing ſuch myſticall ſenſe. All the allegories therefore, parables, and Ænigmaticall ſpeaches, which are vſed in Scripture, not being verified either in the intention of the ſpeaker, or conſtruction of the hearer, in ſuch as the wordes properly import, but as ſignifying things reſembled by the things they properly import, do literally ſignifie that, which by compariſon of ſuch things, they make vs vnderſtand.

Here it is not out of place, to obſerue the difference betweene a pro-

erbe, parable, allegory, and ænigmatical ſpeach or Riddle. A prouerbe a ſententious ſaying, much in vſe, and famous, for the moſt part ſomehat obſcure, by metaphoricall wordes expreſſing ſomething to vs, and luding to ſomething not diſtinctly expreſſed. Though ſometimes any mous and common ſaying, be named a Prouerbe. A Parable is, when ne thing is compared and reſembled to another; ſo Chriſt compared the ingdom of heauen to leauen, to a graine of muſtard ſeede, to ten virgins, a net caſt into the ſea. Though ſometimes the ſimilitude of a thing, and ot any ſuch ſpeach, wherein compariſon is made, betweene one thing, nd another, is named a Parable.

i *Abraham recepit filium ſuum in parabola*; that is, *Abraham receiued his ſonne from ſuch an eſtate, as was moſt like to the ſtate of the dead.* An allegorie is, when he that ſpeaketh intendeth to ſignifie, and inſinuate ſome ther thing, than his wordes in their primarie vſe, and ſignification doe nport. k *Behold*, ſayth *Chriſt, the ſower went out to ſowe, &c.* A Riddle r Ænigmaticall ſpeach, is an obſcure allegorie. l *The trees went forth anoint them a King*; and againe: m *Out of the eater came meate, and t of the ſtrong came ſweeteneſſe.* The Scripture is full of theſe Allegoes, Parables, Prouerbiall and Ænigmaticall ſpeaches; GOD in teaching vs, taking that courſe, hee knoweth fitteſt for vs, and making vnderſtand things heauenly, and inuiſible, by thoſe that are earthly nd viſible.

i *Lanſenius in concordiam euangelicã 32. fol. 402.*

k Matth. 13. 3.

l Iudicum cap. 9

m Cap. 14.

And as God doeth thus ſpeake vnto vs in parables, Allegories, and iddles, ſo did hee ſhewe the Prophets of olde, in dreames and viſions, e things that are heauenly, by thoſe that are earthly, and the things at are inuiſible, by thoſe that are viſible: as in the Reuelation, *Saint Iohn ſawe ſeuen golden candleſtickes, and one like the ſonne of man alking in the middeſt of them.* o There is none of theſe Ænigmaticall, llegoricall, or parabolicall ſpeaches, nor none of theſe viſions, but either by ſome things knowen to them, to whome they were propoſed, by ſpeciall explication added to them, or *per noui facti exhibitionem*, ſeeing the thing performed, that was ſo obſcurely ſhadowed one, may bee vnderſtood. p From theſe without theſe helpes of vnderanding, wee can conclude nothing, that is doubtfull. An example of nderſtanding Ænigmaticall and hard ſpeaches, by force of ſome things owen vnto vs, giuing light vnto them, is the riddle of *Samſon, Out the eater came meate*, &c. which any one, knowing that out of a Lihee had taken honie, would vnderſtand, but another could not. explication added, q as the myſtery of the ſeuen ſtarres, and ſeuen olden candleſtickes, is expounded to *Iohn*, that ſaw the viſion of them. euidence of the thing exhibited and performed, r *Deſtroy this Temple*, ayth Chriſt) *and in three dayes I will build it, and raiſe it vp againe. The ſciples after they ſawe him riſen from the dead, remembred theſe wordes,*

o *Occam lib. 3 1. tractat. part. 3. cap. 19.*

p Nor from the myſticall or ſpirituall ſenſes aboue mentioned.

q Reuel. 1, 20.

r Iohn 2. 19, 22.

and vnderstood that they were spoken by our Saviour, of the Temple of his body
[f] Matth. 24, 15. and the resurrection of it. [f] So likewise, when they sawe the miserable and abhominable ouerthrowe of *Ierusalem*, and the Temple, they could not but vnderstand, what was meant by the prophecie of *Daniel*, touching the abomination of desolation, standing in the holy place.

Thus hauing cleared that doubt, which some make, touching the multiplicitie of senses of the words of Scripture, as if there were no certaine meaning of them, and hauing shewed which is that sense, we must principally seeke after, as being the foundation of the rest, it remaineth that we come to speake of the rules of direction, and the helpes we haue to attaine to the vnderstanding of the true meaning of the Scripture. For as *Hierome* fitly noteth, [t] *Non putemus in verbis scripturarum esse euangelium, sed in sensu, non in superficie, sed in medulla, non in sermonum folijs, sed in radice rationis. We must not thinke that the Gospell consisteth in the words of scripture, but in the sense and meaning, not in the outward rinde and skinne, but in the inward pith and marrow, not in the leaues of the wordes, but in the roote and ground of reason.*

[t] In epist. ad Gal. in cap. 1.

CHAP. 19.

Of the rules wee are to follow, and the helpes we are to trust to, in interpreting the Scriptures.

TOuching the rules we are to follow, the helpes we are to trust vnto, and the things required in the interpretation of Scripture, I thinke wee may thus resolue. First there is required an illumination of the vnderstanding: for the naturall man perceiueth not the things of God, for they are spiritually discerned, but the spirituall man iudgeth all things, and himselfe is iudged of none. Secondly, a minde free from the thought of other things, depending on God, as the fountaine of illumination, desirous of the trueth, with resolution to imbrace it, though contrary to the conceits of naturall men. Thirdly, the knowledge of the rule of faith, formerly set downe, and the practise of the Saints according to the same. Fourthly, a due consideration, what will follow vpon our interpretation, agreeing with, or contrary to, the things generally receiued, and beleeued among Christians: in which consideration the conference of other places of Scripture, and the things there deliuered is necessary. Fifthly, the consideration of the circumstances of the places interpreted, the occasion of the words, the things going before, and following after. Sixthly, the knowledge of all those Histories, Artes, and Sciences which may helpe vs. For, seeing grace presupposeth nature, and Scripture doth

ot teach vs, but presupposeth we knowe already, the things that may
ee discerned by the light of nature, many doe not vnderstand sundry
assages of Scripture, because they bring not with them, to the studie of
, that degree of naturall knowledge, which is requisite. Seuenthly, the 7
nowledge of the originall tongues, and the phrases and Idiotismes of
em. So that to resolue this matter yet more distinctly and fully, there
e some things required for the attaining of the right vnderstanding of
cripture, as making vs capable of such vnderstanding, of which sorte
the illumination of the minde; some things as meanes, whereby wee
taine vnto it. These are of two sorts, either disposing and preparing
ely, as often reading, meditating, and praying, or else guiding vs in
e very search it selfe. These are either generall and most infallible, as
e rule of faith, which if wee followe, wee are sure not to depart from
e generall veritie of the Christian faith: or more proper and speciall,
irecting vs to the true finding out of the meaning of particular places of
cripture. There is therfore between our aduersaries, and vs, no difference
this matter, if they will vnderstand themselues. For wee confesse, that
either conference of places, nor consideration of the *antecedentia & con-*
quentia, nor looking into the originals, are of any force, vnlesse wee
nde the things, which wee conceiue to bee vnderstood and meant in
e places interpreted, to be consonant to the rule of faith. [a] And they
onfesse, that though alone, and without respect had to the rule of faith,
ey bee but probable meanes of direction, and not absolutely certaine,
t that being ioyned with the rule of faith, they helpe and are exceed-
ngly necessary.

[a] *Stapleton contr. 6. q. 7. exp. articuli.*

[b] *Illyricus* in his *Clauis scripturæ*, speaking of the difficulties that are
und in Scripture, and how they may bee cleared, sheweth that nothing
more necessary for the vnderstanding of the Scripture, than to be right-
taught the generall principles, and axiomes of Diuinity, out of which
e flowe, and on which doe depend, whatsoeuer things are contained
the Scripture; and then commeth to the other *media* assigned before.
either is there any of our Diuines, that euer thought otherwise.

[b] *De causis difficultatis scripturæ & remedijs. remed. 2.*

CHAP. 20.

Of the supposed imperfection of Scriptures, and the supply of Traditions.

THus hauing shewed what that difficultie and obscuritie is, which is found in scripture, who must interpret it, & by what rules they must bee guided in the interpretation of it; it remaineth, that in the next place, wee cleare the scriptures, om the other imputatiõ of our aduersaries, which is imperfection, which ey indeuor to supply by addition of traditiõs. The necessity of writing,

for the preseruation and safe keeping of those treasures of learning and wisedome, which we desire should remaine and be knowen to posterities, appeareth, in that fewe things remaine, of *Socrates*, *Pythagoras* and others, renoumed in the times wherein they liued for wisedome and learning, becaule they left nothing in writing, as also by that [a] blessed *Iob*, *Oh that my wordes were written &c.* as if there were no other meanes, to preserue the remembrance of things, that they should neuer be forgotten, but writing onely. The Auncients had the knowledge of God without writing, but how soone it decayed, it easily appeareth. Surely it failed in euery family, in one at the least, til the time of *Iacob* father of the 12. Patriarkes. And therefore, after God tooke the whole posterity of *Iacob* to be his peculiar people, (a fauour which he shewed not to any of his fathers before) hee gaue them his lawes in writing: which Scripture or writing was so full and perfect, [b] that the Iewes had nothing delivered vnto them, pertaining to the knowledge or seruice of God, that was not written.

a Iob 19, 24.

b Bellar. lib. 4. c. 8. de verbo vō scripto. Non desunt, inquit, aliqui Catholicorū, qui negant vllam fuisse traditionem non scriptam apud Iudaeos.

The instance, that our aduersaries giue to the contrary, is concerning the females, and the males dying before the eighth day, which not being circumcised, they presume they were sanctified to God, and found remission of their Originall and birth sinne, by some other secred rite, and Sacramentall meanes, appointed by God, though not written. [c] This instance is clearely refuted by *Andradius*. If (saith he) we shall more diligently looke into the thing it selfe, wee shall finde, that the Iewes had no set, or certaine rite of religion, wherewith to sanctifie and cleanse their women children, or males that died before circumcision, from the pollution of originall sinne: and if perhaps any did sometimes vse any forme, or rite, it was rather a matter of priuate, and voluntary deuotion, than of necessitie. For, whereas parents stand bound, by the generall lawe of God and nature, with all thankefull acknowledgement, to receiue their children, as a great and speciall benefit from God, this their faith, pietie, and thankefulnesse ioyned with the desire of, and prayer for their good, prosperous, and happie estate, was accepted, and found fauour with God, on the behalfe of their children. Whereupon [d] *Gregorie* pronounceth, that the faith of the parents, was of the same force with them of the olde time, that the Baptisme of water is with vs. And whereas *Augustine* sayth, it is not likelie, that the people of GOD, before the institution of Circumcision, had no Sacrament wherewith to present their children to GOD, though the Scripture haue not expressed it, it is not to bee vnderstood, (saith *Andradius*) of any outward ceremonies necessarie for the sanctification of those Infants, but of any rite, and offering them to GOD, whether mentall onely, or outwardly obiect to the eye, and sense.

c Andrad. defens. lib. 2. fol. 125.

d Moral. lib. 4. c. 2.

That which *Andradius* addeth, that it could not be known, but by

tion only, that the faith of the parents was in stead of circumcisiō, before circumcision was instituted, & after the institution of it to them that might not lawfully, or could not possibly bee circumcised, is friuolous; for men knew it, and concluded it, out of the generall, and common rules, of reason, and equitie.

Touching the state of the people of God, since the comming of Christ, our aduersaries make no doubt, but they can easily proue, that the writings, which the Church that now is hath, are defectiue and imperfect. This they indeuour to proue; First, because the Scriptures of the new Testament, were written vpon particular occasions offered, and not of purpose to containe a perfect rule of faith. Secondly, because they were written, by the Apostles and other Apostolique men, out of their owne motions, and not by commandement from *Christ* the sonne of God. But vnto both these Arguments, alledged by our Aduersaries, we answere, that they conteine matter of verie grosse errour.

For first, who seeth not plainely, that the Euangelistes writing the historie of *Christes* life and death, Saint *Luke* in the booke of the Acts of the Apostles, describing the comming of the holy Ghost, the admirable gifts of grace powred vpon the Apostles, and the Churches established, and ordered by them: and the blessed Apostle Saint *Iohn*, writing the Reuelations which he saw, concerning the future state of things, to the ende of the world; meant to deliuer a perfect summe of Christian doctrine, and direction of Christian faith. It is true indeed, that the Epistles of the Apostles, directed to the Christian Churches that then were, were occasionally written, yet so, as by the prouidence of God, all such thinges as the Church beleeueth, not being founde in the other parts of scripture purposely written, are most clearely, and at large deliuered in these Epistles.

Secondly, touching the other part of their Argument, which they bring to conuince the Scripture of imperfection, because they that wrote had no commandement to write, wee thinke it needeth no refutation, for the absurditie of it is euident and cleare of selfe. [f] For who knoweth not, that the scriptures are not of any priuate motion, but that the holy men of GOD, were mooued, impelled, and carried by the spirite of truth to the performance of this worke, doing nothing without the instinct of the Spirite, which was vnto them a Commaundement.

[e] *Aug. libr. de consensu euangelistarum cap. vlt. quicquid ille de suis factis et dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illi tanquam suis manibus imperauit.*

[f] 2. Peter. 1. 20. 21

The imperfection and defect, supposed to be found in the Scripture, our aduersaries endeuour to supply, by addition of traditions. The name of tradition, sometimes signifieth euery Christian doctrine, deliuered frō one, to another, either by liuely voyce only, or by writing, as *Exodus*, 17. *Scribe hoc ob monumentum in libro, & trade in auribus Iosuæ; Write this for a remembrance in a booke, and deliuer it in the eares of Iosuah. Act.* 6. 14. The

written law of *Moses*, is called a tradition. *Audiuimus eum dicentem, quoniam Iesus destruet locum istum, & mutabit traditiones, quas tradidit nobis Moses.* *We heard him say, that Iesus shall destroy this place, and change the traditions which Moses deliuered vnto vs.* Sometimes the name of tradition signifieth that, which is deliuered by liuely voyce onely, and not written. *That which I receiued of the Lord,* saith the Apostle, *that I deliuered vnto you.* In this question, by tradition, wee vnderstand such parts of Christian doctrine or discipline, as were not written by them, by whom they were first deliuered.

g 1. Cor. 11. 23

For thus our Aduersaries vnderstand Traditions, which they diuide into diuers kindes. First, in respect of the Authors, so making them of three sorts, Diuine, Apostolicall and Ecclesiasticall. Secondly, in respect of the matter they concerne, in which respect they make them to be of two sorts; for either they concerne matters of faith, or matters of manners: and these later againe either temporall or perpetuall, vniuersall or particular. All these in their seuerall kindes they make equall with the word, precepts, and doctrines of Christ, the Apostles, & Pastors of the Church left vnto vs in writing. Neither is there any reason why they should not so doe, if they could proue any such vnwritten verities. For it is not the writing, that giueth things their authoritie, but the worth and credit of him that deliuereth them, though but by worde and liuely voyce onely.

The onely doubt is, whether there be any such vnwritten traditions or not.

Much contention there hath beene, about Traditions, some vrging the necessitie of them, and other reiecting them. For the clearing whereof wee must obserue, that though wee reiecte the vncertaine and vaine traditiõs of the Papists, yet we reiect not all. For first we receiue the titles and names of the authors of bookes Diuine and Canonicall, as deliuered by tradition. This tradition wee admitte, for that, though the bookes of scripture haue not their authority from the Approbatiõ of the Church, but winne credite of themselues, and yeelde sufficient satisfaction to all men, of their Diuine truth, whence wee iudge the Church that receiued them, to bee ledde by the spirit of God, yet the number, Authors, and integrity of the parts of these bookes, wee receiue as deliuered by tradition.

The second kind of tradition which we admitte, is that summarie comprehension, of the cheefe heads of Christian doctrine, contained in the Creed of the Apostles, which was deliuered to the Church, as a rule of faith. h For though euerie part thereof bee contained in the scripture, yet the orderly connexion, and distinct explication of these principall articles gathered into an Epitome, wherein are implyed, and whence are

h *Illa verba quæ audiuistis per diuinas Scripturas parsa sunt inde collecta, et ad vnum redacta &c. Aug. ad catechumenos lib. 1. de symbolo cap. 1.*

d, all conclusions theologicall, is rightly named a Tradition. The 3
ird is that forme of Christian doctrine, and explication of the seuerall
rts thereof, which the first Christians receiuing of the same Apostles,
at deliuered to them the scriptures, commended to posterities. This
ay rightly bee named a tradition, not as if wee were to beleeue any
ing, without the warrant and authority of the scripture, but for that we
ede a plaine and distinct explication of many things, which are some-
hat obscurely contained in the scripture: which being explicated, the
iptures which otherwise we should not so easily haue vnderstood, yeeld
satisfaction that they are so indeede, as the Church deliuereth them vn-
vs.

The fourth kind of tradition, is the continued practise of such things, 4
neither are cõtained in the scripture expressely, nor the example of such
actise expressely there deliuered, though the grounds, reasons and cau-
of the necessitie of such practise, be there contained, and the benefit,
good that followeth of it. Of this sort is the Baptisme of Infantes,
ich is therfore named a traditiõ, because it is not expressely deliuered in
ipture, That the Apostles did baptize Infants, nor any expresse pre-
pt there found, that they should so doe. Yet is not this so receiued by
re and naked tradition, but that we finde the scripture to deliuer vnto vs
grounds of it. The fift kinde of traditions, comprehendeth such obser- 5
ions, as in particular, are not commanded in scripture, nor the necessitie
them from thence concluded, though in generall, without limitation of
es, and other circumstances, such things be there commanded. Of this
t, many think the obseruation of the lent fast to be, the fast of the fourth
the sixt dayes of the weeke, and some other.

hat the Apostles deliuered by liuely voice, many obseruations, dispen-
le, and alterable, according to the circumstances of times, and persons, i
make no question. Onely this we say, that they are confounded with
clesiasticall traditions, so that which they are, doth hardly appeare, and
t they doe not necessarily binde posterities. The custome of standing
Prayer on the Lordes day, and betweene Easter and Whitsontide,
s generally receiued, as deliuered by Apostolique tradition, and
en some beganne to breake it, it was confirmed by the Councell
NICE, yet is it not thought necessary to bee obserued in our
e.

Out of this which hath beene sayde, wee may may easily resolue
at is to bee thought touching traditions. For first the Canon of scrip-
e being admitted as deliuered by Tradition, (though the diuine truth
t, be in it selfe cleare and euident vnto vs, not depending of the Chur-
s authoritie,) there is noe matter of faith deliuered by bare and
ly tradition, as the Romanists seeme to imagine. Yea this is so cleare,
that

i *Waldensis tom. 3. titulo 7. cap. 63. traditiones apostol. eas à purè ecclesiasticis iam temporis vastitate nescimus discernere.*

k *Concilium Nicen. can. 20.* The custome of ministring baptisme onely at Easter and Whitsontide except in case of necessitie was very generall: whereupon *Leo* 1. prehendeth the Bishops of *Sicilia* for that contemning this tradition of the auncient they did baptise on the day of *Epiphany*.

that therein they contrarie themselues, indeuouring to proue by scripture the same things, they pretend to hold by tradition, as wee shall finde, if wee runne through the things questioned betweene them and vs. The onely cleare instance they seeme to giue, is touching the perpetuall virginitie of *Marie*, which they say cannot bee proued by scripture, & yet is necessarie to be beleeued.

But they should know, that this is no point of Christian faith. That shee was a Virgin before, in, and after the birth of Christ, wee are bound to beleeue as an article of our faith, and so much is deliuered in scripture and in the Apostles Creede: but that she continued so euer after, is a seemely truth, deliuered vnto vs by the Church of God, fitting the sanctitie of the blessed Virgin, and the honour due to so sanctified a vessell of Christes incarnation, as her body was: and so is *de pietate*, but not *de substantia fidei*, as the Schoolemen vse to speake. Neither was *Heluidius* condemned of Heresie, for the deniall hereof, but because pertinaciously he vrged the deniall of it, vpon misconstruction of scripture, as if the deniall of it had beene a matter of faith. Touching this Allegation of our Aduersaries, concerning *Maries* perpetuall Virginitie, we must know, that howsoeuer they pretend to holde it onely by tradition, [l] yet the Fathers that defend it against *Heluidius*, endeuour to proue it by the Scripture. Their instance of Childrens Baptisme, is most apparantly against themselues, for they confesse it may be proued by scripture. [m] *Bellarmine* proueth it by three reasons, taken from the scripture. The first is, from the proportion, betweene Baptisme and Circumcision, the Circumcision of Children then, and the Baptisme of them now. This argument hee saith as they propose it, cannot bee auoyded. The second from these two places, *Iohn.* 3. *Except a man be borne anew, of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of Heauen.* And that other, *Suffer little children to come vnto mee, for vnto such belongeth the Kingdome of Heauen.*

[l] They proued it out of the 44. of Ezechiel 2. as *Hiero* sheweth in his comment vpon this place. *Index biblicus in regijs bibljs voc. abuso Maria nullis Scriptura locis significari perpetuam virginitatē Mariæ ostendit.*

[m] *Bellar. de sacra. baptis. li. 1. cap. 8.*

This Argument hee saith is strong, effectuall and pregnant, to proue the necessitie of the Baptisme of Infants. The third is taken from the Baptizing of whole families by the Apostles, in which by all likelihood, there were infants.

Surely in this point of traditiōs, our aduersaries bewray their great falsitie and inconstancie, making it euident to the whole worlde, they know not what they say. *Bellarmine* sayth, that many things, touching the matter and forme of sacraments, are holden by tradition, as not being contained in scripture: and yet in the particulars, [n] there is nothing defined in the Church of *Rome*, touching these things, which hee endeuoureth to proue by scripture. Some alledge, for proof of tradition, the cōsubstantialitie of the sonne of God with the Father, and the proceeding of the holy Ghost from them both. Others constantly affirme, that these things

[n] We shall finde an vncertaintie touching the forme and wordes of forme of all those pretended Sacramentes of mariage, penaunce vnction and confirmation, which in Scripture are not deliuered vnto vs as sacraments.

e proued by scripture. Some of them say Purgatory is holden by tra-
tion, others thinke it may bee proued by scripture. n *Melchior Canus* o *Canus li.3.cap.3. fundamentum 3.*
deuoring to proue the necessitie of tradition, roduceth sundry things
not written, as inuocation of Saints, worshipping of Images, the Priests
nsecrating, and partaking in both parts of the sacrament. That ordi-
tion, and confirmation, are to be conferred, and giuen but onely once:
hich when he hath alleadged, hee dareth not say, the scripture doth not
liuer them, for feare of gainesaying the truth in some of them, and his
ne fellowes in other. And therefore hee sayth, These things perhaps,
e scripture hath not deliuered. p For *Bellarmine* thinketh, the scripture p *Lib. 1 de sanctorum beatitudine, et li. 2 cap. 12. de sanctorum imaginibus probat testimonijs scriptura imagines esse colendas.*
th strongly proue the Inuocation and worship of Saints and Angels:
d who is so impudent to deny, that the Ministers of the Church, are
und, by the commandement of Christ, contained in the scripture, to
nsecrate and participate in both parts of the sacrament? That confirma-
, & ordinatiõ, once cõferred, are not to be reiterated, may be concluded
t of the nature of thẽ, described vnto vs in the scripture. So that for mat-
s of faith, we may conclude according to the iudgement of the best, and
ost learned, of our aduersaries themselues, that there is nothing to bee
leeued, which is not either expressely contained in scripture, or at least
necessary consequence from thence, and other thinges euident in the
ght of nature, or in matter of fact, to bee concluded. That there were
ny speeches and diuine sayings of our Sauiour Christ, which though
ey were neuer written by the Euangelists, the Apostles and others con-
rsant with him in the dayes of his flesh, knewe and faithfully preserued
d kept, q as *Marie* did all things, which shee heard him speake, and
we him doe, (of which sort was that, alledged by the Apostle, r It is
ore blessed to giue then to receiue) we make noe question: but that
ere are any of those vnwritten speeches, or Actions, necessary to bee
owen for our saluation, or containing any other matter of Diuine
owledge, then is written, or that are certainely known vnto the Church
w, we vtterly deny. All the historicall things, (sayth Bishoppe *Lindan*)
hich are reported concerning Christ, not contained in scripture, are fa-
lous, or vncertaine. Which doubtlesse was the reason, why more errors
ere found in the writings of the first Fathers of the Primitiue Church, thẽ
those that were further remoued frõ those first beginnings, because they
ere abused by the false and vncertaine reports of traditions, which in
ose times men greedily harkened after, as liuing with them, which had
ene conuersant with the Apostles or their Schollers, as wee shall finde
that is reported of u *Papias*, and it appeareth by the writings of others.
Thus hauing made it cleare and euident, that it is not safe to rely vpon
ditions in things concerning the faith, let vs come to those traditions,
hich concerne the manners and conuersation of men.
That the Apostles deliuered many things of this nature to the Churches,

q *Lucæ, 2, 19, 51.*
r *Acts, 20, 35*
s *Panopliæ li. 4. cap. 10*
t *Tertul. Irenæus Arnobius Papias Lactantius &c.*
u *Eusebius li. 9. cap. 35. Pererius in Genesin li. 3 q. 5. ait errorem Chiliastarum quo multi veterum fuerunt implicati ab Asiæ presbyteris esse proseminatum. Irenæus li. 3. aduersus hæreses cap. 39 persuadere studet Christum dominum annos prope 50 in terris vixisse: idque probat vel eo potissimũ argumento quod presbyteri Asiæ apostolorum discipuli id sibi ab apostolis traditum docuerunt.*

some by way of precept, some by way of Counsell and aduice onely, some to particular Churches, and some to all, some to continue but for a time, and some to continue for euer, wee make no doubt. Of this sort is the obseruation of the Lords day, the precept whereof is not found in Scripture, though the practice bee, and so may be named a tradition. Sundry other things there are, which doubtlesse the Apostles deliuered by tradition, but they are confounded with Ecclesiastical traditions, as *Gratian. densis* aptly noteth, that wee might the more reuerence the constitutions of the Church, and are dispensable by the guides of the Church: because the Apostles, & Apostolike men that deliuered them, did not deliuer them as reporting the immediate precepts of *Christ* himselfe, but by vertue of their Pastorall power and office; and so it little concerneth vs, exactly to know, whether they were deliuered by the Apostles themselues, or by their next after-commers. For if they were deliuered by the Apostles, yet are they dispensable by the authoritie of the Church: and if not by them, but by others, they may not be dispensed with, not altered, but by the same authoritie.

x Tom. 3. dist. 7. cap. 63.

CHAP. 21.

Of the rules, whereby true Traditions may bee knowen from counterfaite.

THus hauing set downe the kindes and sorts of traditions, remaineth to examine, by what meanes we may come to discerne, and by what rules we may iudge, which are true & indubitate traditions. The first rule is deliuered by a *Augustine*: *Quod uniuersa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate Apostolica traditum, rectissimè creditur. What the whole Church holdeth, not being decreed by the authoritie of Councells, but hauing beene euer holden, may rightly be thought, to haue proceeded from Apostolike authoritie.* The second rule is, whatsoeuer all, or the most famous, renowned, in all ages, or at the least in diuerse ages, haue constantly deliuered, as receiued from them that went before them, noe man contradicting or doubting of it, may bee thought to bee an Apostolicall tradition. The third rule, is the constant Testimony, of the Pastors of an Apostolike Church, successiuely deliuered: to which some adde, the present testimony of any Apostolike Church, whose declinings when they began, we cannot precisely tell. But none of the Fathers admitte this rule. For when they vrge the authority and testimony of Apostolike Churches, for the proofe, or reproofe of true or pretended traditions, they stand vpon the consenting voyce, or silence, of the Pastors of such Churches, successiuely in diuerse ages concerning such things. Some adde the testimony

a Lib. 4. contra Donatistas cap. 24.

e present Church: but wee enquire after the rule, whereby the present hurch may know true traditions from false: and besides, though the hole multitude of beleeuers, at one time in the world, cannot erre pestina-ously, and damnably, in embracing false traditions, in stead of true; yet ey that most sway things in the Church may, yea euē the greater part of eneral Councel; so that this can be no sure rule for men to iudge of tra-ions by. And therfore [b] *Canus* reasoneth foolishly, that whatsoeuer the hurch of *Rome* practiceth, which shee may not do without speciall war-nt from God, & yet hath no warrāt in scripture so to doe, the same things d the practise of them she hath receiued by tradition. Hee giueth exam-e in the present practise of the Romish Church, in dispensing with, & mitting vowes and oaths, and in dissoluing marriages, (not consummate carnall knowledge,) by admitting men into orders of Religion. But is practice of the Romish Church, wee condemne, as wicked, and ntichristian.

b *De traditionibus lib. 3. cap. 4.*

CHAP. 22.

Of the difference of bookes Canonicall and Apocriphall.

THus hauing answered our aduersaries obiections, touching the obscuritie, and imperfections, of the scripture, which wee affirme to be the rule of our faith; it remaineth, that in particu-lar we consider, which are the bookes of this scripture, contai-ning the rule of our faith, and where the indubitate, and cer-n verity of thē, is to be found, whether in the Originals, or in the Trans-ions. The bookes which *Moses*, the Prophets, and Apostles deliuered the world, containe the Canon; that is the rule of pietie, faith, and reli-on, which the sonnes of men receiued by Reuelation from heauen, and erefore are rightly named Canonicall. The matter of these bookes, we leeue to haue beene inspired from the holy Ghost, for our instruction; ose authoritie is so great, that no man may doubt of them. The writers these bookes, were in such sort guided, & directed by the spirit of truth, composing of them, that to hold the contrarie, were impious. Whereupon ugustine writing to *Hierom*, saith, *Ego solis eis scriptoribus, qui Canonici ap-llantur, didici hunc timorem, honorem q; deferre, vt nullum eorū scribendo errasse nissime teneā; at si quos in ijs inuenero, quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil dexistimem, quam mendosum esse codicē, vel non esse assecutum interpretem, od dictum est, vel me minimè intellexisse non ambigam: alios autem ita lego, vt antalibet sanctitate, doctrinā ve polleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ita sen-unt, sed quia mihi per illos auctores canonicos vel probabiles rationes, quod à n non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt.* That is, *I haue learned to yeelde at reuerence and honour to those writers only that are called Canonicall, to inke that none of them could erre in writing; but if in them I find any thing*

a *Aug. Hieronymo*

that may seeme contrarie to the truth, I perswade my selfe that either the Copie is corrupt, or the interpreter defective & faultie, or that the fault is in my not vnderstanding of it: but other authors I so reuerence, that how great soeuer their learning and sanctitie bee, I doe not therefore thinke any thing to bee true, because they haue so thought, but because they perswade me that it is true, by the authorities of the Canonicall authors, or the probabilitie of Reason.

Besides the indubitate writings of those Canonicall authors, there are other bookes written of the same argument, which because the credite and authority of the authors of them is not known, are named Apocryphall.

Bookes are named Apocryphall, first because the author of them is not known: and in this sense some of the Bookes of Canonicall scripture, as the bookes of *Chronicles*, of *Hester*, and a great part of the *Psalmes* may be named Apocryphall, though vnproperly, and vnfitly: (The authoritie of the authors of them, not being doubted of, though their name and other personall conditions be not knowen.) [a] And therefore *Andradius* reprehendeth the *Glosse*, which defineth those things to be Apocryphall, *quæ incerto authore prodita sunt*, *the author and publisher whereof is vnknowen*.

a *De lib. canonicis li. 3. fol. 287.*

Secondly, bookes are therefore named Apocryphall, because the authority and credite of them is called in question, it being doubted, whether they proceeded from the inspiration of the holy spirit; so that they cannot serue for the confirmation of any thing that is called in question. In this sense [b] *Hierome* calleth the bookes of *Maccabees*, and the rest of that kinde, Apocryphall, though they were read priuately and publikely for the edification of the people, and the information of manners.

b *In prologo Galeato.*

Thirdly, such bookes are named Apocryphall, as are meerely fabulous and full of impiety, and therefore interdicted, and forbidden to be read, or regarded at all. The auncientest of the Fathers, name thicklie Apocriphall, and so doth *Hierome* sometimes, calling those of the second ranke, *Hagiographall*: [d] though this name bee sometimes giuen to those Canonicall bookes which pertaine not to the Lawe nor the Prophets, as the booke of *Iob*, the *Psalmes*, the bookes of *Salomon*, *Esdras*, the *Chronicles*, &c. so diuiding the whole Canon of the scripture, of the olde Testament, into the Lawe, the Prophets, and *Hagiographall* bookes, that is, those, which not hauing any proper note of difference, retaine and are knowen, by the common name of holy writ.

c *Lib. Apocryphi appellantur, non quòd habendi sint in aliqua auctoritate secreta, sed quia nulla testificationis luce de nescio quo secreto, nescio quorum præsumptione prolati sunt. Aug. contra Faustum Manichæum li. 11. cap. 2.*

d *Andrad. de lib. canonicis fol. 286*

CHAP. 23.

Of the Canonicall and Apocryphall bookes of Scripture.

THe bookes of the olde Testament were committed to the Church of the Iewes: whereupon that is one of the things in respect whereof, the [a] Apostle preferreth them before the Gentiles, that to them were committed the Oracles of God. This Church of the Iewes, admitted but onely 22. bookes, deliuered vnto them from God, to bee the Canon of their faith, according to the number of the letters of their Alphabet, as [b] *Iosephus* sheweth. or though they sometimes reckon foure and twenty, and sometimes seuen and twenty, yet they adde no more in one of these accounts, than in e other. For, repeating *Iod* thrice, for honour of the name of God, and the number of the letters rising to foure and twenty, they number the ookes of Canonicall Scripture to bee foure and twenty, diuiding the ooke of *Ruth* from the *Iudges*, and the *Lamentations* from the *Pro-cies of Ieremie*, and reckoning them by themselues, which in the for-er accompt they ioyned with them. These bookes thus numbred, *Hierome* fitly compareth to the foure and twenty Elders mentioned in e Reuelation, *Qui adorabant & prostratis vultibus offerebant coronas suas, ich prostrating themselues adored and worshipped the Lambe, acknowledging, t they receiued their crownes of him: Stantibus coram quatuor animalibus, latis antè, & retrò, in præteritum, & futurum respicientibus: Those foure ad-rable liuing creatures, hauing eyes before, and behinde, looking to things t, and to come, standing before him.* And because fiue of the Hebrew let-s are double, [d] they sometimes reckon the bookes of the holy Canon as that they make them rise to the number of seuen and twenty, recko-g the first and second *of Samuel, of Kings, of Chronicles*, and *of Esdras*, themselues seuerally, which in the first accompt were numbred toge-er, two of euery of these being accompted, but as one booke, and diui-g *Ruth* from the *Iudges*. These onely did the auncient Church of the wes receiue, as Diuine and Canonicall.

That other bookes were added vnto these, whose authoritie not be-g certaine and knowen, are named *Apocryphall*, fell out on this sorte. The Iewes in their later times, [f] before, and at the comming of Christ, re of two [g] sorts; some properly and for distinction sake named *He-wes*, commorant at *Hierusalem*, and in the holy land; others named *Hel-sts*, that is, *Iewes* of the dispersion, mingled with the *Grecians*. These d written sundry bookes in Greeke, which they made vse of, together h other parts of the old Testament, which they had of the translation he *Septuagint*: but the *Hebrewes* receiued onely the two and twenty

[a] Rom. 3, 1, 2.

[b] *Contra Appionem li. 1. Eusebius lib. 3, cap. 10.*

[c] *Præfat. in lib. Regum.*

[d] *Damascen. li. 4. Orthodoxa fidei, cap. 18.*

[e] Actes 6. 1,
[f] *Glossa ordinaria,*
[g] *Lyranus in eundem locum.*

bookes before mentioned. Hence it came, that the *Iewes* deliuered a double Canon of the Scripture, to the Christian Churches: the one pure, indubitate, and diuine, which is the Hebrew Canon; the other in Greeke, enriched with, or rather adulterated by the addition of certain bookes written in those times, when God raised vp no more Prophets among his people. This volume thus mixed of diuers sorts of bookes, the Christians receiued of the Iewes. These bookes ioyned in one volume, were translated out of Greeke into Latine, & read by thē of the Latine Church in that translation: [h] for there was no Catholike Christian, that euer translated the Scriptures of the olde Testament, out of Hebrew into Latine before *Hieroms* time, nor none after him, till our age.

h *Iudæus Aquila, Symachus, & Theodotion iudaizantes hæretici sunt recepti, &c. Hier. præfat. in lib. Iob.*

Hence it came, that the Fathers of the Greeke Church, hauing Origen, and sundry other learned in the Hebrewe tongue, and making search into the antiquities and originals of the Iewes, receiued as Canon call, onely the two and twenty bookes, written in the Hebrew, and do account all those bookes, which were added in the Greeke to be Apocryphall. The Latines receiuing them both in one translation, and bound vp in one volume, vsed sundry parts of the Apocryphal bookes, in their prayers, and readings, together with the other, & cited them in their writings: yet did none of them make any Catalogue of Canonicall, and Apocryphall bookes, and number them amongst the Canonical, before the third Councell of *Carthage*, wherein *Augustine* was present, at which time also [k] *Innocentius* liued; which Fathers seeme to adde to the Canon, diuers bookes which the Hebrewes receiue not. *Hierome* translating the Scriptures out of the Hebrew, and most exactly learning what was the Hebrew Canon, reiected all besides the two and twenty Hebrew bookes, as the Grecians did before, and as after him, all men of note in the Latine Church did.

i *Concilium Carth. 3. can. 47.*

k *Innocentius Exuperio epist. 5. cap. vlt.*

There was great exception taken to *Hierome*, for aduenturing to translate the Scripture out of Hebrew, and among others [l] *Augustine* and the Africans, seemed not much to like it. They therefore reckon the bookes of Scripture, according as they found them in vse in the Latine Church, not exactly noting the difference of the one, from the other; yet not denying, but that the Hebrew Canon consisted onely of two and twenty bookes, and that many tooke exceptions to them, when they alleaged any testimonies out of those bookes, the Hebrewes admit not. Against which exceptions, [m] *Augustine* no otherwise iustifieth himselfe, but by the vse of the Church in reading thē. Which proofe is too weake to prooue them Canonicall, seeing the prayer of *Manasses*, confessed by our aduersaries to be Apocryphall, the third and fourth of *Esdras*, the booke called *Pastor*, and some other, were likewise read by them of the Church, cited by them in their writings, and many things translated out of them, into the publike prayers, and Liturgies of the Church.

l *Aug. Hieron. epist. 10.*

m *De prædestinatione Sanctorum. cap. 14.*

Thus then, these Fathers not looking carefully into the originals, ...me all those bookes Canonicall, which the vse of Gods Church ap...rooued as profitable, and containing matter of good instruction, and ...numbred the bookes of *Wisedome*, and the rest with the Canonicall. ...hose opinion yet, as *Caietane* thinketh, was not that they were absolute... Canonicall; but in a sort, in that they containe a good direction of ...ens manners. These the Greeke Fathers reiected from the Canon, ad...itting onely those which the reformed Churches at this day admitte, ...also almost all the Diuines of the Latine Church, after *Hierome*, ...be.

That some of the Greeke Fathers reiected the booke of *Hester*, ...was, (as [n] *Sixtus Senensis* rightly noteth) by reason of those Apo...yphall additions, which they not being skilfull in the Hebrew tongue, ...d not discerne from the true parts of it; which errour made them to re...t the whole booke as Apocryphall. This was also the reason, why they ...mitted those Apocryphal additaments, ioyned to the booke of *Daniel*. Howsoeuer, it appeareth that all they, which diligently looked into ...ese things, did admit all those bookes which wee admitte, and reiect all ...ose which we reiect. Neither is there any one amongst all the aunci...t, before the third Councell of *Carthage*, that clearely, and of set pur...se, numbreth the bookes controuersed betweene vs and our aduersa...s, with the bookes of the Canon. [o] *Melito*, then Bishop of *Sardis*, going ...rposely into the East parts of the world, that he might diligently search ...t the monuments and sacred bookes of diuine knowledge, reckoneth ...se onely Canonicall, which wee doe, saue that hee addeth the booke ...*Wisedome*. [p] *Origen* admitteth and acknowledgeth onely two and twen...bookes of the old Testament. [q] *Athanasius* likewise numbreth the ...okes of the Canon in the same sort, and addeth, There are also certaine ...er bookes, which are read onely to the Catechumens, and nouices. ...*Hilarius* sayth, the lawe of the olde Couenant, is contained in two ...d twenty bookes, answerable to the number of the Hebrew letters. ...*Nazianzene* also, is of the same opinion, and [t] *Cyrillus* Bishop of *Hieru...em*, onely he addeth the booke of *Baruch*, thinking it to bee a part of ...*remies* Prophecies, but suffereth not any others to bee added, saying, ...e Apostles and first Bishops which deliuered these onely, were wi..., and much more to bee esteemed, than such as now goe about to adde ...ers. Of the same iudgement are [u] *Epiphanius*, [x] *Ruffinus*, [y] *Hierome*, ...d [z] *Gregorie*. And [a] *Iosephus* confirmeth the opinion of these Fathers, ...ing, that from the time of *Artaxerxes*, till the age wherein hee liued, ...things were committed to writing, which concerned the state of Gods ...ple and Religion; but that they were not of equall authority, with ...se, which were formerly written, because after that time, the indubi...e succession of the Prophets ceased.

n *Bibliothecæ sanctæ lib. 1, pag. 20.*

o *Eusebius lib. 4, cap. 25.*

p *Eusebius 6, ec. 24*

q *In Synopsi.*

r *In prolog. explanat Psalmorum.*

s *De genuinis scripturæ libris, & ægneorum carminum. lib. ad Seleucum de recta eductione.*

t *4. Catechescon.*

u *Contra Epicur. hæres 8. & de mensuris, & ponderibus.*

x *In expositione Symboli.*

y *In prolog. Galeato.*

z *In Iob lib. 19. cap 17.*

a *Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 10.*

Vnto

Vnto these authorities of the Fathers, some of our aduersaries (as b *Andradius* and others) doe answere, that they speake of the Canon of the Hebrewes, and not of the Canon of the Church; so not denying absolutely these bookes to bee canonicall, but that they are not esteemed by the Iewes: but this answere c the wordes of *Hierome* doe most clearely refute. As (sayth hee) the Church, not the Synagogue of the Iewes, readeth the bookes of *Iudeth*, *Tobias*, and the *Maccabees*, but receiueth them not as Canonicall Scriptures: so likewise it may read these two bookes of *Wisedome* and *Ecclesiasticus* for the edification of the people, but not for confirmation of doubtfull points of doctrine. And therefore *Bellarmine*, *Sixtus Senensis*, and others, clearely confesse, that this answere of *Andradius* is insufficient.

They therefore adde another, to wit, that the Canon was not perfectly knowen, and confirmed, in the time of those Fathers. We aske them when it was confirmed. If they say, in the Councell of *Nice*, which d *Hierome* sayth some report) receiued the booke of *Iudeth*, as Canonicall, though e *Lindan* say it is not likely it did, and that *Hierome* did not say it did so, but that some reported so; we aske how it came to passe that so many Catholike Diuines, after the Nicene Councell, reiected these bookes as they did before. If they say, they were confirmed in the Councell of *Carthage*, that was but a prouincial Councell, as was that of *Laodicea*, in which they are not mentioned. If they say the Councell of *Carthage* was confirmed in the sixt generall Councell holden at *Trullo*; we answere first, that it was no more confirmed there, f than that of *Laodicea*: and g *Canus* noteth, the sixt Councell doeth not expressely name the third Councell of *Carthage*, but onely speaketh of Canons agreed vpon in a new *Carthage*. h Secondly, we say, that those Canons of the sixt Councell wherein this pretended confirmation is found, are of no credit with the Romanists; so that it is cleare, that neither the *Nicene* Councell, nor any other, did confirme the authoritie of the bookes questioned, as appeareth by the consent of almost all the worthiest Diuines in the Church, and those Councels till our age, as i *Gregory*, k *Damascenus*, l *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, m *Ricardus de sancto Victore*, n *Petrus Cluniacensis*, o *Lyranus*, p *Dionysius Carthusianus*, q *Hugo Cardinalis*, r *Thomas Aquinas*, s *Ocam*, t *Picus Mirandula*, u *Waldensis*, x *Armacanus*, y *Driedo*, *Caietane*, and others.

b De lit: Canonicis, lib: 3, pap: 289.

c Præfatio in lib: Salom. Epist: Chromatium & Heliodorum

d In præfat: in li. Iudeth

e Panoplia lib. 3, cap. 3. Si Nicena Synodus olim hunc Iudeth libr. cum aliis, in Canonem redegerat, cur annu 80, post eam non recenset Laodicena? cur Nazianz: eius non meminit? sed legitur computasse ait Hier. quod mihi dubitantiis suspicionem subiudicare videtur.

f Laodicense Concilium manifestè confirmatum est à Synodo Trullana: Canus lib. 2, cap. 9.

g Lib. 2. cap. 9

h Quòd acta 6, Synodi paremgrapha sint, Alberti Pigbij Diatribe.

i Moral. lib. 19, in cap 29. Iobi 2, 17.

k Li. 4, ca. 18, Orthodoxæ fidei.

l Erudition. Didascalicæ, li. 4, cap. 2. m Exceptionum lib. 2, cap: 9. n De auctoritate veteris Testamenti, lib. 2, præfat. in lib: Tobiæ. p Prolog: in Ecclesiasticum. q In prolog: in Ecclesiasticum. r In summa theologica: 1 part. quæst. 8, art. 8, ad 2. s Dialog: lib: 3, 1, tractatus part: 3, cap: 16. t Theorematis 5. u Doctrinal: fidei lib. 2, art: 2, cap. 31. x Quæst. 49, cap: 19, in quæst. Armenorum. y De Eccles: dog: lib: 1, cap. vlt.

CHA

CHAP. 24.

Of the vncertaintie and contrarietie found amongst Papists, touching bookes Canonicall and Apocryphall now controuersed.

BVt let vs come particularly to the bookes controuersed, and see how sweetly our aduersaries agree with themselues, in admitting or reiecting them. First, touching the booke of *Baruch*, though the Councell of *Florence* and *Trent*, haue confirmed it to bee Canonicall: yet [a] *Melchior Canus* sayth, it is doubtfull, whether it bee or not; and yet sayth, if it bee not Canonicall, the Councels of *Florence* and *Trent* haue erred, and the people of God beene long abused, and the Church in greeuous errour. [b] And elsewhere againe he saith, the Church hath not certainely resolued, that it is Canonicall, and that it yeeldeth no certaine, cleare, and indubitate roofe in matters of faith. [c] *Driedo* denieth it to bee canonicall, and yth, *Cyprian*, *Ambrose*, and other of the fathers cited the booke of *Baruch*, as also the third and fourth of *Esdras*, not as Canonicall, but as ntaining matter of good instruction, not contrarie, but consonant the faith. The additions of the booke of *Hester*, [d] *Sixtus* absolutely reteth, as vaine and foolish, contrary to the iudgements of the Papists; yet admitteth the additions to *Daniel*. These also [e] *Driedo* reteth, notwithstanding the decree of the *Tridentine Councell*, [f] as the author of the booke *De mirabilibus scripturæ* did long before, calling the story of *Bell and the Dragon* a fable. [g] *Melchior Canus* professeth he dareth ot pronounce it heretical, to denie any, or all of the controuersed bookes the olde Testament, and yet confidently pronounceth it hereticall, to nie any of the bookes of the new Testament, which were sometimes oubted of; so that it seemeth, a man may dissent from a generall Councell, and not bee an Hereticke, and that the Councell of *Trent* proceeded not, vpon so good grounds of reason, in approouing the one, as e other, contrary to their iudgement, who say, we may as well doubt f the bookes of the new Testament, whereof some doubted in former nes, as of these of the olde.

But it is easie to shew their errour who so thinke, and to confirme e opinion of *Canus*, that there is not so great reason, why wee should oubt of the one, as the other. For first, the bookes of the new Testaent were neuer doubted of, but by some fewe, in comparison of em, that receiued and approoued them: the most & most renoumed for etie, learning, and right iudgement, euer receiuing them. For, to begin ith those, of which there hath beene most doubt, *The Epistle to e Hebrewes*, and the booke of the *Reuelation of Saint Iohn*, [h] *Hierome* witnesseth

[a] *Lib. 2, cap. 9.*
[b] *Lib. 12, cap 6.*
[c] *In catalog. script. eccl. lib. 1, cap. 4*
[d] *Bibliothecæ, li. 1, pag. 19*
[e] *In catalog. scriptur. lib. 1, cap. vlt.*
[f] *Lib. 2, cap. 32*
[g] *Lib. 2, cap 9*
[h] *In epist. ad Dardanum de terra promissionis.*

witnesseth, that they neuer wanted the approbation, of the worthiest and greatest parts of Gods Church. *Illud* (sayth hee) *nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solùm ab Ecclesijs Orientis, sed ab omnibus retro Ecclesiasticis scriptoribus, quasi Pauli Epistolam susciþi, licet eam plerique vel Barnabæ, vel Clementis, arbitrentur esse &c.* Let our men knowe, that the Epistle to the Hebrewes, is not onely receiued, and approoued, by all the Churches of the East, that nowe presently are, but by all Ecclesiasticall writers of the Greeke Churches, that haue beene heretofore, as the Epistle of Paul: though many thinke it rather to haue beene written by Barnabas or Clemens: and that it skilleth not who wrote it, seeing it was written by an Authour approoued in the Church of GOD, and is dayly read in the same. If the custome of the Latines receiue it not among the Canonicall Scriptures, no more doe the Greeke Churches admitte the Reuelation of Saint *Iohn*: and yet we following the authoritie of the Auncient, receiue them both. Secondly, the Churches of the Gentiles, to which the bookes of the new Testament were deliuered, were in parts of the world, farre remote one from another, and did not immedatly all of them receiue all the parts of these Diuine bookes, from the Authours of them, but from those particular Churches, to which they were specially directed, or in the middest whereof the writers of them remained, at the time of the writing of them. And therefore it is not to bee marueiled at, if beeing deliuered and transmitted from one to another, some receiued them sooner, and some later. But the Bookes of the olde Testament were deliuered to one nationall Church onely, and yet these nowe controuersed were neuer receiued by it. Thirdly, these bookes of the newe Testament, whereof some in former times did doubt, were written in the Apostles times, whome GOD honoured with the first, immediate, and vndoubted reuelation of Diuine trueth: these afterward succession of the Prophets were ceased. Fourthly, the bookes of the olde Testament now controuersed, were not written in Hebrewe, but in Greeke, by such of the Iewes as were of the dispersion, and therefore neuer receiued by the Hebrewes, nor counted amongst the sacred bookes of the Canon; which they diuided [i] into *the Lawe*, *the Prophets*, and *the Psalmes*; to which Christ giueth testimony in the Gospel. Lastly, the reason moouing some, to doubt of the bookes of the new Testament, was the vncertainety of the names of the authors, or some thing mistaken, misconstrued, or not vnderstood in the bookes, which in time was cleared, and they afterward generally receiued. But the Apocryphall bookes of the olde Testament, were reiected, as being written, when there was no more vndoubted succession of Prophets, by the whole Church of the Hebrewes, and euer after by the best and worthiest guides of the Christian Churches.

[i] *Aug. lib. 2. contra epist. Gaudentij, ca. 23. scripturam quã appellant Maccabæorum, non habẽt Iudæi, sicut Legem, & Prophetas, & Psalmos, quibus Dominus testimonium perhibet tanquam suis libris, Luca 24. 44.*

Sixtus Bibliothecæ Sanctæ lib. 1, de variis partitionibus librorum canonicorum.

That the bookes of the new Testament, called in question by some, ere doubted of vpon such weake reasons, as hath beene sayd, will easi- appeare. The Epistle to the Hebrewes was therefore doubted of by me, because the difference, and diuersitie of the style, made them thinke not to be *Pauls*, whose name it carried; and by others, because the thour of it seemed to them, to fauour the errour of the *Nouatians*, in nying the reconciliation of such, as fall after baptisme. The second E- stle of *Peter*, some doubted of, because of the diuersity of the style, which *Jerome* reiecteth. The Epistle of *Iames*, because of the vncertainetie of e author, it being doubtfull, which *Iames* was the author of it. The Epi- le of *Iude*, because the author of it, alleageth the authoritie of an A- cryphall booke of *Enoch*, as they imagined. The second and third f *Iohn*, because they are sayd to haue beene written by *Iohn the Elder*, me denied to bee the Epistles of *Iohn* the Apostle, ascribing them to nother *Iohn*. The *Reuelation* was doubted of, first, because of the oubtfulnesse of the Title of *Iohn* the Diuine; secondly, because of e difficultie, and obscuritie, of the wordes of this Prophecie, or Re- lation; and lastly, because the authour of this booke, seemeth to fa- our the heresie of the *Millenaries*. But the Latine Church receiued is booke, as Canonicall, as also the best and most learned of the reekes, [k] as *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, though hee denie it to haue been ritten by *Iohn* the Euangelist: [l] *Epiphanius* condemneth the *Alogi*, heretickes, because they denie the Gospell, and Reuelation of Saint *hn*. [m] *Tertullian* reckoneth it among the errours of *Cerdon*, that hee iected the bookes of the *Actes*, and the *Reuelation:* and writing a- inst [n] *Marcion*, he sheweth, that hee also did denie the same booke. *Ireneus* sayth, this Reuelation was manifested vnto *Iohn*, and seene him, but a little before his time. [p] *Iustinus Martyr* doth attribute is booke to *Iohn*, and doeth account it a Diuine Reuelation. *Ori-* in his Preface before the Gospell of *Iohn*, sayth, that *Iohn* the nne of *Zebedee*, sawe in the Reuelation, an Angell flying thorow e middest of heauen, hauing the eternall Gospell. The Councell [q] *Ancyra* pronounceth it to be sacred, and that *Iohn* was the author it. [r] Thus then I hope it doeth appeare, that there is not so much ason, to doubt of the bookes of the newe Testament, called some- mes in question, as of those of the olde: seeing the former were uer doubted of, but by some fewe; vpon reasons friuolous, the eakenesse whereof beeing discouered, all Catholike Christians, ith one consent receiued them, accounting them no better than eretickes, which either doubted of them, or denied them; where- the later, were reiected by the whole Church of the Iewes, by l antiquitie, and the whole current of Gods Church, some fewe one- excepted, being ignorant of the tongues, and not exactly looking

k *Eusebius li. 7, cap. 24.*
l *Haresi 51, 75*
m *De præscriptionibus.*
n *Lib. 4*
o *Li. 1, cap. vlt.*
p *Dialog. cum Tryphone.*
q *Conc. Ancyran. cap. vlt.*
r *Graeci, qui Hier. teste, Apocalypsin non recipiebant, & paucos & obscuros fuisse necesse est.* *Bellar. de verbo Dei, lib. 1. cap. 19.*

into the monuments of antiquity, [f] and diuided amongst themselues, some admitting more, and some not all those, which our aduersaries now receiue.

Wherefore, as we cannot but condemne the inconsiderate rashnesse of such either [t] of the Romish, or reformed Churches, as in our times make question of any of the bookes of the new Testament, that are, and haue beene, long read in the Churches of GOD, as Canonicall, throughout the world; so likewise wee thinke their boldnesse inexcusable, who in these last ages make those bookes canonicall, which neuer were so esteemed by Gods Church before; and goe about to bind all mens consciences so to receiue them, against the current of antiquitie, and the iudgement of the best learned, in euery age, euen to our times.

f *Canones Apostolorum, can. 84: Tobiam, Iudeth, & Ecclesiasticum inter canonicos non numerant. Gelasius Papa cum concilio 70, Episcoporum nullam 2. Maccabaeorum mentionem facit.*

Geenebrard. in Chronolog. pag. 9. 4. Esdras ad canonem pertinere vult. Bellarm. de verbo Dei, lib. 1, cap. 20. vbi ostendit dubium esse quid multi senserint de 1, Esdrae.

t Caietan, Luther.

CHAP. 25.

Of the diuers editions of the Scripture, and in what tongue it was originally written.

THus hauing shewed, that the Scripture containeth a perfect rule of our faith, and hauing likewise made it appeare, what bookes they are, which are canonicall, and containe this rule of our Christian faith and Religion; it remaineth that wee search out, what editions there are of these Scriptures, and which are authenticall, and of indubitate authority and credit. The whole Scripture of the olde Testament, was written in Hebrew, [a] saue that some fewe things, were translated into the bookes of *Esdras*, and *Daniel*, out of the publike recordes, and monuments of the Chaldees in that tongue, as the copies of letters, and publike acts and proceedings, all things which the spirit of God did absolutely deliuer, being expressed vnto vs in the same bookes in Hebrewe.

The opinion of some hath beene, that the whole Scripture of the olde Testament perished and was lost in the time of the captiuity of *Babylon*, and that it was newly composed by *Esdras*. To which purpose they alleage the authoritie of [b] *Basil*, who seemeth to say some such thing, and likewise the testimonie of the author of the fourth booke of *Esdras*, where it is sayd, that the bookes of the law being burnt, God sent the holy Ghost into *Esdras*, separated him from the people, for the space of forty daies, caused him to prouide boxe tables, & men writing swiftly, and that in forty dayes, they wrote two hundreth and foure bookes; but this booke being Apocryphall, and full of Cabalisticall vanitie, doth rather weaken, then strengthen this opinion. That which is alleaged out of the

a *Iunius in Bellar. controu. 1. l. 2. art. 9*

b *In const. ad Chilonem, epist. 181. in monte Carmelo secessu facto, Esdras omnes diuinos libros ex mandato Dei eructauit.*

cond of *Esdras*, and the eight, doth not proue, that *Esdras* did newly mpose the bookes of scripture, but onely that hee brought them forth: which implyeth, that they were not vtterly lost, nor did wholly perish. either indeede is it likely, though that scripture which was kept in the emple was burnt, that *Ezechiell*, *Daniell*, *Ieremie*, *Haggai*, *Zacharie*, *Mardocheus*, and *Esdras* himselfe, were so negligent, as not to preserue e bookes of the scripture. So that all that *Esdras* did, was nothing else, t the bringing together, and putting into order, the scattered partes of is scripture, and the correcting of such faultes, as in time by the negli- nce of the writers, were crept into the seuerall Copies of it. This ointe is handled at large by *BELLARMINE*, and excel- ntly cleared by him, and therefore it is needeles to insist vppon it nger. So then the same scripture, which *Moses* and the Prophets deli- ered, *Esdras* sought out and religiously commended vnto the peo- le.

c *Bellar. li. 2. ca. 1. de verbo dei.*

Onely d *Hierome* is of opinion, that hee founde out newe *Hebrewe* ters, and left the old vnto the *Samaritans*, which *Bellarmine* out of e *Hie- me* confirmeth,, because the last letter of the *Hebrewe* Alphabet, was e the Greeke T, & had a similitude of the Crosse, as that of the *Samari- es* now hath; but that now, hath no similitude with it. f *Picus Miran- la* professeth, that hauing conferred with sundrie *Iewes*, about this mat- r, they all constantly denyed this alteration of letters. And to what rpose should *Esdras* alter that forme of letters, which *Moses* and e Prophets had vsed? Neither doth *Hierome*, in the place cited by *Bel- rmine*, speake of the Greeke T, but sayth onely, that the last of the ncient *Hebrewe* letters, had a similitude of the crosse, as now that of the *maritanes* hath.

d *In prolog. Galeato.*
e *In 9. Ezechielis*
f *Epist. ignoto amico. 5 a.*

But this being a matter of no great moment, let euerie man iudge as e thinketh best. This then wee constantly hold, that as the whole scrip- re of the olde Testament, was written in *Hebrewe*, so the same ne- r perished wholly, in any of the captiuities of the *Iewes*, but was religi- sly preserued, euen the same, which *Moses* and the Prophets deliuered the people of God.

After the returne of the people from *Babylon*, their tongue and nguage was mixed of the *Hebrewe*, and *Chaldee*, and named the *Syriacke* ngue, from the Region or Country, where it was vsed; in which, *rist* made all his Sermons to the people, as being best vnderstoode of em. Yet were not the bookes of the new Testament written in this nguage, but in *Greeke*, because they were to be made common to the urches of the *Gentiles*, among which, the *Greeke* tongue was most ge- rally vnderstood.

g *Hugo de Sancto Victore erudit. theologicæ in speculum ecclesiæ de celebratione missæ cap. 7.*

There are three tongues most famous in the world, as *Hugo de Sancto ctore* noteth; the *Latine*, *Greeke* and *Hebrewe*, *propter regnum, sapientiam, legem*,

legem, the first, because of the Monarchy of the Romanes, who as they subiected the people, which they did conquere, to their lawes and customes, so they did force them to learne their language: the second, because in it, the great Philosophers and wise men of the world, left the monuments of their wisedome, and learning, to posterities: the third, because in it, God deliuered his law, and the interpretation of it, by *Moses*, and the Prophets, to the people of *Israell*, his chosen. Amongst all these, the *Greeke* was most generally vnderstood, by the learned of all Nations, because in it, all the renoumed wise men of the world, had written, and all that were studious, learned it, that they might vnderstande their writings.

Hence it came, that the bookes of the newe Testament were written in *Greeke*, because God would not honor one Nation of the world more then another, nor force his people, to borrow the books of scripture one from another.

Onely some doubt there is, touching the Gospell of *Mathewe*, and the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, which are supposed to haue been written in *Hebrew*, and the Gospell of *Marke*, written, as some say, in *Latine*. That the Gospell of *Mathew* was written in *Hebrew*, [h] *Hierome*, and others affirme. [i] *Gaudo Fabritius* sayth, it was witten in *Hebrewe*, but in vulgar *Hebrew*, which is the *Syriacke*, that they of *Hierusalem* did speake; which opinion [k] others seeme to incline vnto, the Gospell in *Hebrewe*, which some bring forth, being of no credite. *The Epistle to the Hebrewes*, [l] some say was written in *Hebrewe*, and translated by *Luke*, or *Barnabas* into *Greeke*. [m] The *Syrians* say, the Gospell of *Marke* was first written in *Latine*, and that afterward hee translated both it, and the whole new Testament beside, into *Syriacke*, which they say they haue preserued to this day. This *Syriacke* translation of the new Testamēt, was not known in these parts of the world, till our age, as [n] *Fabritius Boderianus* noteth; who thereupon breaketh out into the praises of our times, if the men of this generation, either knew the happines therof, or how to vse it. Howbeit, that *Marke* was authour of this *Syriacke* translation, which the *Syrians* in this age haue deliuered vnto vs, [o] we cannot perswade our selues, because none of the Fathers that liued in *Syria*, and *Egypt*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Athanasius*, *Theophilus*, *Epiphanius*, *Hierome*, *Cyrill*, *Theodoret* and *Damascen*, make any mention of it: and besides, it is apparantly defectiue in diuerse things, as the learned note. So then, the indubitate originals, of these parts of the newe Testament in *Hebrew* or *Syriacke*, if they were written at first in these tongues, being lost, and the Church depriued of them, the *Greeke* is holden to be Originall, in respect of all the bookes of the new Testament. For that either they were all written in it, or translated into it, by the Apostles, or Apostolike men.

[h] *In catalog. Scriptorū ecclesiasticorū de Matthæo verba faciens.*

[i] *In præfatione noui Testamenti Syriaci latinam translationem.*

[k] *Bellar. li. 2. de verbo dei cap. 4. Andrad. de li. canonicis li. 3. fol. 320.*

[l] *Eusebius li. 6 cap. 13. li. 3, cap. 33.*

[m] *Gaudo Fabritius in præfatione prædicta.*

The originall latine text of *Marke* is said to be kept at *Venice*, till this day.

[n] *Eadē præfatione.*

[o] *Bellar. li. 2, de verbo dei cap. 4.*

CHAP.

CHAP. 26.

Of the translations of the olde Testament out of Hebrew *into* Greeke.

THus hauing deliuered, in what tongues the scriptures, and bookes of God were written, it remaineth that wee enquire, what the principall translations of them haue beene, and whether the indubitate veritie of them, be in the originalles, or in the translations. [a] There was, as some suppose, a translation of the olde Testament out of *Hebrewe* into *Greeke*, before the time of *Alexander* the great: but the first that was in note, and remained long in esteeme in the world, was that of the *Septuaginta*, in the time of *Ptolomaus Philadephus*; [b] Who, intending to furnish a Librarie at *Alexandria*, with all the choisest bookes the worlde would affoord, amongst other places, sent to *Hierusalem*, to the rulers and guides of the people there, who sent vnto him, the bookes of *Moses* and the Prophets, written in *Hebrewe*, in letters of gold. Which hee not vnderstanding, sent the second time, for interpreters, and they sent vnto him 72, in imitation of *Moses*, who when hee went vp to the Mount to receiue the Lawe, being commanded to take with him 70, of the Elders of *Israell*: added two to the number prescribed, lest taking sixe out of some Tribes, and but fiue out of other, some dislike might haue growen amongst them. These in 72 dayes translated the whole olde Testament, out of *Hebrewe* into *Greeke*. For though *Iosephus* and the *Iewes* say, they translated onely the bookes of *Moses*, [c] yet the consenting voyce of all the Fathers, affirming that they translated the whole, mooueth vs rather to thinke, the whole was translated by them, then onely the bookes of *Moses*; vnlesse wee say with [d] *Iunius*, for the reconciling of this difference, that onely the bookes of *Moses*, were translated by the first sent to *Ptolomee*, and the rest afterwards, by 72 also, though not the same.

That which some report, that they were shutte vp in seuerall celles, which long after were to bee seene at *Alexandria*, [e] *Hierome* reiecteth as a fable; shewing, that no such thing is reported by *Aristæus*, that was present at the businesse, and that no remainder of any such celles, was to be found at *Alexandria*, but that they met in one place, & cõferring together euery day, till the ninth houre, in 70 dayes, perfected the whole worke; & *Augustine* leaueth it doubtfull. This fable is vrged by some to proue, that these translators were [g] guided by a propheticall spirite, and so could not erre: which false and absurd conceite, *Hierome* condemneth likewise. The [h] second translation of the old Teastamẽt, out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, was that of *Aquila*, in the time of *Adrian* the Emperor; the 3. of *Theodotion*, in

a *Bellar. lib. 1: de verbo dei cap: 5: ostendit aliquos ista finxisse.*

b *Epiphanius de mensuris et ponderibus.*

c *Bellar. de verbo dei, li. 2, cap. 6.*

d *Iunius in Bellar. contra. 1: li. 2, ca: 6.*

e *Hierom in Pentateuchum Mosis præfat.*

f *De doctrina Christiana li. 2: cap: 15.*

g *Aug: sæpe ea sapiũt 72 prophetas appellat, et eodem quo prophetæ, spiritu incitatos illa etiam scripsisse, in quibus ab Hebræa oratione dissentiunt, confirmat. Andrad: de vulgatæ editionis auctoritate li 4: fol: 55.*

h *Epiphanius de mensuris et ponderibus.*

in the time of *Commodus*. The fourth, of *Symachus*, in the time of Seuero. The fift, without name of author, was found in the Citie of *Hiericho*, in the time of *Antonius Caracalla*. The sixt, in *Nicopolis*, in the dayes of *Alexander* the sonne of *Mammea*. The [i] seuenth, of *Origen*, who translated not, but corrected the translation of the *Septuagint*, adding some things out of *Theodotians* translation, which additions he noted with the marke of a shining starre, detracting other thinges, which hee pearced through, with a spitte. [k] The eight, of *Lucian* the Martyr, was not a translation, but a correction onely of such faults, as were crept into the translation of the *Septuagint*. This was found at *Nicomedia*, in the time of *Constantine*, [l] *Lucian* being martyred long before, in the dayes of *Diocletian* the Emperour.

i *Hiero. ad Aug. epist. et præfat. lib. Iob.*

k *Epiphanius de mensuris et ponderibus.*
l *Eusebius li. 9. ca. 6 Hiero. in li. 16. comment. Esaiæ ad Eustochium proem. de illis verbis, sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum, ait non haberi in Hebraico, nec esse in 70 interpretibus, sed in editione vulgata, quæ communis dicitur, et in toto orbe diuersa est.*

The ninth, of *Hesechius*, was likewise but a correction of such things as were amisse in the vulgar editions of the *Septuagint*. It appeareth by *Hierome*, in his preface before the bookes of *Chronicles*, that they of *Alexandria*, and *Egypt*, vsed that edition of the *Septuagint*, which *Hesechius* corrected: they of *Constantinople*, that of *Lucian* the Martyr; and those the Prouinces, and Countries lying between these, that which *Origen* corrected.

The *Greeke* translation found to neede correction, and corrected by these, as it seemeth, was called by the name of the cōmon edition, not being a different translation, from that of the *Septuagint*, but as being that, which was common in all mens hands, and much altered, and corrupted, from the originall puritie, which these worthy men endeuoured to restore it to againe. [m] And was so named, because there was another preserued in greater puritie, in that worthy worke of *Origen*, that filled all the famous Libraries in the world, in those times; [n] in which, first dividing euerie page into sixe columnes or pillars, in the first, he put the *Hebrewe* in the *Hebrewe* Characters; in the second, in *Greeke*; in the third, the interpretation of *Aquila*; in the fourth, of *Symmachus*; in the fift, of the *Septuagint*; in the sixt, of *Theodotion*, and named the volumes thus disposed, in respect of the foure translations, *Tetrapla*, a fourefould worke: in respect of these translations, and the *Hebrewe* in two kinde of Characters, placed in two seuerall pillars or Columnes, *Hexapla*, a sixfould worke: to which afterwards adding in two other pillars, or columnes, the fift and sixt translations, before mentioned, found in *Hiericho*, and *Nicopolis*, he named the whole *Octapla*, an eight fould worke.

m *Hiero. in epist. ad Suniam et Fretellam.*
n *Epiphanius de mensuris et ponderibus. Eusebius lib. 6. cap. 16.*

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CHAP. 27.

Of the Latine Translations, and of the authoritie of the vulgar Latine.

THus hauing deliuered, what translations there are, and haue beene of the olde testament, out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, let vs see, what translations there are, and haue beene of the olde, and newe Testament, into *Latine*. They, sayth [a] *Augustine*, that translated the olde Testament, out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, may easily be numbred; but they that translated the old and new Testament, out of *Greeke* into *Latine*, cannot be numbred. Yet amongst so many, and diuerse translations, it seemeth there was one more common then the rest, called by [b] *Gregorie*, the olde translation, and by *Hierome* vpon [c] *Esay*, the vulgar; who disliketh it, and preferreth the translation of *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, before it, in the interpretation of the place of the Prophet hee there expoundeth. The first that translated the olde Testament out of *Hebrew* into *Latine* was *Hierome*, and the last, till our age; whereupon great exception was taken to him for it, as appeareth by his seuerall Epistles, wherin he excuseth and defendeth himselfe. Yet notwithstanding all these dislikes, and exceptions, it appeareth by [d] *Gregorie*, that a new translation beganne to be in vse in the Church, not long after *Hieromes* time: which is thought to be that, we now call the *vulgar*. [e] Whether this translation be *Hieromes*, or not, there is great varietie of iudgement. Some, as *Pagnine*, and *Paule* Bishop of *Forosempronium*, deny it to be *Hieromes*: other, as *Augustinus Eugubinus*, and *Picus Mirandula*, affirme it to be his: Other, as *Driedo*, and *Sixtus Senensis*, thinke it to be mixed of the old and new.

Bellarmine deliuereth his opinion in certaine propositions, whereof the first is, that wee haue the *Latine* text of the newe Testament, not of *Hieromes* translation, but of his correction onely: the seconde, that wee haue the *Psalmes* of the olde translation, formerly in vse; the reason whereof is thought to bee, because the Church fearefull to giue any offence to the weake, would not admitte any alteration in them, being dayly read, and sung in the assemblies of the faithfull: the third, that we haue the bookes of *Ecclesiasticus*, *Wisedome*, and the *Maccabees*, of the olde translation, the author whereof is not knowen: the fourth, that wee haue all the rest of *Hieromes* translation.

This translation, some thinke so perfect, as that it is not to be corrected according to the Originalles, if in any thing it dissent frō them, but that rather, they are to be holden corrupt, in all such places, of difference. Now because this translation in many places, and sundry things, is found

[a] *De doctrina Christiana li: 2. ca. 15.*

[b] *Ad Leandrum episcopum in expositionem beati Iob epistola: Si nouam translationem disserо, sed vt comprobationis causa exigit nunc nouam nunc veterem per testimonia assumo: Sedes apostolica vtráque vtitur.*

[c] *In Esaiæ cap. 49.*

[d] In a place aboue cited.

[e] *Bellar. li. 2. ca. 9. de verbo dei.*

to dissent from the originalls, therefore they inferre a great corruption of the originalls. This is the erroneous conceite of *Lindan*, f *Canus*, and other of that sort, against whom in the iust defence of the truth of the originals, the best learned in the Church of *Rome*, oppose themselues, as *Isaacke*, g *Arrias Montanus*, *Driedo*, h *Andradius*, *Sixtus Senensis*, and many moe. The chiefest argument of the aduerse part is, for that if this translation be not pure and faultlesse, the Church had not the word of God, so long as it vsed this translation onely. For answere hereunto, *Andradius* demandeth, if the Church were not as perfect, & as assuredly possessed of the truth, before this translation of *Hierome*, as since; if it were, he demandeth if they that liued in those times, did not as much admire the translation of the *Septuagint*, and the *Latine* translations out of it, as they do the vulgar. Now, that they did, he proueth at large, out of sundrie of the auncient, who held that the *Septuagint* were ledde in translating, with a propheticall spirit, freeing them from danger of error, so farre forth, that *Hierome* was greatly disliked, for aduenturing to translate after them, and if hee could correct any thing that they had done. Yea so great opposition did he finde, i that hee was forced to giue way to the clamors, and outcries of his aduersaries, to attribute much vnto them, & to make shew that he would neuer haue begunne this worke of a new translation, if the *Septuagint* had remained, and beene preserued, in originall puritie; k though sometimes hee feare not to pronounce, that they passed by many things of purpose, mistooke many things of ignorance, and suppressed other, because they would not make knowen, the dishonour of their Natiō to strāgers. Now (sayth *Andradius*) I would know, whether in all the places, wherin the translatiōs then in vse, differed frō the originals, the originalls were corrupted. If they were, then our translation, which commeth neerer to the originals, and leaueth the former translations, is corrupt, and so while these men endeuour to defend, they ouerthrow the authority of the vulgar translation. But some perhappes will demand whether the Church of God, in those times, had not the true scriptures of God, and whether the Church of God at any time, haue beene without an approued translation. Hereunto *Andradius* aunswereth, that the Church doth approue trāslations, not pronouncing that there is nothing amisse in them, or that they depart not from the true sense, & right meaning of any particular place, but that the Diuine Mysteries are therein truely deliuered, and nothing that concerneth faith, religion or good manners, ignorantly or fraudulently suppressed.

The Councell of *Trent* defined, that the vulgar *Latine* translation should be holden as authenticall; but hee sayth, *Andreas Vega* who was present at the Councell, reported that the Fathers of the Councell meant not to determine, that it is not defectiue, or faulty, but that it is not erroneous, or faultie, in such sort, as that any hurtfull, or pernicious opiniō in matters of faith

f *Lib. 2. cap. 13.*

g *Arrias Montanus de varia in Hebraicis bibl. lectione ac de Massoreth ratione et vsu in regijs bibljs.*

h *Andrad.* in his 4 booke intreating of the authority of the vulgar translatiō, sheweth his owne opinion, as also the iudgement of *Iohn Isack* and *Driedo* for the iustification of the originalls.

i *Præfat. in paralip. &c. scribit; Si versio 70 integra haberetur vt ab ijs edita fuit, se frustra laboraturum in bibljs transferendis.*

k *In 2 et 8 cap. Esaiæ, et 17: Ieremiæ, alia quia ante Christi aduentum interpretati sunt neque quicquam percepisse, alia, ne gentis suæ gloriam obscurarent, noluisse sub Egyptiorum oculos subijcere. Andrad. l. 4. defensionis fidei Tridentinæ.*

Ibidem.

ith, or manners, may necessarily be deduced from it. And that this was e meaning of the Councell, hee sayth, *Andreas Vega* alledged the au- oritie of the Cardinall of Saint Crosse, afterwards Pope, who deliuered much vnto him. So that the Church of GOD, doth not receiue a- y translation, as free from all error, and in that sense authenticall, but inketh that to bee the peculiar excellencie of the originals, which are by me vniustly disgraced, and called in question, as if they were so corrup- d, that translations should bee preferred before them.

CHAP. 28.

Of the truth of the Hebrewe *text of Scripture.*

For first, touching the *Hebrewe* text, which some suppose hath beene corrupted by the *Iewes*, it is not likely that of purpose they would corrupte it: for then they would spe- cially haue corrupted those places, which make most cleare- ly against them, and for the Christians; but those places are t corrupted, as *Andradius* sheweth, & proueth by the testimony of *Iohn acke*, who was wonne to Christianitie, by the pregnancy of a Chapter *Esayes* prophecie in *Hebrew*.

Neither is it likely, [a] *dum aliis inuiderent authoritatem, sibi abstuliſſe veri- em*; *that while they were vnwilling that we should haue any authoritie, for firmation of our faith in their scriptures, they would deprive themselues, of truth of them*, which they euer held the richest treasure in the worlde. specially seeing it hath euer beene thought by the wisest in Gods urch, that God in his prouidence, hath therefore preserued these for- ne, and forsaken Creatures, and dispersed them into the seuerall tions, and kingdomes of the World, that they might giue testimo- to the truth of our faith, by those monuments of *Moses*, and the phets, which they honour and embrace, as receiued from God him- e.

Thus then, wee are perswaded, that there is no great nor generall ruption of the *Hebrew* text of scripture, and that the faults which by ligence, in time crept into it, are but few, and such as by helpe of the zzoreth, may easily be amended. But because [c] *Andradius*, [d] *Bellarmine*, other of our aduersaries, haue vndertaken the defence of the truth, & futation of their fellowes error in this point, I wil no longer insist vp- t: let vs come therefore to the new Testament.

[a] *Aug. lib. 15. de ciuitate Dei ca. 13.*
[b] *Ipsa prophetia quod aliud nisi à nostris putaretur confitta, sinon inimicorum codicibus probaretur. Ideo ne occideris eos, ne ipsius gentis nomen extinxeris, ne quando obliuiscantur legis tuæ; disperge illos in virtute tua? Si enim in vno loco essent terrarū, non adimarent testimonio prædicationem euangelij quæ fructificat in toto orbe terrarum: ideo dispergit illos in virtute tua, vt eius ipsius, cuius fuerunt negatores, persecutores, interfectores, vbiq; sint testes per legem, &c. Aug. Tom. 2. epist. 59.*
[c] *Li. 4. defensionis fidei Tridentinæ.*
[d] *Li. 2. de verbo Dei. cap. 3.*

CHAP. 29.

Of the supposed Corruptions of the Greeke text of Scripture.

IN the new Testament, sayth [a] *Sixtus Senensis*, out of [b] *Hierome*, if any question arise amongst them that reade the scriptures, in *Latine*, and there appeare difference and varietie amongst the translations, wee must haue recourse to the *Greeke* as to the fountaine, assuring our selues, that there were euer some incorrupt and true Copies of the new Testament, found amongst them, that read the same in *Greeke*, out of which the *Latine* might be corrected; and that if some faults bee found in the *Greeke* Copies, by the negligence, or mistaking of them that wrote them out; they may easily be discerned, by laying together sundry Copies, casually corrupted, it so falling out, that what in one booke is depraued, by the fault of the writers, in another is found right. Now sayth he, whereas certaine heretickes did say, that either *Hierome* did not translate the same *Greeke* that now is, or that hee translated it very ill, it is to be aunswered, that the *Greeke* is the same, which all Christians read and translated, before and after *Hierome*; but that he translated it not, but onely corrected some things corrected the olde translation, hee found in vse before, and that yet notwithstanding, that vulgar and olde translation, is not wholly to be abandoned and reiected: for that, though it doe not exactly agree with the *Greeke*, which is the originall, yet it omitteth nothing in matter of faith, or truth of storie, nor hath any thing contrarie to the truth of religion.

[a] *Bibliotheca l. 7. haeres. 1.*
[b] *Ad Suniam et Fritellam.*

The *Romanists*, to proue that the *Greeke* text of the new Testament is corrupted, and consequently that it is not safe to correct the *Latine* translations by it, alledge certine places, which they presume, they can easily demõstrate to be corrupted. [c] *Bellarmine* giueth instance in these that follow. In the 1. *Cor.* 15. the *Greeke* that now is, hath in all Copies, *The first man was of the earth, earthly, the second man is the Lord from heauen*: the latter part of this sentence, [d] *Tertullian* supposeth to haue been corrupted, and altered by the *Marcionites*, in stead of that the *Latine* text hath, *The second man was from heauen, heauenly*, as [e] *Ambrose*, [f] *Hierome*, and many of the Fathers read also. Touching this place wee aunswere, that not onely the *Greeke* Copies now extant haue it, as we read & translate, but the Syriake and *Arabicke* also, and that [g] *Damascene de Orthodoxa fide* readeth in the same sort.

[c] *Lib. 2. cap. 7. de verbo dei.*
[d] *Lib. 5. contra Marcionem.*
[e] *In 1. Cor. 15.*
[f] *In eundem locũ.*
[g] *De Orthodoxa fide l. 3. cap. 12.*

Notwithstanding becausе many of the Fathers both *Greeke* and *Latine*, follow the other reading, we thinke it very doubtfull which is the originall veritie. This difference of the readings of the Apostles words

matter of noe great moment, seeing neither of them contain any thing contrary to the rule of faith, or verity of Christian religion. The second place they produce, is 1. *Iohn.* 4. 3. Where the *Greeke* hath, *Euerie spirit that confesseth not &c.* but the *Latine, euerie spirit that dissolueth Iesus.* It is true, that *Socrates* in his history, sayth, that the auncient *Greeke* Copies had as the *Latine* now hath, and that these words were put out, by such as diuided the person of Christ: yet seeing not onely all Copies of the *Greeke* text, but the *Syriacke* translation also hath, *Euerie spirit that confesseth not &c.* and [h] *Cyprian* so citeth the place, and [i] *Augustine* readeth and interpreteth both; wee thinke it likewise very doubtfull, which is the originall verity.

Lib. 7. 32.

h Contra Iudæos li. 2. cap. 8.

i Exposi. in epist. Iohan. tractatu. 6.

The next place is the 1. Cor. 7. wherein the vulgar *Latine* wee reade in this sort. *He, that is with a wife, is carefull for the things of the World, how he may please his wife, and is diuided*, that is, *distracted with many cares*: but in the *Greeke* it is thus, *Hee that hath a wife, is carefull for the thinges of the world, how to please his wife, there is a difference betweene a wife and a virgin, or they are diuided one frõ another.* That the former is the true reading of the Apostles words, *Bellarmine* proueth, because *Hierome* against [k] *Iouinian* affirmeth it to bee so, and some other of the Fathers followe the same.

k Li. 1. loquitur de latinis codicibus et in illis ait legi, diuisa est mulier et virgo: quod quanquam habeat suum sensum, et à si quoquo pro qualitate loci se ediffertum sit, tamen non essi apostolicæ veritatis pronuncui.

But hee should knowe, that not onely the most part of all the *Greeke* Copies haue as wee translate, but the *Syriacke*, and *Arabicke* translations also Besides, *Basil*, the *Greeke Scholiast*, *Theophylact*, and *Hierome* himselfe against *Heluidius*, and to *Eustochium de Custodia Virginitatis*. So that this proofe of the corruption of the Originalls, prooueth too weake. The next allegation concerning the 12. to the *Romanes*, of *seruing the Lord*, & *seruing the time*, is much weaker. For *Beza* sheweth that some *Greeke* Copies haue, as the vulgar hath, and as *Bellarmine* sayth, the truth is, *seruing the Lord*. That the storie of the Adultereresse in the 8 of *Iohn*, is not found in many *Greeke* Copies, doth not proue the generall corruption of the *Greeke* text, which is the thing our aduersaries vndertake to proue. For if it did, the *Latine* also should bee reiected, as corrupted and false. For as [l] *Hierome* witnesseth, many of the *Latine* Copies wanted this story, as well as the *Greeke*. [m] Some of the auncient, were of opinion, that this story was first found, in the *Apocriphall* Gospell, according to the *Hebrewes*. But whatsoeuer wee thinke of it, it maketh nothing against the authority of the *Greeke* text, seeing it was euer founde in some *Greeke* Copies, though not in all.

l Lib. 2. contra Pelagianos.

m Sixtus bibliothecæ li. 1. de 2. ordine librorum non ita pridem auctis.

The *Rhemists*, to disgrace the *Greeke*, alledge sundry places, where they say, our translators choose rather to follow the vulgar *Latine*, then the *Greeke*, thereby acknowledging, that it is corrupt. But if we examine the particulars, wee shal finde, that this their allegation, is nothing else, but a lying and false report. For they euer followe some, and those the best,

n In their preface before the new testament translated by them.

e In his annotations vpon the seuerall places obiected by the Rhemists.

and most incorrupt *Greeke* Copies, as e *Beza* sheweth. Wherefore saying in this allegation, they betake themselues to another, not of falsehood, but of superfluitie: the first instance whereof that they giue, is the first of *Mathewe*, where the Lords prayer, in the vulgar *Latine*, endeth with this petition, *deliuer vs from euill*, leauing out, *for thine is the Kingdome, the power, and the glorie*, which they suppose to bee superfluously added in the *Greeke*. But these men should know, that though it were granted, that these words were superfluous, yet nothing is therby derogated from the *Greeke*, seeing some *Greeke* Copies, and they verie auncient, omitte them, as *Beza* sheweth. Their next instance, is *Rom.* 11. where the vulgar *Latine* hath, *If of grace, not of workes; otherwise grace, should bee noe more grace:* which is added by way of *Antitheſis*, & oppoſitiō, in the *Greeke*, *If of workes, not of grace; otherwise workes, should bee noe more worke*. It will bee very hard for our aduersaries to proue, that these later wordes are superfluously added, being found not onely in the most *Greeke* Copies, but in the *Syriacke* translation. But if it were granted, yet there is one *Greeke* Copie of great antiquitie, that omitteth these wordes, as well as the vulgar *Latine*. The next instance is the sixt of *Marke*, and the 11. *Verely I say vnto you, it shall be easier for* Sodome *and* Gomorrh. *&c.* If it were graunted, that these wordes were superfluously added, which yet there is no reason to doe, seeing, besides verie many *Greeke* Copies, the *Syriacke* translation hath them also, yet would this make nothing for the improuing of the credite of the *Greeke*, seeing, as *Beza* professeth, there are three *Greeke* Copies, that omitte them. The like may bee sayd, touching the next allegation, of *Mathew*, the 20. 22. 23. where these words, *and be baptised with the baptisme, that I am baptised with*, are supposed to bee superfluous; for there are some *Greeke* Copies, that omitte them, as well as the vulgar.

Thus hauing examined the seuerall allegations of our aduersaries, against the authoritie, & credite, of the *Greeke* text of the new Testament, wee see that they faile in them, neither being able to conuince it of falsehood, nor superfluitie. Wherefore to conclude this matter, wee say with *Hierome*, that the *Latine* editions are to be corrected by the *Greeke*, and that by the prouidence of God, the veritie of the scriptures of the new Testament, hath euer beene preserued in the originall: That those faults and errours which are crept into some Copies, may easily by the helpe of others, be corrected, and that there is no difference in matter of substance, in so great varietie of Copies, as are found in the world. If any man say, the *Greeke* hath beene corrupted since the dayes of *Hierome*, and that therefore though hee in his time, thought the translations might bee corrected by the originalls, yet nowe wee may not take the same course; wee answere, it may easily bee proued, that all those supposed corruptions, which they now finde in the *Greeke*, were found in it, in

Hierome

Hieromes time. For there are but two places, to witte, 1. Corinth. 15. and 1. Iohn, 4, 3. where all Greeke Copies, haue otherwise then they say the truth is, and these places were corrupted, (if there bee any error in the present reading,) before Hieromes time. Thus much touching the sufficiency of the scriptures, and the editions, wherein the authenticall veritie of the same, is to bee sought.

CHAP. 30.

Of the power of the Church in making Lawes.

NOw it remaineth that wee come to the next part of our diuision, touching the power of the Church, in making lawes. [a] As the will of God, willing and purposing the being of each thing, is the first, and highest cause, of things: so the same will of God, determining what is fitte to bee, what, of what kinde, in what sort, each thing must be, that it may attaine, and possesse, the vttermost degree of perfection, the orderly disposition of thinges, requireth, to bee communicated to it, is the first and highest lawe to the whole world. And as the will of God determining what is fitte, defining what ought to bee, and what must bee, if the Creatures attaine their highest perfection, is a generall law to all Creatures; so when hee maketh knowen to creatures rationall, and of an vnderstanding nature, which haue power to doe or omitte thinges thus fit to bee done, that though he leaue in their power, and freedome of choise, to doe, or omitte them, yet they shall bee tyed, either to doe them, or to lose the good they are to enioy, and incurre the euils they would auoyde; It is more specially named a law of commandement, precept, or direction, binding men, vpon whome it is imposed, to the performance of that it requireth.

[a] Cognitum sit in principio in primis sententiarum.

The precepts and Commandements of Almightie God, are of two sorts; for either they are such, as in respect of the nature and condition of things themselues, are good, and so bind all men, at all times: or else they are positiue, prescribing things variable according to the diuersities of times, and the different condition of men liuing in them. The former kinde of lawes, God imposed vpon men, in the day of their creation, redemption, and restauration, together with the verie nature, and being which hee gaue them: the later prescribing thinges not naturally perpetually good, but good onely at some times, to some men, and to the purposes & vses, to which they serue, were not imposed at first, together with the institutiō of nature, or the restauration of the same by grace,

but

but are then imposed, when the things they prescribe are iudged good and beneficiall. So God prescribed, before the comming of Christ his sonne, those sacrifices, and offerings, which now hee regardeth not; and hath now instituted those Sacraments, Ceremonies, and rites of Religion, which before were not known in the world.

Thus wee see, that the originall of all lawes is the will of God, who, as hee reserueth to himselfe, the honor of being the supreme, first, and highest cause of all thinges, and yet communicateth part of his Diuine power, to subordinate and inferiour causes; so though hee alone bee the great lawgiuer to euery creature, yet hee communicateth part of his authority, to such among the sonnes of men, as hee is pleased to make greater than others, giuing them power to command, and prescribe lawes to them.

Touching this matter thus generally deliuered, there is no difference betweene vs, and our aduersaries. For it is confessed on both sides, that God, who is the great lawgiuer to the whole world, hath chosen out some from amongst the rest of the sonnes of men, whom hee hath been pleased to honour with his owne name, to seat vpon his owne seat, and to make rulers and law-giuers vnto his people: but the question is, vnto in what bounds this power is contained, and how farre the band of lawes made by such authoritie extendeth.

CHAP. 31.

Of the boundes, within which, the power of the Church in making lawes is contained, and whether shee may make lawes concerning the worshippe of God.

TOuching the first, the questions vsually proposed, whether the Rulers of Gods Church, and people, may make lawes concerning Gods worshippe, and seruice. For the clearing whereof, *Stapleton* distinguisheth the things pertaining to the worshippe and seruice of God, into three sorts. The first, such as are seales, assurances, and in their sort, and kinde, causes of grace; as the sacrifices in olde time, and the sacraments now: the second such as remoue the impediments of grace, dispose to the receiuing of it, and worke other spirituall and supernaturall effectes, though they be not grace in so high degree as the first; as the signing with the signe of the Crosse, sprinkling with holy water, and the like: the thirde, such as are vsed onely for order, and comelinesse in the performance of the principall, and essentiall duties of Gods worshippe, and seruice. These be the diuerse sorts of things, pertaining to the worshippe and seruice

a Contro. 5. de potestate ecclesiæ circa ceremonias religionis quæst. 6. art. 1. in explicatione articuli.

God, the queſtion and controuerſie betweene vs and our aduerſaries, is onely touching things of the ſecond ranke. For they confeſſe, the Church hath noe power, to inſtitute things of the firſt ſort, and wee willingly grant vnto it, a moſt ample power, in thinges of the third ſort. Let vs firſt therefore lay downe their opinion, and then examine the trueth, or falſehood of it.

Their opinion is, that the Church hath power to inſtitute Ceremonies, and obſeruations, though not to iuſtifie, and giue grace, as do the ſacraments, yet to cure diſeaſes, driue away deuils, purge out veniall ſinnes, and to worke other the like ſpirituall, and ſupernaturall effects; and that not onely by way of impetration, and by force of the prayers of the Church, which hath prayed, that they that vſe ſuch things may enioy ſuch happy benefites, but *ex opere operato*, by the very worke wrought, the vſe of theſe things, applying the merits of Chriſt, to the effecting of theſe inferiour effects, as the Sacraments do, to the effects of Iuſtification and remiſſion of ſinnes.

The ſigne of the Croſſe, ſayth [b] *Bellarmine*, driueth away Diuells, three wayes; firſt, by the deuotion of them that vſe it, it being a kind of inuocation of his name, that was crucified for the redēption of the world, expreſſed not by words, but by this ſigne: Secondly, by the impreſſion of feare, which the verie ſight and apprehenſion of it worketh in the diuell, as being the thing whereby *Chriſt wrought his ouerthrowe*: Thirdly, *ex opere operato*; in which ſort Infidels vſing this ſigne, haue wrought theſe effects.

[b] *De imaginibus Sanctorum l. 2. cap. 30.*

The *Rhemiſts* vpon 1. *Tim.* 4. 5. *Euery Creature is good, &c.* haue theſe obſeruations: Firſt, that euery creature is by nature, and condition of creation, good: Secondly, that Sathan vniuſtly vſurpeth vppon theſe creatures, in, and by them, ſeeking to hurt the bodies, and ſoules of men: Thirdly, that by prayer, and inuocation of Gods name, notwithſtanding the curſe vpon all creatures, and Sathans readineſſe to doe vs harme, they are good & cōfortable to vs, ſo that in thē we taſte the ſweetneſſe of Diuine goodneſſe: Fourthly, that the bleſſings of Gods Church, and her Miniſters, do not onely ſtay & hinder Sathans working, remoue the curſe, and make the creatures ſerue for our good, accordingly as at the firſt they were appointed, but apply them alſo to ſo ſacred vſes, as to bee inſtruments of remiſſion of ſinnes, iuſtification, and infuſion of grace; as appeareth in the ſacraments inſtituted by *Chriſt*: Fifthly, that beſides, & out of the vſe of ſacramentes, the prayers and bleſſinges of the Church, do ſanctifie diuers creatures, to the working of ſpirituall, and ſupernaturall effects, as to expell Diuels, cure diſeaſes, and remitte veniall ſinnes; and that not onely, as ſanctified things are wont to doe, in that they ſtirre vp, and increaſe deuotion, and the feruour of pietie, but in that the Miniſters of the Church, by their ſoueraigne authority, haue

annexed to the vse of them, power to worke such effectes. This last proposition containeth the whole matter of difference betweene them and vs; for touching all the former wee consent, and agree with them.

For clearing of this point, we lay downe these propositions: First, that by ordinarie prayers, the Creatures of God are sanctified to ordinarie vses. Secondly, that the presenting them, or some part of them, in holy places, and to holy persons, to bee blessed of them, maketh the vse of them more comfortable, then the former blessing, but addeth noe supernaturall force, efficacie or grace vnto them. Thirdly, that Christ appointed, and the Church dayly sanctifieth, the creatures of God, and elements of this worlde, to bee the matter of his sacraments. Fourthly, that bread being appointed to be the matter of the Sacrament of the body of Christ, and water of Baptisme, the Christians in auncient time, held that bread, which had been offered and presented at the Lords Table, (out of which a part was consecrated, for the vse of the sacrament,) more holy then other bread: And this is that bread, [c] *Augustine* sayth, was giuen to the *Catechumens*: as also they religiously kept of that water, which had beene halowed for the vse of Baptisme, and by the vse of it, strengthened their assurance, of enioying the benefittes, which are bestowed on men, in Baptisme. Neither can our aduersaries clearly prooue, any separate sanctifying of water, to haue beene vsed in the Primitiue Church. If they could, it were nothing else but the bringing of some part of this element, into holy places, with humble desire, that they which in memorie of Baptisme, should vse it, and so haue their faith strengthened, might more, and more, receiue the effects of saving grace, as the Christians of *Russia*, and [d] *Æthiopia*, vnto this day, on the *Epiphanie*, on which day they remember the Baptisme of *Christ*, goe into the water, praying vnto God, that the effectes of the sacrament of Baptisme, may more, and more, bee seene and appeare in them. Fifthly, that the Church consecrateth sundry outwarde thinges, to the vse of Gods seruice, not giuing them any newe qualitie, force, or efficacie, but onely praying, that God will be pleased to accept that, which is done in, or with them, and to worke in vs, that, the vse of them importeth. Sixthly, holy men hauing the gift of miracles, did vse sometimes water, sometimes oyle, sometimes other things, and gaue them to bee vsed by other, for the working of miraculous effects, after the example of *Elizeus*, and Christ himselfe: of which sort is that of *Ioseph* mentioned by [e] *Epiphanius*, who filling a vessell with water, signing it with the signe of the Crosse, and casting it into a certaine fire, caused it to burne, though Sathan hindered it before, that it could not burne; as likewise that of [f] *Hilarion*, who gaue a kinde of halowed oyle to certaine, who, by vsing it, were cured of their diseases. But the consecrating of oyle, salte, water, and the like things, by men not hauing the gift of miracles, to driue away deuils, cure diseases

c *Li. 2. de peccatorum meritis et remissione cap. 26.*

d *Damianus Agores de moribus Aethiopum.*

e *Num. 30.*

f *Hieron. in Hilarionem vita.*

diſeaſes, remitte veniall ſinnes, and worke other ſpirituall, and ſupernaturall effectes *ex opere operato*, by application of the merits of Chriſt, was neuer knowen in the Primitiue Church, nor any ſuch forme of exorciſing or bleſſing as they now vſe.

That which the *Rhemiſts* alledge, touching the liuer of a fiſh vſed by *Tobie*, the piece of the holy earth, where Chriſt was buried, preſeruing a mans chamber from the infeſtation of Diuels, and the force of holy reliques, tormēting thē, maketh nothing to this purpoſe, all theſe exāples being miraculous. [h] Touching the harpe of *Dauid*, quieting *Saul*, there is a reaſon for it in nature, though the repreſſinge of Sathans rage, were miraculous. That infidels haue ſometimes driuen away diuels by the ſigne of the Croſſe, it was by the ſpeciall diſpenſation of Almightie God, who would thereby glorifie his ſonne, whoſe Croſſe the world deſpiſed; and not as if this Ceremonie had force *ex opere operato*, to worke ſuch effects. That the name of *Ieſus*, did miraculouſly caſt out Diuels, in the Primitiue Church (which is the next allegation) who euer made doubt? but what maketh this to the purpoſe? That which they alledge, that Saint *Gregorie* did vſually ſend his benediction, and remiſſion of ſins, in, and with ſuch tokens, as were ſanctified by his bleſsing, and touch of the Martyrs reliques, as nowe his ſucceſſors doe the like halowed remembrances of religion, is verie vaine. [i] For *Gregorie* did not ſende any ſuch bleſsing of his owne, or remiſsion of ſinnes, by force of it, as nowe his ſucceſſors doe, but onely certaine things, that had pertained to Chriſt, or his Apoſtles; [k] as part of the wood of the Croſſe of Chriſt, or of the chaines wherewith the Apoſtles were bound, and with them the bleſsing of Chriſt & thoſe Apoſtles, to ſuch as ſhould conforme themſelues, to his ſufferinges, or their faith. That which they alledge out of the [l] thirde Councell of *Carthage*, touching the bleſsing of milke, hony, grapes and corne, bewrayeth their ignorance. For that Canon ſpeaketh not of any ſuch bleſsing; but forbiddeth any thing, beſides breade, and wine mingled with water for the matter of the Sacrament, & grapes and corne to bee preſented on the Altar. [m] The Canon of the Apoſtles is to the ſame effect, forbidding any thing, but new grapes, & corn in their ſeaſon, & oyle for the lights, and incenſe to be vſed, in the time of the oblation, to be preſented on the Altar, willing the firſt fruites, to bee carried to the Biſhoppes houſe, & preſcribing what ſhal be done with ſuch preſents. The [n] ſixt generall Councell, finding that ſome did giue to the people, with the ſacrament, theſe grapes &c. forbade it, and preſcribed that being bleſſed, they ſhould be deliuered priuately to the *Catechumens*, and other, that they might prayſe God, who hath giuen ſo good, and pleaſing things, for the nouriſhmēt of mens bodyes; but ſpeaketh nothing of bleſsing of them, to be inſtruments of remiſsion of ſinnes, and of the like ſpirituall and ſupernaturall effects.

g *Tobi.* 11.

h 1. *Sam.* 16. 23.

i *Epiſt. li.* 3. *indict.* 12. *cap.* 30. *li.* 7. *indict.* 1. *cap.* 34.

k These were often accompanyed with miraculous effects in thoſe times, as it appeareth by *Gregorie* in the places cited.

l Canon. 24.

m Can. 3.

n Can. 28.

Thus wee ſee, our aduerſaries cannot prooue, that the Church hath power to annexe vnto ſuch Ceremonies, and obſeruations, as ſhee deuiſeth, the remiſsion of ſins, & the working of other ſpirituall, and ſupernaturall effects, which is the onely thing queſtioned betweene them, and vs, touching the power of the Church. So that all the power the Church hath, more then by her authority, to publiſh the Commaundements of Chriſt the ſonne of God, and by her cenſures, to puniſh the offenders againſt the ſame, is onely in preſcribing thinges that pertaine to comelineſſe, and order.

Comelineſſe requireth, that not onely that grauitie, and modeſtie, doe appeare in the performance of the workes of Gods ſeruice, that beſeemeth actions of that nature, but alſo that ſuch rites, and ceremonies bee vſed, as may cauſe a due reſpect vnto, and regarde of the thinges performed, and thereby ſtirre men vppe, to greater feruour, and deuotion. *Caremoniæ*, Ceremonies, are ſo named, as [o] *Liuie* thinketh, from a Towne called *Care*, in the which the Romanes did hide their ſacred thinges, when the *Gaules* inuaded *Rome*. Other thinke, Ceremonies are ſo named a *Carendo*, of abſtaining from certaine thinges, as the *Iewes* abſtained from ſwines fleſh, and ſundrie other things, forbidden by God as vncleane.

[o] *Lib. 5. et Valerius Maximus lib. 1. cap. 1.*

Ceremonies are outward acts of religion, hauing inſtitution either from the inſtinct of nature, as the lifting vp of the handes and eyes to heauen, the bowing of the knee, the ſtriking of the breaſt, and ſuch like: or immediately from God, as the ſacraments, or from the Churches preſcription, and either onely ſerue to expreſſe ſuch ſpirituall and heauenly affections, diſpoſitions, motions, and deſires, as are or ſhould be in men: or elſe to ſignifie, aſſure, and conuey vnto them, ſuch benefittes of ſauing grace, as God in Chriſt is pleaſed to beſtow on them. To the former purpoſe, and end, the Church hath power to ordaine Ceremonies; to the latter God onely.

Order requireth, that there bee ſet howres for prayer, preaching, and miniſtring the ſacraments, that there bee ſilence, and attention, when the things are performed, that women be ſilent in the Church, that all things bee adminiſtred according to the rules of diſcipline. Thus we ſee, within what bounds, the power of the Church is contained, and how farre it hath authoritie to command, and preſcribe, in things pertaining to the worſhippe, and ſeruice of God.

CHAP.

CHAP. 32.

Of the nature of Lawes, and how they binde.

NOw it remaineth that wee examine, howe farre the band of ſuch lawes extendeth, as the Church maketh, and whether they bind the conſcience, or onely the outward man. For the clearing whereof, firſt wee muſt obſerue, in what ſenſe it is, that lawes are ſayde to binde; and ſecondly, what it is, to binde the conſcience. Lawgiuers ſayde to binde them, to whome they giue lawes, when they demine and ſet downe, what is fit to bee done, what things they are, the ng whereof they approoue, and the omiſſion whereof they diſlike, then ſignifie to them whom they command, that though they haue wer, and libertie of choiſe, to doe, or omitte the things preſcribed, yet they will ſo, and in ſuch ſort, limitte them, in the vſe of their libertie, hat, either they ſhall doe that they are commanded, or be depriued of good they deſire, and incurre the euilles they would auoyde. None thus tye and limit men, but they that haue power to depriue them, of good they deſire, and bring vpon them the contrarie euills. So that no knowing what hee doth, preſcribeth, or commaundeth any ng, vnder greater penalties, then he hath power to inflict, nor a- thing but that, whereof hee can take notice, whether it bee done ot, that ſo hee may accordingly rewarde or puniſh, the doing, or o- ſion of it.

Hence it followeth, that mortall men forget themſelues, and keepe within their owne bounds, when either they commaund, vnder paine ternall damnation, which none but God can inflicte, (according to of our Sauiour, [a] *Feare not them, that can kill the bodie: but feare him ra- , that hath power, to caſt both body and ſoule into hell fire.*) [b] or take vppon to preſcribe inwarde actions, of the ſoule or ſpirite, or the per- nance of outwarde actions, with inwarde affections; whereas none God, that ſearcheth the heart, can either take knowledge of things his kinde, or conuent the offenders, and iudge and try them. Thus wee ſee, what it is to bind, and that none can binde men to the per- nãce of any thing, but by the feare of ſuch puniſhments, as they haue wer to inflict.

a Mat. 10. 28.
b *Gerſ. de vita ſpirituali animæ lect. 4. Corollar. 12.*

CHAP. 33.

Of the nature of Conſcience, and how the Conſcience is bound.

IN the next place wee are to ſee, what the nature of Conſcience is, and howe the Conſcience is bound. Conſcience is the priuitie, the ſoule hath, to thinges knowen to none but God and her ſelfe. Hence it is, that conſcience hath a fearefull apprehenſion of puniſhments for euill done, thoughe neither knowen, nor poſsible to be knowen, to any, but God, and the offendour alone. The puniſhments that men can inflict, wee neuer feare, vnleſſe our euill doings be known to them. For, though wee haue conſcience of them, and be priuie to them, yet if they be hidden from them, wee knowe they neither will, nor can puniſh vs. To binde the conſcience then, is to binde the ſoule and feare of man, with the feare of ſuch puniſhments (to bee inflicted by him that ſo bindeth) as the conſcience feareth, that is as men feare, though none but God and themſelues be priuie to their doings. Nowe theſe are onely ſuch, as God alone inflicteth: and therefore ſeeing none haue power to binde but by feare of ſuch puniſhmentes, as they haue power to inflict, none can binde the conſcience, but God alone. [a] Neither ſhould the queſtion bee propoſed, whether humane lawes binde the conſcience, but whether binding the outward man, to the performāce of outward things by force, and feare, of outward puniſhments, to be inflicted by men, for not performance of ſuch thinges, or the not performance of them with ſuch affections, as were fitte, bee not a ſinne againſt God, of which the conſcience will accuſe vs, hee hauing commanded vs to obey the Magiſtrates and rulers, he hath ſet ouer vs. For aunſwere whereunto wee ſay, there are three ſorts of things commaunded by Magiſtrates. Firſt, euill and againſt God. Secondly, iniurious in reſpect of them to whom they are preſcribed, or at leaſt, vnprofitable to the common wealth, in which they are preſcribed. Thirdly, ſuch as are profitable and beneficiall to the ſocietie of men, to whome they are preſcribed. Touching the firſt ſort of things, God hath not commanded vs, to obey, neither muſt we obey, but rather ſay to them, that command vs ſuch thinges, with the [b] Apoſtles, whether it be fit to obey God, or men, iudge you. Yet wee muſt ſo farre forth to obey, that wee ſhew no contempt of their office, and authoritie, which is of God, though they abuſe it. Touching the ſecond ſort of things, that God requireth of vs, is, that wee ſhewe noe contempt of ſacred authoritie, though not rightly vſed, that wee ſcandalize not others, and that wee be ſubiect to ſuch penalties, and puniſhments, as they that command ſuch thinges, doe lay vppon vs; ſo that God requireth our

[a] *Quamvis peccet quis tranſgrediendo leges humanas, non tamen ligant conſcientiam: patet per ſimile de præceptis medicorum, quæ deſpicere quis non poteſt ſine peccato; et tamen non ligant conſcientiam. Gerſ. de vita ſpirituali animæ lect. 4. corollar. 5. vbi reprehendit eos qui fulminant et tot condunt leges, quot nunquam legere poſſumus.*

[b] *Acts 4. 19.*

, and ready obedience, only in things of the thirde sort. The breach violation of this kinde of lawes, is sinne, not for that humane lawes e power to binde the conscience, or that it is simply, and absolutely efull to breake them, but because the things they commande, are of nature, that not to performe them, is contrarie to iustice, charitie, and desire wee should haue, to procure the common good of them, with ome wee liue. Wee are bound then sometimes, to the performance of gs prescribed by humane lawes, in such sort that the not performance hem is sinne; not *ex sola legislatoris voluntate, sed ex ipsa legum vti-*e, as *Stapleton* hath rightly obserued. But some man will say, What the lawes then effect? seeing it is the law of Iustice, and charitie that bind vs, and not the particularities of Lawes, newly made. To we answere, that many thinges are good and profitable, if they bee erally obserued, which without such generall obseruation, will doe ood: as for one man to pay tribute, or for one man to stay his goods n transportation, is no way beneficiall to the common wealth; which ld be very profitable, if all did so. Now the law procureth a gene-obseruation: whence it commeth that a man is bound by the lawe of ritie, and iustice, to that, after the making of a lawe, which before hee not bound vnto.

[c] *Stapleton contro. 5. de potestate eccles. circa leges morales quæst. 7. art. 2. in explicatione arti.*

And this is it, that *Stapleton* meaneth, when hee sayth, that humane s doe binde the conscience, not *ex voluntate legislatoris, sed ex ipsa n utilitate, et ratione*, Not because they prescribe such things, but be-e the things so prescribed, if they bee generally obserued, are profita-o the common wealth.

By this which hath beene sayd, it appeareth, that they doe impiously pe, and assume to themselues, that which is proper to God, [d] who haue all their lawes, taken for diuine lawes, and such as binde conscience, no lesse then the lawes of GOD; who publish all Canons, and constitutions, in such sorte, that they threaten nation, to all offenders: Whereas noe creature hath power, prescribe, commaunde or prohibite any thing, vnder paine of , and eternall punishment, vnlesse the partie so commaunded, formerly either expressely, or by implication, either formally, force and vertue of some generall dutie, bounde vnto it by lawe before; because God onely, hath power of eternall life or .

[d] *Gers. de auferribilitate papæ consideratione 8. a quali tenore quæritur obseruari lex humana sine sit illa canonica, secularis, vel ciuilis, quemadmodum custodiri diuinam absq; vlla varietate necesse est: inde venit illa Christi quæstio Matth. 5. Irritum fecistis mandatum Dei propter traditiones vestras.*

The soule of man, as it receiueth from GOD onely, the life of grace, loseth the same, when hee for the transgression of his lawes, and pts, forsaketh it. For as none but he, can giue this life, so none ee, can take it awaie: hee onely hath the keyes of *DAVID*, eneth, and no man shutteth, hee shutteth and no man openeth. e it followeth, that no lawe-giuer may commaund anye thing,

vnder

vnder paine of eternall punishment, but God onely, because hee only hath power to inflict this kinde of punishment. And that noe man incurreth the guilt of eternall cõdemnation, but by violating the lawes of God. Whereupon *Augustine* defineth sinnes, to be thoughts, words, & deeds against the lawe of God.

That men doe sinne, in not keeping, and obseruing the lawes of men, it is because, being generally bound by Gods law, to do those things which set forwarde the common good, many thinges being commanded, and so generally obserued, grow to be beneficiall, which without such generall obseruation, flowing from the prescript of law, were not so: and so though not formally, yet by vertue of generall duetie, men are tyed to the doing of them, vnder paine of sinne, and the punishment that deseruedly followeit.

CHAP. 34.

Of their reasons, who thinke, that humane Lawes doe binde the Conscience.

[a] *Bellar: 1. tom. contro: 5. li. 3. de laicis, cap. 11.*

He reasons which [a] *Bellarmine* and other of that faction bring, to proue that humane lawes doe bind the conscience, are so vaine and friuolous, that they deserue noe answere: yet least our aduersaries should thinke, wee therefore passe them ouer without examination, because wee feare the force, and weight of them, I will breefely take a viewe of them, and let the Reader see their weakenesse. To binde, say *Bellarmine*, is either the essence or essentiall propertie of a lawe, therefore all lawes, whether they be of God, or of men, doe binde in the same sort. Hee should haue sayd, therefore all lawes do binde, whether they be of God, or men. For to say, It is the essential propertie of a law to bind, therefore all lawes doe binde in the same sorte, is as if a man should reason, It is essentiall to all naturall bodies to haue motion, therefore the same kinde of motion; whereas yet the fire goeth vpwarde, and the stone downewards, things without life mooue but one way, either towards, or from the center of the world, things liuing euerie way. His next reason is more childish then this: for hee reasoneth thus, If lawes do binde only in that they are diuine, then all diuine lawes should equally binde. This reason concludeth nothing against vs. For first, no man sayth, that lawes binde only, because diuine, (for it is essentiall to euery lawe to binde) but that they binde the conscience, because they are diuine. And secondly, wee adde, that all diuine lawes, doe equally binde the conscience. For

conscie-

nſcience doth as much feare Gods diſpleaſure, & eternall puniſhment, r one ſinne, as for another, though not ſo great diſpleaſure, nor ſo gree- us puniſhment. And ſo they equally bind the conſcience; though there no equalitie, either of the ſinnes, or of the puniſhment, the conſcience reth and ſeeketh, to decline.

His third reaſon, that Gods commaundement maketh thoſe acti- s that were before indifferent, to be actions of vertue, therefore men their precepts, doe ſo likewiſe, is very ſtrange, and therefore hee deuoureth to confirme it. The reaſon (ſayth hee) why Gods precepts, d commandements, make actions that were indifferent, as to eate ines fleſh, or not to eate it, to be actions of vertue, is becauſe they are les of mens manners and cõuerſation, but mens lawes likewiſe are rules mens liues, manners and conuerſation, therefore they in like ſort make oſe actions, that were before indifferent to be actions of vertue. To this e anſwere, that there are many great differences, betweene theſe two les. Firſt, for that, the one containeth a certaine, and infallible dire- ion, the other oftentimes leadeth out of the way. Secondly, that the wes of God, are rules in ſuch ſort, that the very thoughts of the heart, iuerting from that, which they preſcribe, are ſinnefull, but mens lawes re kept and fulfilled, with how bad affections ſoeuer, the thinges bee one, that are preſcribed. Thirdly, becauſe the vſe of nothing being wfull vnto vs, in reſpect of conſcience, longer, nor farther, then GOD the ſupreme Lord of all, alloweth the ſame; it is an action of ertue, to abſtaine from things, denyed vnto vs by GOD, either in he firſt inſtitution of nature, or by his poſitiue lawe: but men ha- ing no ſuch power, no ſuch thinge is conſequent vppon their com- maundements, or prohibitions. Laſtly, Gods lawe, both that which s naturall, that is, giuen when nature was firſt inſtituted, and that which is poſitiue, is the rule of mens liues abſolutely: which if they bee conformed vnto, they are morally good; if they varie from, they re euill & wicked: but the lawes of men, are rules onely in reſpect of outwarde conuerſation, framinge it to the good of the common- wealth. So that a man, euen according to the rules of Philoſophy, may bee a good Citizen, that is not a good man. His next reaſon s taken, from the compariſon of a King and his Viceroy, the Pope, and his Legate, and the lawes, and edictes of theſe, binding in the ſame ſort.

To this wee aunſwere, that the compariſon holdeth not: firſt be- cauſe the King, and his viceroy, command the ſame things, & to the ſame ends; but if we compare God, and men, the lawes of God, and the lawes of men, we ſhall finde a great difference between them, both in the things they command, and the ends for which they command; the one requiring inward actions, & the performance of outward with inward affectiõs; the

other outward onely. Secondly, becauſe both the King, and his viceroy haue power to take notice of all kind of offences, committed againſt both the one, and the other, and to puniſh them, with the ſame kind of puniſhment, but there are many offences, committed againſt God, by euery man, whereof men can take no notice; and if they could, yet haue no power to inflict ſuch puniſhments, as God doth. [b] His laſt reaſon is taken from that place of the Apoſtle, where hee requireth vs to bee ſubiect to power, and authoritie, for conſcience ſake. To this wee aunſwere, first that it is a matter of conſcience, to be ſubiect in all thinges: for ſubiection is required generally, and abſolutely, where obedience is not. Secondly wee ſay, that it is a matter of conſcience, to ſeeke, and procure, the good of the common wealth; and that therefore, it is a matter of conſcience to obey good, and profitable lawes, ſo farre, as wee are perſwaded, our obedience is profitable. Thus haue wee breefely examined their reaſons who thinke, that humane lawes binde the conſcience, the weakeneſſe whereof, I hope all men of any iudgement, will eaſily diſcerne.

Wherefore to conclude this matter, touching the Churches power in making lawes, there are three things which we diſlike, in the doctrine, and practice, of the Romane Church. First, that they take vpon them, to preſcribe Ceremonies, and obſeruations, hauing power to conferre grace, for the remiſſion of veniall ſinnes, and the working of other ſpirituall, & ſupernaturall effectes. Secondly, that they aſſume vnto themſelues, that which is proper vnto God, and ſeeke to rule in the conſcience. Thirdly, that by the multiplicitie of lawes, they daungerouſly inſnare the conſciences of men, and oppreſſe them with heauy burdens. To this purpoſe, is the complaint that [c] *Gerſon* long ſince made, that the lawes of the Church were too many, and in a great part childiſh and vnprofitable, bringing vs into a worſe eſtate, then that of the *Iewes*, as [d] *Auguſtine* to *Ianuarius* complained, whe̅ things were much better, then in later times they haue been. Neither ſayth *Gerſon*, are they co̅tent to burden vs with the multiplicitie of their lawes; but as if they preferred their owne inuentions, before the lawes of God, they moſt rigorouſly exact, the performance of the things their owne lawes preſcribe, and neglect the lawes of God, as Chriſt tould the Phariſees, and hypocrites of his time, pronouncing againſt them, that by their vaine traditions, they made the lawes of God of none effect. To ſhew how vniuſt and vnreaſonable, the Romane Law-giuers are, in burdening men with ſo many traditions, [e] the ſame *Gerſon* fitly obſerueth, that *Adam* in the time of his innocencie, had but one commaundement,

b That which *Bellarmine* hath, that faultes and puniſhmentes are relatiues, and that therefore none can ſubiect a man to puniſhment but he that can binde him to the doing of that vnder paine of ſinne againſt God, for the not doing whereof he is puniſhable, is too childiſh a paralogiſme. For it is true, that faultes & puniſhme̅ts are relatiues; but proportionablelie: faultes againſt God and puniſhments inflicted by him; and faules againſt men and the puniſhments, men are wonte to inflicte. We may therfore conclude, that whereſoeuer there is any puniſhme̅t, ſome fault went before: therefore the reproofe that an vnskilfull Paynter is ſubiect vnto, is a puniſhment of his fault in paynting ill; but not of his ſinne againſt God: for defects, in this kinde are not breaches of his lawe.

c *De vita ſpirituali animae: et in eode̅ loco ait hanc fuiſſe querelam quam olim ad beatu̅ Bernardum detulerunt quidam ex Monachis, & propter quam compeſcendam ſcripſit volumen pulcherrimum de praecepto & diſpenſatione: & idem de Vrbano ſcribit, quòd gloriabatur ſe papam eſſe ob hanc cauſam praecipuè quòd nullis poenis excommunicationum & irregularitatum eſſet obnoxius; ſi dilexiſſet proximos ſicut ſeipſum & hoc aduertiſſet, relaxaſſet fortaſſis tot laqueos, tot onera, tot pericula.* d *Scotus li. 3. d. 40. q. 1. Quantum ad caeremonialia, lex noua eſt longè facilior quàm vetus, inquantum a Chriſto data eſt: et in margine, Pondera hoc contra praeſumptuoſos praelatos, ſtatuta in laqueum damnationis ſubditorum quotidie multiplicantes.* e *de vita ſpirituali animae lect. 2.*

hich yet vnhappily hee brake: and that therefore, they ſeeme to haue
ſenſe of mans miſerable, and wretched condition, nor any way to com-
ſſionate his infirmitie, that charge him with ſo many preceptes, beſides
oſe of God, and Nature. Wherupon hee grauely and wiſely conclu-
th, that he ſuppoſeth, that the wiſeſt, and beſt, amongſt the guides of
ods Church, had not ſo ill a meaning, as to haue all their conſtitutions,
d ordinances, taken for lawes, properly ſo named, much leſſe ſtrictly
nding the conſcience; but for threatnings, admonitions, counſailes, and
rections onely. And that, when there groweth a generall neglect, they
eme to conſent to the aboliſhing of them againe. For ſeeing, *lex inſti-*
tur, cùm promulgatur, vigorem habet, cùm moribus vtentium approbatur,
awes are made, when they are publiſhed by ſuch as haue authoritie, but
ue life, force, & vigor, when the manners of men receiuing, & obeying,
, giue them allowance, Generall, and long continued diſvſe, is, & iuſt-
may be thought, an aboliſhing, and abrogating of humane lawes.
Whereas contrariwiſe, againſt the lawes of God, and Nature,
no preſcription, or contrarie vſe, doth euer preuaile;
but euery ſuch contrary cuſtome, or practiſe, is
rightly iudged a corruption,
and fault.

An Aduertiſement to the Reader.

I Haue for ſome reaſons, gentle Reader, thought it more fit at this time, to publiſh theſe foure Bookes by themſelues, than to ſtay them till the fift might bee added to them; hoping, by the helpe of Almighty God, within ſhort time to perfit the whole. In the meane time, I must deſire thy helping hand, for the amending of theſe faults hereunder ſet down, which haue eſcaped, ſome part of them by ouerſight of the Printer, the reſt being miſtaken through darkeneſſe of the Copie. I haue firſt noted ſuch as are found in the Text; and then thoſe in the Margent.

In the Text.

pag.	line.	faults.	correct.
8	25	bleſſedneſſe	bleſſed ones
20	24	wherein	when in
22	6	and it	and as it
24	29	as they	as long as they
38	13	when then they	when they
45	37	that firſt	that the firſt
47	14	them;	them.
49	39	commo n	communion
50	17	put out thereby	
ibid.	22	place	plea
62	30	ſuch	ſome
66	12	reduced	deduced
68	5	of	out of
77	37	ſaying	ſayings
80	13	hy	by
84	12	barbarouſneſſe	barbariſmes
89	37	victorius	Victorinus
95	9	him	himſelfe
122	30	excuſable	inexcuſable
125	4	parts	parties
128	25	ſlaunder	ſl underer
136	21	bla-	blamed
141	5	onely a damnable	a damnable
161	12	it	th it
189	32	diſtinguiſh from	diſtinguiſh it frō
200	29	them	theſe
205	32	of that	of it
209	42	appeareth	appeareth not
216	2	report of the	reſort the
219	35	vntovs ſo,	vntovs, ſo
224	35	degrees	decrees
268	33	the	theſe

In the Margent.

pag.	faults.	corrected.
14	*religiuis circū*	*religiuis circū*
16	*verum*	*veram*
27	11.	1.
32	35.36.	25.26.
34	1.Cor.1.2.	1.Cor.11.
65	*partis*	*partis l.*
70	*ones.*	*cames.*
71	35.25.	§. 23.
79	*priuatis*	*priuatis*
86	*quia*	*quia*
92	25.	251.
93	*conſtitit*	*conſtat*
99	*pag.99.*	*pag.79.*
103	*quorum*	*quorum*
106	Kings 19.	1.Kings.
111	*ignorem*	*ignoret*
136	*tunc*	*an*
140	*malim*	*nolim*
151	*exiſten'ia*	*ſubſiſtentia*
157	*verb.*	*vrb.*
161	*epiſcopatis*	*epiſcopatus*
165	*Firmi inus*	*Firmilianus*
174	151. 153.	*miſplaced*
185	*de ſerm.5.*	*de Sanct.*
191	32.	2.
193	3.	13.
211	*Sent.*	1.Sent.
232	*quid*	*quidem*
241	9.	9.

23 AP 57

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE CHVRCH.

Together with an Appendix, containing a defenſe of ſuch partes and paſſages of the former Bookes, as haue bene either excepted againſt, or wreſted, to the maintenance of *Romiſh errours.*

By RICHARD FIELD, Doctour *of Diuinity.*

LONDON,
Printed by NICHOLAS OKES for SIMON WATERSON, and are to be ſold at the ſigne of the Crowne in *S. Paules Church-yard.*
1610.

BRITISH MUSEUM

The Epiſtle to the Reader.

AS in the daies of *Noe* they all periſhed in the waters, that entred not into the Arke prepared by Gods own appointment, for the preſeruation of ſuch as ſhould eſcape that fearefull and almoſt vniuerſall deſtruction: So is it a moſt certaine and vndoubted truth, good Chriſtian Reader, that none can flie from the wrath to come, and attaine deſired happineſſe, but ſuch as enter into that ſocietie of men which we call the Church, which is the choſen multitude of them whom God hath ſeparated from the reſt of the world, and to whom he hath in more ſpeciall ſort manifeſted himſelfe by the knowledge of reuealed truth, then to any other. So that nothing is more neceſſary to bee ſought out and knowne, then which, and where this happy ſociety of holy ones is, that ſo we may ioyne our ſelues to the ſame, and inherit the promiſes made vnto it; according to that of the holy Patriarch *Noe*: Bleſſed be the God of *Sem*, and let *Chanaan* be his ſeruant: the Lord perſwade *Iapheth* to dwel in the tents of *Sem*. The conſideration whereof moued me, when I was to enter into the controuerſies of theſe times, firſt and before all other things, carefully to ſeeke out the nature and being of this Church, the notes whereby it may be knowne, which it is amongſt all the ſocieties of men in the world, and what the priuiledges are that doe belong vnto it; of all which things I haue treated in thoſe foure Bookes of that argument, which not long ſince I offered to thy view and cenſure. Now it remaineth that in this inſuing Booke then promiſed, I ſhew in what ſort almighty God, who ſitteth betweene the Cherubins

rubines in this his holy Temple, reuealeth himselfe from off the mercy seat, to such as by the calling of grace he hath caused to approach, and draw neere vnto himselfe; and how hee guideth, and directeth them, to the attaining of eternall felicity. Many and sundry waies did God reueale himselfe in ancient times, as it is in the Epistle to the Hebrewes. For sometimes he manifested himselfe to men waking, by visions; sometimes to men sleeping, by dreames; sometimes he appeared in a pillar of a cloud; sometimes in flaming fire; sometimes he came walking a soft pace among the trees of the garden, in the coole of the day; sometimes he rent the rocks, and claue the mountaines in sunder; sometimes he spake with a still and soft voyce; sometimes his thunders shooke the pillars of heauen, and made the earth to tremble, as in the giuing of the law, when he came downe vpon Mount *Sinai*; what time the people by *Moses* direction went forth to meet him: but when they heard the thunders, and the sound of the trumpet, and saw the lightnings, and the mountaine smoaking, they fledde and stood a far off, and said vnto *Moses*. Talke thou with vs, and we will heare thee, but let not God talke with vs, lest wee die.

This their petition Almighty God mercifully granted, & knowing whereof they were made, resolued no more to speake vnto them in so terrible and feareful manner, but rather to put heauenly treasures into earthen vessels, that is, to enlighten the vnderstandings, and to sanctifie the mouthes and tongs of some amongst themselues, and by them to make knowne his will and pleasure to the rest. In this sort after the giuing of the law hee employed the Priests and Leuites in a set and ordinary course, appoynting that the people should seeke the knowledge of the same at their mouthes; and in case of great confusion, and generall defects of these ordinary guides, raised vp Prophets, as well to denounce his iudgements against offenders, and to reforme abuses; as also to foreshew the future state of things, and more and more to raise in men, a desire, hope, and expectation of the comming of the promised *Messias*, whom in the fulnesse of time he sent into the world as the happiest Messenger of glad tidings, that euer came vnto the sonnes of men, and the Angell of the great couenant of peace, causing this proclamation to be made before him, This is my well beloued Sonne, in whom I am well pleased; heare him. In him were hid all the treasures of wisedome and knowledge, so that

was sayd of him, He hath done all things well, so likewise tha
euer man spake, as he spake. But because he came not into this
wer world, to make his abode here perpetually, but to cary vp
ith him into heauen, our desires first, and then our selues: after
e had wrought all righteousnesse, and performed the worke for
hich he came, he returned backe to God that sent him. Choo-
ng out some of them that had bene conuersant with him in the
ies of his flesh, that had heard the words of his diuine wisedome,
d were eye witnesses of all the things he did, and suffered; and
nding them as his Father sent him, who were therefore named
postles. These had many excellent preeminences, proper to those
ginnings, and fit for the founding of Christian Churches: as
mediate calling, infallibility of iudgement, generall commissi-
, the vnderstanding and knowledge of all tongs, power to con-
me their doctrine by signes and wonders, and to conferre the
raculous gifts of the Spirit vpon other also, by the imposition of
eir hands. In which things, when they had finished their course,
y left none to succed them; yet out of their more large, ample,
d immediate commissions, they authorized others to preach the
ospel, administer Sacraments, to bind and loose, and to performe
her like Pastorall duties, sanctifying and ordaining them to this
orke, by the imposition of hands. These they honoured with
e glorious title of Presbyters, that is fatherly, guides of Gods
hurch and people; and knowing the weight of the burden they
d on their shoulders, added vnto them as assistantes, other of an
feriour degree and rancke, whom they named Deacons or Mi-
sters. Amongst these fatherly guides of Gods Church and
ople, for the preuenting of dissention, the auoyding of confusi-
, and the more orderly managing of the important affaires of
mighty God, they established a most excellent, diuine, and hea-
nly order, giuing vnto one amongst the Presbyters of each
hurch, an eminent and fatherly power, so that the rest might do
thi ng without him: whom for distinctions sake, and to expresse
e honour of his degree and place, afore and aboue other, wee
me a Bishop. And farther, by a most wise disposition prouided,
at amongst Bishops all should not challenge all things vnto
emselues, but that there should be in seuerall prouinces, seuerall
hops, who should be first and chiefe amongst the brethren: and
ine constituted and placed certaine other, in greater cities,

who

who might take care of more then the former. The former of these were named Metropolitanes, the later were knowne by the name of Patriarchs, or chiefe Fathers, who also in order & honour were one before and after another. By meanes of this order established by the Apostles of Christ among the guides of Gods people, and receiued and allowed by the first and Primitiue Christians, vnity was preserued, the parts of the Church holden fast together, in a band of concordant agreement; questions determined, doubtes cleared, differences composed, & causes aduisedly & deliberately heard, with all indifferency & equity. For how could there bee any breach in the Christian Churches, when none were ordained Presbyters in any Church, but by the Bishop, the rest of the Presbyters imposing their hands on them, together with him? None admitted to the degree and order of a Bishop, but by the Metropolitane, and other Bishops of the Prouince, sufficiently approuing that they did, to the people ouer which they set him? None receiued as a Metropolitane, vnlesse being ordained by the Bishops of the Prouince, vpon notice giuen of their orderly proceeding, and the sincerity of his faith and profession, hee were confirmed by the Patriarch? Nor none taken for a Patriarch, though ordained by many neighbour Bishops, til making known the soundnesse of his profession, and the lawfulnesse of his election and ordination, to the rest of the Patriarches, hee were allowed and receiued by them, as one of their rancke and order? Or what feare could there be of any wong, iniustice or sinister proceedings in the hearing of causes, and determining of controuersies, vnlesse there were in a sort a generall failing? When if there grew a difference betweene a Bishop and his Presbyters, or if either Presbyter, Deacon, or inferiour Clergy-man, disliked the proceedings of his Bishop, there lay an appeale to the Metropolitane, who had power to re-examine the matter in a Synode, and to see they were not wronged? And if either Clearke or Bishop, had ought against the Metropolitane, it was lawfull for them to appeale to the Primate, or Patriarch, who in a greater and more honorable Synode, was to heare the matter and to make a finall end? When if any variance rose betweene any of the Patriachs and their Bishops, or amongst themselues, it was lawfull for the Patriarches that were aboue and before them, in order and honour, to interpose themselues, and with their Synods to iudge

of such differences; and in such cases as could not so be ended, or that concerned the faith, and the state of the whole vniuersall Church, there remained the iudgement, and resolution of a generall Councell; wherein the Bishop of the first Sea was to sit as President, and moderatour; and the other Bishops of the Christian world, as his fellow Iudges, and in the same commission with him. This order continued in the Church from the Apostles times, and wrought excellent effects, til the Bishop of *Constantinople* first sought, and after him the Bishop of *Rome* obtained, to bee not onely in order and honour before the rest, as anciently he had bin, but to haue an absolute and vniuersall commanding power ouer all, that either by fraud, or violence, hee could bring into subiection. Whence followed horrible confusions in the Christian Church, and almost the vtter ruine, and desolation of the same. For after that this child of pride, had in this *Lucifer-like* sort advanced himselfe aboue his brethren, he thrust his sickle into other mens haruests, he encroched vpon their boundes and limits; hee pretended a right to confer all dignities, whether elective or presentatiue; to receiue appeales of all sorts of men, out of all parts of the world; nay, without appeale or complaint, immediatly to take notice of all causes, in the Dioceses of all other Bishops: so ouerthrowing their iurisdiction, and seizing it into his owne handes. Hee exempted Presbyters from the iurisdiction of their Bishops, Bishops of their Metropolitans, and Metropolitanes of their Primates and Patriarches; and leauing vnto the rest nothing but a naked and empty title, tooke vpon him to determine all doubts and questions of himselfe alone, as out of the infallibility of his iudgment; to excommunicate, degrade, and depose, and againe to absolue, reconcile, and restore, and to heare and iudge of all causes, as out of the fulnesse of his power. Neither did he there stay, but hauing subiected vnto him, as much as in him lay, all the members of Christs body, and trampled vnderneath his feete, the honour and dignity of all his brethren and collegues, he went forward, & challenged a right to dispose of all the kingdomes of the world, as being Lord of Lords, and King of Kings. To this height he raised himselfe by innumerable sleights and cunning deuices, taking the aduantage of the ignorance, superstition, negligence, and base disposition which he found to be in many of the guides of the

Church in those daies, and by their helpe and concurrance, preuailing against the rest that were of another spirit. Neither did hee demeane himselfe any better after hee had attained to this his desired greatnesse; for such was his pride, insolencie, and tyranny, and such, so many, and vnsupportable were the burthens hee laid on the shoulders of them that were no way able to beare them, that the voyces of complaint and murmuring were euery where heard, and the mindes of all men filled with discontentment, and desire of alteration; which after many longing desires of our ancestours, hath beene effected in our time. God, at the last, hearing the cryes of his people, and stirring vp the heroicall spirits of his chosen seruants, to worke our deliuerance, to take the burthens from our shoulders, the yoke from our necke, and to bring vs out of that *Babylon*, wherein wee were captiues, and that spirituall *Egypt*, wherein wee were formerly holden in miserable bondage. But as there were some of the children of the captiuity, that after long continuance abroad forgat *Hierusalem*, and preferred *Babylon* before *Sion*, neuer desiring to returne into their owne country any more: And as many of the *Israelites* brought out of the house of *Pharoahs* bondage by God himselfe, and conducted by *Moses* and *Aaron* to take possession of *Canaan*, the land of promise, a land that flowed with milke and hony, in their heartes returned backe: so are there many that would neuer bee induced to come out of the spirituall *Babylon*; and other that are easily perswaded to looke backe, and in their heartes to returne into *Egypt* againe. For the winning and gaining of the former, and the staying of the latter, I haue indeauoured by the true description of them out of the Scripture, and the authenticall records of antiquitie, to make it appeare, how farre *Canaan* exceedeth *Egypt*, and *Sion Babylon*, how different the gouernement of Christ is from that of *Antichrist*: how happy the people are that liue vnder the one, and how miserable their condition is, that are subiect to the other.

Beseeching God, for his mercies sake, to enlighten them that sitte in darknesse, to bring backe them that are gone astray, to raise vp them that are fallen, to strengthen them that stand

ſtand, to confirme them that are doubtfull, to rebuke ſathan,
to put an end to the manifold vnhappy contentions of
theſe times, to make vp the breaches of *Sion*,
to build the wals of *Hieruſalem*,
and to loue it ſtill.

R. F.

23 AP 57

The fifth booke is concerning the diuers degrees, orders, and callings of thoſe men, to whom the gouernment of the Church is committed.

Chap. 1
OF the Primitiue and firſt Church of God in the houſe of Adam, the Father of all the liuing; and the gouernment of the ſame.

Chap. 2 Of the dignity of the firſt borne amongſt the ſons of Adam, & their Kingly, and Prieſtly direction of the reſt.

Chap. 3 Of the diuiſion of the preëminences of the firſt borne amongſt the ſonnes of Iacob, when they came out of Ægypt, and the Church of God became National,

Chap. 4 Of the ſeparation of Aaron, and his ſonnes, from the reſt of the ſonnes of Leui, to ſerue in the Prieſts office, & of the Head or chiefe of that company.

Chap. 5 Of the Prieſts of the ſecond Rancke or order

Chap. 6 Of the Leuites.

Chap. 7 Of the ſects and factions in religion, found amongſt the Iewes in latter times.

Chap. 8 Of Prophets, and Nazarites.

Chap. 9 Of Aſſemblies vpon extraordinary occaſions.

Chap. 10 Of the ſet Courts amongſt the Iewes; their authority, and continuance.

Chap 11 Of the manifeſtation of God in the fleſh, the cauſes thereof; and the reaſon why the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity rather tooke fleſh, then either of the other.

Chap. 12 Of the manner of the vnion that is betweene the Perſon of the Son of God, & our nature in Chriſt, and the ſimilitudes brought to expreſſe the ſame.

Chap. 13 Of the communication of the properties of either nature in Chriſt, conſequent vpon the vnion of them in his Perſon, and the two firſt kinds thereof.

Chap. 14 Of the third kind of communication of properties, & the firſt degree thereof.

Chap. 15 Of the third kind of communication of properties, and the ſecond degree thereof.

Chap. 16 Of the worke of Mediation, performed by Chriſt in our nature.

Chap. 17 Of the things which Chriſt ſuffered for vs, to procure our reconciliation with God.

Chap. 18 Of the nature and quality of the paſſion and ſuffering of Chriſt.

Chap. 19 Of the deſcending of Chriſt into hel.

Chap. 20. *Of the merit of Christ: of his not meriting for himselfe, and his meriting for vs.*

Chap. 21. *Of the benefites which wee receiue from Christ.*

Chap. 22. *Of the Ministery of them to whom Christ commited the publishing of the reconciliation between God and men, procured by him.*

Chap. 23 *Of the Primacie of power imagined by our Aduersaries to haue beene in* Peter, *and their defence of the same.*

Chap. 24 *Of the preëminence that* Peter *had amongst the Apostles, and the reason why Christ directed his speeches specially to him.*

Chap. 25 *Of the distinction of them to whom the Apostles dying left the managing of Church-affaires, and particularly of them that are to performe the meaner seruices in the Church.*

Chap. 26 *Of the orders, and degrees of them that are trusted with the Ministery of the word, and Sacraments, and the gouernement of Gods people: and particularly of Lay-elders falsely by some supposed to be Gouernours of the Church.*

Chap. 27 *Of the distinction of the power of Order and Iurisdiction, and the preeminence of one amongst the Presbyters of each Church, who is named a Bishop.*

Chap. 28 *Of the diuision of the lesser Titles, and smaller Congregations or Churches, out of those Churches of so large extent, founded and constituted by the Apostles.*

Chap. 29 *Of Cherepiscopi, or Rurall Bishops, forbidden by old Canons to encroach vpon the Episcopall office, and of the institution, and necessary vse of Arch-presbyters, or Deanes.*

Chap. 30 *Of the forme of the gouernament of the Church, and the institution and authority of Metropolitanes, and Patriarches.*

Chap. 31 *Of Patriarches, who they were, and the reason why they were preferred before other Bishops.*

Chap. 32 *How the Pope succeedeth* Peter, *what of right belongeth to him, and what it is that he vniustly claimeth.*

Chap. 33 *Of the proofes brought by the Romanists for confirmation of the vniuersality of the Popes iurisdiction and power.*

Chap. 34 *Of the pretended proofes of the Popes vniuersal iurisdiction, taken out of the decretal Epistles of Popes.*

Chap. 35 *Of the pretended proofes of the Popes Supremacie, produced and brought out of the writings of the Greeke Fathers.*

Chap. 36 *Of the pretended proofes of the Popes Supremacie, taken out of the writings of the Latine Fathers.*

Chap. 37 *Of the pretended proofes of the Popes vniuersall power, taken from his intermedling in ancient times, in confirming, deposing, or restoring Bishops deposed.*

Chap. 38 *Of the weakenesse of such proofes of the supreme power of Popes as are taken from their lawes, Censures, Dispensations, and the Vicegerents they had in places farre remote from them.*

Chap. 39 *Of Appeales to* Rome.

Chap. 40. *Of the Popes supposed exemption from all humane iudgement, as being reserued to the iudgement of Christ only.*

Chap.

The Table.

Chap. 41 *Of the titles giuen to the Pope, and the insufficiency of the proofes of his illimited power & iurisdiction taken from them.*

Chap. 42 *Of the second supposed priuiledge of the* Romane *Bishops, which is infallibility of iudgement.*

Chap. 43 *Of such Popes as are charged with heresie, and how the* Romanists *seeke to cleere them from that imputation.*

Chap. 44 *Of the Popes vniust claime of temporal dominion ouer the whole world.*

Chap. 45 *Of the Popes vniust claime to intermedle with the affaires of Princes, and their States, if not as Soueraigne Lord ouer all, yet at least, in ordine ad Spiritualia, and in case of Princes failing to doe their duties.*

Chap. 46 *Of the examples of Churchmen deposing Princes, brought by the* Romanists.

Chap. 47 *Of the ciuill dominion which the Popes haue by the gifte of Princes.*

Chap. 48 *Of generall Councels, and of the end, vse, and necessity of them.*

Chap. 49 *Of the persons that may bee present in general Councels, and who they are of whom generall Councels do consist.*

Chap. 50 *Of the President of General Councels.*

Chap. 51 *Of the assurance of finding out the truth, which the Bishops assembled in generall Councels haue.*

Chap. 52 *Of the calling of Councels, and to whom that right pertaineth.*

Chap. 53 *Of the power and authority exercised by the ancient Emperours in generall Councels, and of the Supremacie of Christian Princes in causes, and ouer persons Ecclesiasticall.*

Chap. 54 *Of the calling of Ministers, and the persons to whom it pertaineth to elect and ordaine them.*

Chap. 55 *Of the Popes disordered intermedling with elections of Bishops and other Ministers of the Church, their vsurpation, intrusion, and preiudicing the right, and liberty of others.*

Chap. 56 *Of the ordinations of Bishops and Ministers.*

Chap. 57 *Of the things required in such as are to bee ordained Ministers, and of the lawfulnesse of their Marriage.*

Chap. 58 *Of Digamie, and what kind of it, it is that debarreth men from entring into the Ministerie.*

Chap. 59 *Of the maintenance of Ministers.*

Errata.

Pag.	*Line.*	
3.	16.	Princely *for* Prieſtly.
27.	1.	of *for* to
28.	39.	infallible *for* ineffable
32.	25.	quantity *for* quality.
33.	43.	ſubſiſtences *for* ſubſtances.
70.	1.	anme *for* name.
85.	2.	fitte *for* fitted.
91.	33.	almoſt *for* all moſt
134.	8.	*Poſſidius* for *Poſſidonius.*
136.	41.	hates *for* heards.
140.	30.	of Churches *for* or Churches.
147.	27.	large *for* at large.
149.	25.	*cuſtodiant* for *cuſtodiat.*
166.	13.	but ſubiect *for* ſubiect.
Ibid.	14.	Inferiour *for* bur inferior.
235.	36.	and from *for* as from.
236.	37.	as ſtrange *for* is ſtrange.
264.	1.	willeth *for* willed.
302.	21.	*Sabellins* for *Sabellicus.*
304.	9.	*Anagina* for *Anagnia*
311.	25.	that the houſe *for* that of the houſe
312.	30.	Princely *for* Prieſtly
351.	marg.	*annot.* for *annal.*
358.	35.	inueſture *for* inueſtiture
359.	12.	*principalem* for *principatum*
361.	30.	is by now *for* is now by

Pag.	*Line.*	
371.	16.	encreaſe *for* exerciſe.
387.	4.	their when in *for* when in their
427.	30.	alteartions *for* aberrations
456.	18.	Lateran *for* Lions
500.	20.	he *for* we.
503.	15.	at once ſucceſſiuely, *for* at once and not ſucceſſiuely
504.	26.	myrry *for* marry.

Appendix. part 1.

pag.	*lin.*	
2.	25.	poſſeſſe *for* poſſeſſed
Ibid.	33.	ſhl *for* ſhall
18.	7.	ſecondly places, *for* Two places
Ibid.	40.	ſuch are *for* ſuch as are
29.	8.	inflicting *for* afflicting
52.	26.	or *for* and
87.	10.	from *for* from the
88.	37.	ſecond *for* ſecondly
110.	8.	accepteth gainſt *for* excepteth gainſt
125.	38.	*Gentilacum* for *Gentiliacum.*

Part. 2.

15.	14.	and *for* as

Part 3.

13.	6.	peculiar *for* particular.

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THE FIFTH BOOKE, OF THE DIVERSE DEGREES, ORDERS AND CALLINGS OF THOSE men to whom the gouernement of the Church is committed.

CHAP. I.

Of the Primitiue and first Church of God, in the house of Adam, the father of all the liuing, and the gouernement of the same.

ALMIGHTIE God, the fountaine of all being, who to manifest the glorie of his power, and the riches of his goodnesse, made all things of nothing, disposed and sorted the things he made into three seuerall rankes. For to some he gaue being without any apprehension or discerning of it. Others he made to feele, and sensibly discerne that particular good he was pleased to do vnto them: And to a third sort of a more eminent degree and qualitie, made after his owne image, he gaue generality of knowledge of all things, and extent of desire answerable thereunto; causing them without all restraint or limitation, to take view of all the varietie of things that are in the world, and neuer to rest satisfied, till they come to see, inioy, and possesse him that made them all.

These he separated from the rest of his creatures, causing them to approach and draw neere vnto himselfe; and to compasse about his sacred throne, and called them forth to be a ioyfull company of blessed ones, praising and worshipping him in the glorious Temple of the world; and

to be vnto him an holy Church, in the midst whereof his greatnesse should be knowne, and his name called vpon. These are of two sorts: Angels dwelling in heauenly palaces: and Men, made out of the earth, dwelling in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust. The Angels are immortall, immateriall, and spirituall substances, made all at once; and immediatly after their creation, so many as turned not from God their Creator, confirmed in grace, and perfectly established in the full possession of their vttermost good, so that they need no guide to leade them to the attaining of the same; howsoeuer in the degrees of their naturall or supernaturall perfections, and in the actions of their ministerie wherein God emploieth them, they are more great and excellent one then another, and are not without their order and gouernment. But concerning men made out of the earth, and compounded of body and spirit, it is farre otherwise. For God did not create them all at one time, but made onely one man, and one woman immediatly with his owne hands; appointing that the rest should descend and come of them by naturall generation. Whereupon we shall find, that as in the Creation the tree was first, and then the seede, but in the naturall propagation of things the seed is first, and then the tree: So the first man whom God made out of the earth, and the first woman whom he made of man, were perfect at the first, as well in stature of body, as in qualities of the mind, (both because whatsoeuer is immediatly from God is perfect, as also for that the [a] first things whence all other haue their being, must be perfect:) but afterwards the beginnings of all the sonnes of men are weake, and they grow by degrees to perfection of body and mind, hauing need to receiue nourishment, support, guidance, and direction from them, from whom they receiue their being. So that nothing is more naturall then for children to expect these things from their parents, nor for parents then to nourish, guide and direct their children. This care pertaineth as well to the mother that bare them, and in whose wombe they were conceiued; as to the father that begate them, and out of whose loynes they came. Yet because the man was not of the woman, but the woman of the man; the man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man; the originall disposition and soueraigne direction of all doth naturally rest in the man, who is the glorie of God, the womans head; and euery way fittest to be chiefe commander in the whole familie and houshold. Hereupon *Adam* the father of all the liuing was appointed by that God that made him, to instruct, direct and guide those that should come of him, euen in the state of natures integritie, though without any forcing with terrours, or recalling with punishments while there was yet no proneneſſe to euill, nor difficultie to doe good. And when he had broken the Law of his Creator, was called to an account, made know his sinne, and recomforted with the promise that the seede of the woman should breake the Serpents head: he was

[a] *Prima omnia perfecta sunt; cætera autẽ omnia, quæ ex ipsis oriuntur, & post ipsa sequuntur, nisi per interualla temporum crescendo ad perfectionem venire non possunt.* Hugo, citat. ab Alex. de Hales, part. 2. quæst. 89. memb. 2.

ch his children the same things; and sanctified to be both a King to le in the little world of his owne familie; and a Priest, as well to mani- st the will of God to them of the same, as to present their desires, vowes d sacrifices vnto him: then which course what could be deuised more ing? For when there were no more in the world but the first man hom God made out of the earth, the first woman that was made of man, d the children which God had giuen them, who could be fitter to rule d direct, then the man for whose sake the woman was created, and out whose loines the children came?

Chap. 2.

The dignitie of the first borne amongst the Sonnes of Adam, and their Kingly and Priestly direction of the rest.

AND Seeing nothing is more naturall, then that as the Father is to instruct, direct and set forward the children that God hath giuen him, in the way of vertue and well doing, so amongst the children the elder should helpe the yonger; the stronger, and more excellent the weaker, and more meane; none could be fitter to assist him in the King- , and Princely office, while he lined, and to succeed him in the same hen he died, then the first borne, [a] *the beginning of strength, the excellencie dignitie, and the excellencie of power*. And hereupon we shall find, that m the beginning the first borne excelled the rest in three things. For st he was Lord ouer his brethren, according to that of *Isaac* blessing *cob* the yonger in steed of the elder, and thereby preferring him to the gnitie of the first borne: [b] *Be Lord ouer thy brethren, and let thy mothers ldren bow downe vnto thee*. Secondly, he had a double portion; and irdly he was holy vnto God: which dignitie as it belonged formerly en from the beginning to the first borne, as being most worthy and exllent; so was it confirmed, [c] when God striking all the first borne in Æ- pt, spared the first borne of the Israelites. This præeminence of the first rne continued, the eldest euer succeeding in the Kingly and Priestly fice, vnlesse for impietie, or cause best knowne to God he were reiected him, till the time that *Israel* came out of Ægypt, and the Church of od became nationall. For then according to the tenor of *Iacobs* [d] bles- ng these priuiledges were diuided. *Iudah* had the Scepter, *Leui* the iesthood, and *Ioseph* the double portion, in that two of his Sonnes *phraim* and *Manasses* became Patriarches and Heads of tribes, and had quall inheritance in the land of promise with the sonnes of *Iacob*. So at in the societies of faithfull and holy ones, from the first man that God ade, till *Aaron* was sanctified to be a Priest vnto God in steed of the first rne, the eldest alwaies (vnlesse for impiety, or other cause best knowne

a Gen. 49. 3.

b Gen. 27. 29.

c Num. 3. 13.

d Gen. 49. & 49.

to God, he were reiected by him) had the Kingly, and Priestly direction of the rest. So when *Cain* the eldest Sonne of *Adam*, and first that was borne of a woman, to whom the dignitie of the first borne did pertaine, was for his impietie reiected from that honor, and *Abel* who by faith offered a better sacrifice then he, was slaine by him, God raised vp [e] *Seth*, who being taught by *Adam* his father touching the Creation, the fall, the punishments of sinne, and the promised Sauiour, assisted him while he liued in guiding the people and Church of God, and succeeded him in the same gouernment after his death. In like sort [f] *Enosh* assisted and succeeded *Seth*, and dying left that honor to *Kenan*: *Kenan* to *Mahalaleel*: *Mahalaleel* to *Iered*; *Iered* suruiuing *Enoch* his sonne, whom God translated, left it to *Methusalem*, *Methusalem* to *Lamech* the father of *Noe*, in whose time the children of God, that is, the posteritie of *Seth*, marying with the daughters of men, that is, such as came of wicked *Cain*, highly displeased almightie God, who thereupon appointed [g] him to be a preacher of repentance vnto them, whom when they contemned and despised, he brought in the floud, and destroyed both them, and all the inhabitants of the world, *Noe* and his familie onely excepted. *Noe* gouerned the Church before and after the floud, and left the same office and dignitie to *Sem* his eldest sonne, saying, [h] *Blessed be the God of Sem, and let Canaan be his seruant: The Lord perswade Iaphet to dwell in the tents of Sem.* [i] *Sem* begate *Arphaxad*: *Arphaxad*, *Sale*: *Sale*, *Heber*: *Heber*, *Phaleg*: *Phaleg*, *Reu*: *Reu*, *Serug*: *Serug*, *Nachor*: *Nachor*, *Thare*: *Thare*, *Abraham*, and *Abraham*, *Isaac*. All these, onely *Heber*, and *Isaac* excepted, he suruiued: so that dying, he left the right of his office and dignitie to *Isaac*, *Heber* hauing corrupted his waies. This [k] *Sem* the Iewes thinke to haue beene *Melchizedek*, that [l] met *Abraham* returning from the slaughter of the Kings, that brought out bread and wine, to refresh his wearied troupes, and blessed him in the name of the Lord, as being a Priest of the high God. Thus then *Sem* gouerned the Church in his time, & dying, in part left his honor to *Isaac*, soiourning as a stranger in *Caanan*: *Isaac* to *Iacob*: *Iacob* to *Iudah*, & his sons; who liuing in Ægypt in bondage with the rest of their brethren could not freely exercise the Kingly & Priestly office, nor performe the things pertaining thereunto. So that none of these succeeded *Sem* in the fulnesse as well of Kingly as Priestly power.

e Gen. 4. 25.

f Chap. 5.

g Chap. 6. & 7.

h Chap. 9. ver. 26. & 27.

i Chap. 10. 11.

k Hieronym. in epist. ad Euagrium.

l Gen. 14. 18.

Chap. 3.

Of the diuision of the preëminences of the first borne amongst the sonnes of Iacob, when they came out of Ægipt, and the Church of God became National.

BVt when it pleased Almighty God, who chose vnto himselfe the posterity of *Israel* and sonnes of *Iacob* as his peculiar portion and inheritance, aboue all the nations of the world, to bring them with a mighty hand, and out-stretched arme

arme out of the land of *Ægipt* and the house of bondage to the land which he promised to their fathers *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, & to make of them a mighty people; then the former kind of gouernment which was domesticall, not so well fitting a people as a household, he setled another; and in steed of the first borne which formerly in each family and kindred was both a King and Priest, he chose the tribe of *Iudah* to sway the scepter, and to be a lawgiuer to the rest of his people; and the tribe of [a] *Leui* to attend his Tabernacle and seruice; and out of all the families of that tribe tooke [b] *Aaron* and his sonnes to serue in the Priests office, appointing the rest to meaner seruices about the Sanctuary, or to be assistants to the Priests, and rulers in the gouernment of the people.

a Numb. 3.

b Exod. 28.

Chap. 4.

Of the separation of Aaron and his sonnes from the rest of the sonnes of Leui, to serue in the Priests office, and of the Head or chiefe of that company.

THE Priests, the sonnes of *Aaron*, whom God separated from the rest of their brethren the sonnes of *Leui*, were of two sorts. For there was an high Priest; and there were others of an inferiour condition. [a] Touching the high Priest, foure things are to be obserued. First, his consecration. Secondly, the things that were required in him that was to be consecrated to so sacred a function. Thirdly, his imployment, and Fourthly his attire. The consecration of the high Priest was seauen daies in performing, in this sort. 1. He that was to be consecrated, was brought before the Altar. 2. Then he was washed with water, and clothed with those sacred garments which God had prescribed; holy oyle was poured on his head, sacrifice was offered on the Altar for his sanctification, and his garments were sprinkled with the bloud of it. The things that were required in him that was to serue in the high Priests office, were these. He might not be defectiue nor deformed in body; His wife must be a virgin, not a widdow, not one that had bin diuorced, nor that had bene infamous, but of good parentage, and of his owne people. He might not vncouer his head, rent his garments, nor goe in to mourne ouer any that was dead, no though it were his father or mother. His employment was to goe daily into the Sanctuary, to light the Lampes, to burne incense, and euery weeke to prouide the shew-bread or bread of proposition; on the feast daies to offer the peoples sacrifices together with the other Priests; and once in the yeare, on the day of expiation, to enter into the holiest of all, to cleanse, and hallow it from the sinnes of the people, and to make prayer for himselfe, and them. The holy vestiments, in which he was to performe this seruice of God, are described to haue bene a Breast-plate, an Ephod, a Robe, a broidred Coate, a Mitre,

a *Sigonius de Rep. Hebraor. lib. 5. cap. 2.*

and a Girdle. The Ephod was of gold, blue silke, purple, skarlet, and fine twined linnen of broidred worke: In the shoulders of the Ephod were two Onyx-stones, and vpon them the names of the children of *Israel* grauen; sixe names vpon the one stone, and sixe other names vpon the other stone according to their generations. These were stones of remembrance of the children of *Israel* before the Lord. Of these [b] *Iosephus* writeth, that they shewed when God was present with his people, when he accepted the sacrifices they offered vnto him, and was pleased with them, and likewise when he was displeased with them and reiected them; in that when God was pleased with his people and accepted their sacrifices, the stone which was on the right shoulder shined in such sort, that it might be seene a farre off, whereas otherwise no such shining brightnesse appeared in it. The Breast-plate of iudgement was of broidred worke, like the worke of the Ephod; of gold, blue silke, purple and scarlet, and fine twined linnen. It was set full of places for stones, euen foure rowes of stones. The stones that were set in these rowes were twelue, according to the number of the tribes of *Israel*, and in them the names of the twlue tribes were grauen. In this Breast-plate likewise were put *Urim* and *Thummim* which were vpon the hart of the high Priest, when he went in before the Lord. By these twelue stones that were in the Breast-plate of the high Priest, God did shew vnto his people the successe of their battles when they intended to make warre. For if he meant to prosper their enterprise, these stones did so shine, that they were thereby well assured God would go forth with their armies, and fight their battels for them; otherwise they were discouraged from attempting any thing. The [c] *Urim* and the *Thummim* likewise some of the Iewes thinke to haue been two stones, by which the high Priest vnderstood what things were to come, and reuealed the same vnto the people: For if nothing new and strange were to fall out, they held their colour; but if any great and extraordinary mutation were to follow, the bright shinings of these stones did foreshew it. [d] Others suppose that they were the name of God, *Iehouah* in letters of gold, by the shining brightnesse whereof they vnderstood the answer of God when they sought vnto him; but [e] *Augustine* is of opinion, that these verie words were written in letters of gold in the middle of the breast-plate that did hang before the breast of the high Priest.

[b] *Iosephus citatus à Sigonio Ibid.*

[c] *Ariat Montanus in apparatu, & Sigonius de Rep. Hebr. l. 5. c. 9.*

[d] *Rabbi Salom. citatus à Bellarm. de Rom Pont. l. 4 cap. 3.*

[e] *August. quæst. 117. in Exodum.*

Chap. 5.

Of the Priests of the second ranke or order.

TOuching the Priests of the inferiour Ranke, they had the same kind of consecration which the high Priest had; in sacrificing they were like vnto him, and in the seruice of the Sanctuarie, in burning incense, prouiding the shew-bread, and preparing and

nd looking to the lampes and lights: neither was there any other difference betweene him and them in the performance of these things, but that he was chiefe, and they assistants vnto him. The onely thing that was peculiar vnto him, was the [a] consulting of God by *Vrim* and *Thummim*, and the [b] entring into the Holiest to make an Attonement. Their vestiments were the same, [c] saue that the high Priest onely had the Breastplate and an Ephod of gold: for the rest did also sometimes weare a linnen Ephod. The things required in them that were to serue in the priestly office were these. They might not be [d] deformed nor defectiue in body; they might [e] drinke no wine nor strong drinke, when they were to enter into the Sanctuarie; they [f] might not defile themselues by the dead, nor come neare vnto any that was dead, except it were their father or mother, sonne, or daughter, or sister vnmaried: they [g] might not shaue their heads nor beards, nor cut their flesh: they might [h] marrie no harlot, nor woman diuorced: The [i] first that were consecrated Priests, were *Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* the sonnes of *Aaron*. [k] *Nadab* and *Abihu* died before their father, and had no children: they both perished because they [l] offered strange fire vpon the Altar, so that *Eleazer* and *Ithamar* onely remained, of whom the whole number of Priests that were afterwards, did come. [m] From *Eleazar* in *Dauids* time were issued sixteene families, and from *Ithamar* eight. These *Dauid* sorted into 24 Classes or Courses, and named euerie Classis or Course after the name of him who was then chiefe of each familie; and for the ordering of them, and setting one before another, they cast lots. The reason of the sorting of them into these rankes was for that he would not haue all the Priests to attend euerie day, but that they should haue some intermission, and times of vacation, one *Classis* performing the seruice one weeke, and another another. Though, saith [n] *Iosephus*, there be 24 *Classes* or Courses of Priests amongst vs, whereof euery one hath more then 5000, yet they waite not all at once, but on certaine daies appointed and assigned vnto them; which being past, others succeed, who are called into the Temple at Noone, and haue the keyes thereof deliuered vnto them, and the sacred vessels by tale. In this sense it is sayd in the booke of *Chronicles*, that *Iehoiada the Priest dismissed not the Courses*, that is, sent not away the [o] troupes and companies of Priests that attended the seruice of the Temple when their time was expired, and according to order they should haue departed and others haue succeeded them; for that he meant to make vse of them in the deposing of wicked *Athaliah*, and the establishing and setling of the true and lawfull King in the royall throne of *Iudah*. In these Courses they were wont to cast lots what kind of seruice euerie one should do in the weeke of his attendance, as for example: Who should sacrifice, and who should burne incense: whereupon it is sayd in the Gospell of *Luke*, that [p] *in the time of Herod King of Iudæa, there was*

a Exod. 28. 30.
b Leuit. 16. 30.
c *Sigonius de Rep. Hebræor. l. 5. cap. 3. ex Hieronymo & Eucherio.*
d Leuit. 21. 18.
e Leuit. 10. 9.
f Leuit. 21. 1.
g Ibid. vers. 5.
h Ibid. vers. 7.
i Leuit. 8.
k 1. Chron. 24. vers. 2.
l Leuit. 10.
m 1. Chr. 24. 4.
n *Ioseph. lib. 2. contra Appionem citat. à Sigonio vbi supra.*
o 2. Chr. 23. 8.
p Luk. 1. 5.

q Ibid. ver. 8. & 9.

was a certaine priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abiah; q *and it came to passe as he executed the Priests office before God, as his course came in order, according to the custome of the Priests office, that his lot was to burne incense when he went into the house and Temple of the Lord.* r Ouer euerie of these companies of Priests in their courses attending, there were certaine priests set, that were called Ἀρχιερεῖς, or *Principes Sacerdotum*, that is chiefe Priests, or rulers of the priests. Of these the Euangelist S. *Marke* speaketh when he saith, s *They brought Iesus to the High Priest, and the Chiefe Priests sought false witnesse against him*: that is, the Heads of the Companies of Priests, who came to consult with the high priest about the putting of *Iesus* to death. For while the policie appointed by almighty God continued, there was but one that properly was named the high Priest.

r Sigon. de repub. Hebr. lib. 5. cap. 3.

s Mark 14. 53.

Chap. 6.
Of the Leuites.

Hauing spoken of *Aaron* and his sonnes, whom God chose out of all the families of the tribe of *Leui*, it remaineth that we speake of the employment of the rest of that tribe called by the common name of *Leuites*. a These were seuered by *Dauid* into foure rankes: for some he appointed to be ministers of the Priests and Temple, who were most specially named *Leuites*: some Singers: some Porters: and others Scribes and Iudges. Touching the Leuites more specially so named, that attended the seruice of the Sanctuarie, their office was to carie the Tabernacle, and the Arke of the Couenant in the Remoues of the people, till God fixed the same in one place; and then they were to take care of it, and the sacred vessels that were in it appointed to be vsed about the seruice of God. In later times also they flaied the Beasts appointed for the Sacrifices according to that in the second of *Chronicles*: b *The seruice was prepared, and the Priests stood in their places; also the Leuites in their orders according to the Kings commandement, and they slue the Passeouer, and the Priests sprinkled the bloud with their hands, and the Leuites flaied them.* Of the singers we reade in the first of *Chronicles*, how they were appointed c by *Dauid* to sing prophesies with Harpes, with Viols, and with Cymbals. The d Porters were appointed to see that no vncircumcised, polluted, or vncleane person should enter into the house of the Lord; and to guard the same that all things therein might be in safetie, as the sacred vessels, the treasure of the house, and the treasure of the dedicated things. To these were added as assistants the e *Nethinim* or *Gibeonites*, who serued as f hewers of wood, and drawers of water. The Scribes were such as read, and interpreted the Law of God in the Temple at Hierusalem, and in the Synagogues

a Sigonius de rep. Hebræor. li. 5. cap. 4. 5. 6. & 7.

b 2 Chron. 35. ver. 10. & 11.

c 1. Chro. 25. 1.

d 1. Chron. 26.

e 1. Chron. 9. 2. Ezra. 2. 70.

f Iosuah. 9. 23.

agogues that were in other parts of the land, and are also called Doctors of the Law, that is, Interpreters of the Law of God.

Scribes & Doctors of the Law

Chap. 7.

Of the Sects, and factions in Religion, found amongst the Iewes in later times.

AND here because we haue made mention of such Leuites as were Scribes, that is, Doctors and Interpreters of the Law of God, it is not out of place to speake of the doctrine of the Iewes in later times, and the seueral sects into which their teachers and guides were diuided. *Epiphanius* sheweth that there were [a] seuen principall sects amongst them; the first whereof was that of the [b] Scribes, who were Interpreters of the Law, but such as deliuered many traditions as from their Elders, that were not contained in the Law, and sought to bring in a more exact kind of worship of God, then *Moses* and the Prophets taught, consisting in many voluntarie obseruations and customes deuised by men.

a *Epiphan. contra hæres. lib. 1.*
b *Hæres. 15.*

The second, [c] *Sadduces*, which were of the race of the *Samaritanes*; these had their name from one *Sadoc* a Priest; they denied the resurrection, and beleeued not that there is any Angell or Spirit, and consequently ouerthrewe all Religion.

c *Hæres. 14.*

The third sort were [d] *Pharisees*; these were the strictest of all other, and most esteemed: they beleeued the resurrection of the dead, that there are Angels and Spirits, as the Scribes also did, and that all shall come into iudgement to receiue according to the things they do in this body, whether they be good or euill: they much honoured virginitie and single life: they payed tithes of the smallest things they possessed: they washed cups, platters, and all kind of vessels they vsed: they fasted twice euery weeke: they brought in the doctrine of fatall necessitie: and differed in their habit from other men.

d *Hæres. 16.*

The fourth sort were the [e] *Hemerobaptists*, who did thinke that no man could be saued, if he were not washed euery day, that so he might be cleansed from the impuritie of sinne; but, as *Epiphanius* rightly noteth in refutation of the errour of these men, it is not the whole flould Iordan wherein Christ was baptized, nor the sea, nor any fountaine abounding with water, that can wash away the impuritie of sinne by any naturall force thereof or voluntarie vse; but repentance, and the vse of such sacred ceremonies, and sacramentall elements, as God appointeth to signifie, expresse, and communicate vnto vs the vertue of Christ Iesus, and the sanctifying grace of the Spirit of God.

e *Hæres. 17.*

Next vnto the *Hemerobaptists* were the [f] *Essees*. These withdrew themselues from the society of other men. They despised mariage, and liued

f *Hæres. 19.*

without the company of women, hauing no children of their owne, they adopted such as voluntarily came vnto them, g *Quos vita fessos (saith Plinie) ad mores eorum fortunæ fluctus agitat: Ita per sæculorum millia (incredibile dictu) gens æterna est, in quâ nemo nascitur; tam fecunda illis aliorum vitæ pœnitentia est.* That is, Such as wearied with the turmoils of this life, were by the experience of fortunes vncertainties forced to like their retired manner of liuing; so that for many ages (which is a thing not credible) there hath bene a neuer-failing nation, in which no man is borne. So many doth other mens dislike of their owne manner of liuing send vnto them. These were something like the Monkes and Religious men, that are, and haue bene amongst Christians.

g *Plinius nat. hist. lib. 5. cap. 17.*

The sixt sort were the h *Nazarei*, who in all other things were *Iewes*, but held it vnlawfull to kill any liuing thing, or to eate the flesh of any thing wherein the Spirit of life had bene; they condemned the bloudy sacrifices prescribed in *Moses* law, and therefore could not be induced to thinke, that *Moses* was Author of those bookes that goe vnder his name; yet did they honour *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, and other holy men mentioned in them.

h *Epiphan. lib. 1. hæres. 18.*

The seauenth and last sort were the i *Herodians*, who were of the *Iewes* Religion in all other things, but thought *Herod* to be the Christ, because the scepter departed from *Iudah*, and the Law-giuer from betweene his feete, when *Herod* who was a stranger obtained the title and power of king, and ruled ouer the people of God.

i *Hæres. 20.*

These were the sects and Heresies, that preuailed in the Church of the *Iewes* before the comming of Christ, amongst whom the *Pharisees* & *Sadduces* were chiefe; so that the whole state seemed to be deuided into these two factions, k the nobles and great ones enclining for the most part to the *Sadduces*, and the common people to the *Pharisees*; whereupon wee reade in the Acts of the Apostles, that *Paul* standing before *Annias* the high Priest, and the rest of the chiefe Priests and Rulers of the people to be iudged, knowing that the one part of them were *Sadduces*, and the other part *Pharisees*, cried aloud; l *I am a Pharisee, and the sonne of a Pharisee, I am accused of the hope and resurrection of the dead:* and that vpon the hearing of these words, there was a dissention betweene the *Pharisees* & *Sadduces*, so that the whole multitude was deuided; that there was a great cry, and that the *Scribes* of the *Pharisees* part arose vp, and stroue, saying, m *We find no euill in the man: But if a Spirit or an Angle hath spoken vnto him, let vs not fight against God.*

k *Sigon. de rep. Hebr. lib. 5. cap. 11. ex Iosepho.*

l *Act. 23. 6.*

m *Ibid. ver. 9.*

Chap. 8.

Of Prophets and Nazarites.

BEsides the Priests and Leuites, whom God chose to attend his seruice and Sanctuary, rent and deuided in latter times into the manifold factions and Heresies aboue mentioned, there were other who medled not with the Ministery of holy things, and yet were specially dedicated and sanctified vnto God. These were either such as dedicated their bodies and persons to God, as the *Nazarites*; or such as God raised vp extraordinarily to foreshew future things, and to reforme abuses and errors, as were the Prophets.

The vow of the *Nazarites* is described in the booke of *Numbers*, where the Lord God spake vnto *Moses*, saying, [a] *Speake vnto the children of Israel, and say vnto them. When a man or a woman doth separate themselues to vow a vow of a Nazarite to separate himselfe vnto the Lord, he shall abstaine from wine and strong drinke; no razor shall come vpon his head: but he shall let the lockes of the haire of his head to grow during the time that he separateth himselfe vnto the Lord: He shall come at no dead body; he shall not make himselfe vncleane at the death of his father or mother, brother or sister: for the consecration of the Lord is vpon his head.* a Numb. 6. 2.

The *Nazarites* were of two sorts: for some did separate themselues vnto the Lord but for a time, and others perpetually. *Nazarites* of the former sort they were, of whom *Iames* and the Elders do speake in the Acts, saying vnto *Paul*; [b] *We haue foure men which haue made a vow: them take, and purifie thy selfe with them, and contribute with them, that they may shaue their heads; and all shall know that those things whereof they haue bene informed concerning thee are nothing, but that thou thy selfe also walkest and keepest the Law.* b Act. 21. 23.

Of the later sort the Scripture mentioneth onely two: *Sampson* and *Samuel*. Concerning *Sampson* we reade, that the Angell of God appeared to the wife of *Manoah* his mother, and sayd vnto her: [c] *Behold now thou art barren, and beareſt not; but thou shalt conceiue and beare a sonne; and now therefore beware that thou drinke no wine nor strong drinke, neither eate any vncleane thing. For loe, thou shalt conceiue, and beare a sonne, and no razor shall come on his head; For the Child shall be a Nazarite vnto God from his birth, and he shall begin to saue Israel out of the hands of the Philistines.* c Iudges 13. 7.

And of *Samuel*, his mother sayd before he was borne: [d] *I will giue him to the Lord, all the dayes of his life, and no razor shall come vpon his head.* To these [e] *Hierome* addeth out of *Egesippus*, *Iames* the iust, the brother of our Lord. d 1. Sam. 1. 11. e *Hieron. Catalog. Script. Eccles. sect. in Iacobo.*

Prophets properly are such as foreknow and foretell things that are to come: but because, as [f] *Gregorie* fitly noteth, it is as hard to know the things that are past, whereof there is no report, and the things that are done a farre off, or in secret, or that are but contriued, and resolued on in the purposes of the heart, as to foresee what shall come to passe hereafter, f *Gregor. homil. 1. super Ezechielem.*

the knowledge of all these things pertaineth to propheticall grace and illumination; and it was no lesse a propheticall spirit that directed *Moses* in writing the storie of the creation, fall, and propagation of mankind, nor no lesse a propheticall illumination that made *Elizeus* know what was done in the King of *Arams* priuie chamber, then it was in *Esay* and the rest, that enabled them to foretell and foreshew the things that were to come. And therefore the Diuines make diuerse sorts of Prophets; some to whom principally things past were reuealed, or hidden things then being; and some to whom things that were after to come to passe, were more specially manifested or made knowne: g Some that were Prophets both in grace and mission, some in grace onely: In grace and mission, as they that were specially sent to foreshew the people of God what was to come to passe, to tell them of their transgressions, and the iudgements that were to follow: In grace onely, as were all such as were not specially imployed to this purpose, and yet had the knowledge of secret things, as *Daniel* and some other.

g *Hugo de S. Victore, Erudit. Theolog de Sacram. fidei, lib. 1. part. 1. prologi. cap. 17.*

Chap. 9.

Of Assemblies vpon extraordinary occasions.

THus hauing spoken sufficiently of the persons that God sanctified to serue him in the Temple, and to teach, direct, and instruct his people; as also of such as voluntarily dedicated themselues vnto him, or were extraordinarily raised vp by him: let vs see what the gouernement of the Church, and people of God was vnder them during the time of the law, vntill the comming of Christ.

The Scriptures shew vs that God appointed for the gouernement of his people extraordinary Assemblies, and set Iudgements: Whereunto the Prophet *Dauid* seemeth to allude, when he saith, *The* a *wicked shall not rise vp in iudgement, nor Sinners in the assembly of the righteous.* In Assemblies were handled things concerning the state of the whole common wealth. In the set Courts, things concerning particular parts of it. Assemblies were of two sorts: either of the whole people, or of the Elders and Rulers onely. Assemblies of the whole people were gathered together to heare the commandements of God; to make publike prayers vnto him, or to performe and do some extraordinary thing; as to appoint a King, a Iudge, or a Prince, to proclaime or to wage warre, or the like.

a Psal. 1. vers. 5.

These Assemblies were either of the whole people of Israel, or onely of the whole people of one tribe or city. For the calling of these assemblies God commanded b two trumpets of siluer to be made, and to be in the custodie of *Moses* and his successors; with this direction, that when they blowed with them both, all the congregation should assemble vnto them; but when they blowed but with one, the Princes or Heads ouer the

b Numb. 10. 2.

e thousands of Israel onely should come.

The set Courts and Tribunals were of two sorts, the one in the gates euerie City, called κρίσις Iudgement; the other at Hierusalem, called συνέδριον or Councell: whereunto Christ seemeth to haue alluded, when he sayd, [c] *Whosoeuer is angry with his brother vnaduisedly, shall be guiltie of iudgement; but whosoeuer saith, Racha, shal be guiltie of a Councell: and he that saith, Thou foole, shall be worthy to be punished with Gehenna of fire,* or *the fierie Gehenna.* Thereby shewing vs, that one of these offences and faults is more grieuous and worthy of greater punishment then the other: for the Councell or *Sanedrim* did handle weightier causes, and might inflict more grieuous punishments, then the set courts of Iustice in the gates of euerie citie. So that this is that which he meant to say. He that is angry with his brother vnaduisedly shall be guiltie of iudgement, that is, of some lighter punishment; and he that saith, *Racha* shall be subiect to the Councell, that is punished more grieuously: But he that saith, *Thou foole,* shall be punished with all extremitie, answering in proportion to the cruell and merciles burning of men in the [d] valley of *Hinnon,* or in the fierie *Gehenna.*

S. *Augustine* in his first booke [e] *De Sermone Domini in monte,* doth somewhat otherwise, but very excellently, expresse the meaning of Christs words in this sort. There are, saith he, degrees of sinne in this kinde mentioned by Christ: *Itaque in primo vnum est, id est, ira sola; in secundo, duo; & & vox quæ iram significat: in tertio, tria; & ira, & vox quæ iram significat, & in voce ipsa certæ vituperationis expressio. Vide nunc etiam tres reatus, Iudicij, Concilij, & Gehennæ ignis. Nam in Iudicio adhuc defensioni datur locus; ad Concilium pertinet sententiæ prolatio, quando non iam cum reo agitur, vtrum damnandus sit, sed inter se qui iudicant, conferunt, quo supplicio damnari oporteat, quem constat esse damnandum. Gehenna verò ignis nec damnationem habet iudicium, sicut Iudicium, nec damnati pœnam sicut Concilium: in Gehennâ quippe ignis certa est & damnatio, & pœna damnati.* That is: In the first degree there is but one thing, that is, anger only: In the second two; anger, and a voyce expressing anger: In the third three; anger, the voyce that giueth signification of it, and in the voyce it selfe an expressing of some certaine reproach. See now also three guilts, of Iudgement, of Councell, and the *Gehenna* of fire. For in Iudgement there is yet place left for defence; to Councell pertaineth the pronouncing of the sentence, when there is no more to be done with the partie guilty, nor no further doubt whether he be to be condemned or not, but they that iudge take counsell and confer amongst themselues, to what punishment they shall condemne him, of whose condemnation they are already resolued: but in the *Gehenna* of fire, there is neither doubtfulnesse of condemnation, as in Iudgement, nor of the punishment of the condemned, as in Councell: For there both the condemnation is certaine, and the punishment also.

The Papists alledge the words of Christ for proofe of veniall sinnes,

[c] Matth. 5. 22

[d] 2. Chron. 33. vers. 6.

[e] Cap. 19. *Apparet Augustinum iudicialis rationis Hebraicæ notionem non habuisse. Sigonius de rep. Hebr. lib. 6. cap. 7.*

becauſe onely the laſt degree of vnaduiſed and cauſeleſſe anger is pronounced worthy to be puniſhed with *Gehenna* of fire, or hell fire. Whence they think it may be concluded, that other degrees of cauſeleſſe anger, though ſinfull, yet doe not ſubiect men to any puniſhment in hell, and conſequently are by nature venial. But if we vnderſtand that Chriſt alluded to the different courts of iuſtice amongſt the Iewes, their proceedings in the ſame, and the diuerſitie of puniſhments which they inflicted more or leſſe grieuous, as *Sigonius* in his booke [f] *De repub. Hebreorum*, and other excellently learned do; then by *Gehenna* of fire, is not ſimply meant hell fire, which is thē generall puniſhment of damned ſinners, but the greateſt extremitie of puniſhment in hell, expreſſed by compariſon with the cruell torments which they indured that were conſumed in fire in *Gehenna*, or the valley of *Hinnon*, farre more intollerable then were the puniſhments inflicted by the Iudgement or Councell, to which the lighter and leſſer puniſhments in hell due to leſſer and lighter ſinnes may be reſembled. And though we vnderſtand the words as *Augustine* doth, yet is not their errour confirmed by this place: for as he fitly noteth, whereas to kill is more grieuous then to wrong by contumelious and railing ſpeeches, amongſt the Phariſees onely killing was thought to make a man guiltie of iudgement; But here anger, the leaſt of all the ſinnes mentioned by Chriſt, is by him pronounced guiltie of iudgement: and whereas amongſt them the queſtion of murther was brought before the iudgement ſeate of men, here all things are left to the iudgement of God, where the end of the condemned and guiltie is hell fire. And for farther cleering of this point he addeth, that if any man ſhall ſay, that murther, as more grieuous, is to be puniſhed more grieuouſly, according to the rule of iuſtice, then with hell fire: if railing ſpeeches be puniſhable with hell fire, he will force vs to acknowledge diuerſe hels, or kinds and degrees of puniſhments in hell. So farre was *Auguſtine* from imagining any ſuch difference of ſinnes, whereof ſome ſhould be worthy to be puniſhed in hell, and ſome not, to be proued out of this place, as our aduerſaries would enforce and vrge.

f *Loco ſupra citato.*

Chap. 10.

Of the ſet Courts amongſt the Iewes, their authority, and continuance.

TOuching the Tribunals and iudgements that were in euerie city, God ſayd vnto *Moſes:* [a] *Thou ſhalt appoint thee Iudges and Magiſtrates in all thy cities*; and againe, *They ſhall go vp to the Iudges that ſit in the gates of the city.* But the [b] *Sanedrim* or great Councell of State conſiſted of the King, the twelue Princes of the people, the ſeuentie Elders, the high Prieſt, the chiefe Prieſts, and the Scribes. And the Counſell

a Deut. 16. 18.

b *Sigon. de rep. Hebr. lib. 6. cap. 7*

ouncell was first in *Siloh*, afterwards at Hierusalem; first in the tribe of *braim*, and after in the tribe of *Iudah*: & after the rent of the ten tribes, ne but the elders of *Iudah*, and *Beniamin*, and the Priests and Leuites red into this Councell.

This Councell either the King or high Priest called, according as the tter to be heard, touched Religion or the common wealth: But after e returne from Babylon the high Priest was alwayes chiefe, and gouer- d with the Elders and chiefe Priests: For there were no more kings of *dah* after that time, but the kings of Persia, Ægypt, and Syria had the mmand ouer *Iudæa*, and made the Iewes pay tribute vnto them. Of s Councell almighty God did speake when he sayd: [c] *If there arise a* c Deut. 17. 8.
ter too hard for thee in iudgement betweene blood and bloud, betweene plea d plea, betweene plague and plague, in matters of controuersie within thy gates, n shalt thou arise and go vp to the place which the Lord thy God shall chuse; d thou shalt come vnto the Priests of the Leuites, and vnto the Iudge that ll be in those dayes, and aske; and they shall shew thee the sentence of iudge- et: and thou shalt do according vnto that thing which they of that place which Lord hath chosen, shew thee; and thou shalt obserue to do according to all that y informe thee, according to the Law which they shall teach thee, and according he iudgement which they shall tell thee, shalt thou do; thou shalt not decline m the thing which they shall shew thee, neither to the right hand, nor to the left: d that man that wil do presumptuously not hearkening to the Priest that stan- h before the Lord thy God to minister there, or vnto the Iudge, that man shall , and thou shalt take away euill from Israel.

This was the highest Court amongst the Iewes, and from this there s no appeale: and this Court some thinke to haue enioyed so great d ample priuiledges, as that it could not erre: and thereupon inferre, t Popes in their Consistories cannot erre, to whom Christ hath made arge promises of assistance and direction, as euer he did to the high ests and Rulers in the time of *Moses* Law.

That the Priests and Rulers in the time of the Law could not erre, they leauor to proue, because he was to answer it with his bloud whosoe- r disobeyed the sentence and decree of those Iudges; and God required erie man without declining to the right hand or the left, to do that they mmanded:

If it be obiected that the words of almighty God requiring all men so ictly to obey the sentence and decree of those Rulers, are not to be vn- stood concerning matters of faith, but causes Ciuill and Criminal; and t therefore this place maketh not any proofe of the infallibility of their gement in matters of faith; it will be answered, that there is no reason doubt of their iudgement in matters of faith, of whose right iudge- nt in matters Ciuill and Criminall we are assured.

Surely, it is true, that if those Iudges in the time of the law could not

erre

erre in matters Ciuill and Criminall; they were vndoubtedly much more freed from danger of erring in matters of faith: but it is one of the strangest paradoxes, as I thinke, that euer yet was heard of, that the Priests and Iudges in the time of the law were priuiledged from danger of erring in matters of fact, and that they were so assisted in their proceedings, and that they could not be mis-led by any passions or sinister affections, to peruert iudgement and do wrong. For, besides that it is refuted by sundrie instances of sinister and wicked iudgements passed by those iudges against the seruants and Prophets of almightie God, it maketh the Ministerie and gouernement vnder the law incomparably more glorious and excellent then the Ministerie of the Gospell. For it is by all confessed that Popes and Councels may erre in things of this nature: But that the Priests in the time of the law did sometimes erre in iudgement, condemning them whom God would not haue had condemned, appeareth euidently

d Ierem. 26.8. by that we read in the booke of the Propheſies of *Ieremie*, where [d] *Ieremie had made an end of speaking all that the Lord commanded him to speak, then the Priests and the Prophets and all the people tooke him, and said, Thou*

e Ibid. ver. 10. *shalt dye the death.* [e] *And when the Princes of Iudah heard of these things, they came vp from the Kings house into the house of the Lord, and sate down in the entrie of the new gate of the Lords house. Then spake the Priests and the Prophets*

f Ver. 16. *vnto the Princes and to all the people, saying, This man is worthy to dye;* [f] *but the Princes sayd, This man is not worthie to die: for he hath spoken vnto vs in the name of the Lord our God.* Here we see the Priests erred, and were resisted

g Ierem. 37. 15. by the Princes of the land: but elsewhere we read that [g] *the Princes were angrie with Ieremie, and smote him, and layd him in prison in the house of*

h Ier. 38. 4. *Iehonathan the Scribe,* and sayd vnto the King: [h] *We beseech thee, let this man be put to death, for he weakneth the hands of the men of warre, that are in this Citie, and the hands of all the people.* So that both Priests and Princes might and did sometimes erre in iudgement. But some man perhaps will say that howsoeuer they might erre in matters of fact, yet they could not erre in any matter of substance pertaining to the worship and seruice of God. This also is clearly demonstrated to be false, and their errours in things pertaining to the worship and seruice of God proued by sundrie examples.

i 2. Kings 16. 3. In the second booke of Kings we reade that [i] *Ahaz* king of *Iudah* walked *in the wayes of the kings of Israel, made his sonnes go through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, and offered burnt incense in the high places, and on the hils, and vnder euerie greene tree.* This wicked *Ahaz* [k] *sent from Damascus to Vrias the Priest the patterne of the Altar he saw at Damascus, and the fashion of it, and all the workemanship thereof; and Vrias the Priest made an Altar in all points like to that which King Ahaz sent from Damascus.* So did Vrias the Priest before King *Ahaz* came from Damascus; [l] *and the King commanded Vrias to offer sacrifice vpon the Altar, and* [m] *Vrias did whatsoeuer*

k Ibid. ver. 10, 11.

l Ver. 15.

m Ver. 16.

King commanded him. n Yea, we reade of many Priests, especially about the time of the *Maccabees*, that forsooke the law of God, and followed the abominations of the heathen Idolaters; and many Iudges and Kings likewise; so that, *Dauid*, *Hezekiah*, and *Iosias* onely excepted, there was none of the Kings that did not decline more or lesse to Idolatrie.

The meaning therefore of almightie God according to the iudgement of the best Diuines was not, that Priests and Iudges in the time of the Law should be obeyed in all things without exception, but when they commanded and iudged according to the diuine law and veritie: and in the same sort must we vnderstand the words of Christ, when he saith, o *The Scribes and Pharisees sit on the Chaire of Moses*; and commandeth the people to *obserue and do whatsoeuer they prescribe to be obserued and done*. For otherwise Christ should be contrary to himselfe, who elsewhere willeth men to p *beware of the leauen of the Pharisees*, (which S. *Matthew* interpreteth to be their q doctrine) and teacheth men r by his owne example to contemne their traditions. Yea, it is most certaine, that the Pharisees erred dangerously and damnably in many things, notwithstanding their sitting on *Moses* chaire: and therefore Christ doth oftentimes sharply reproue them for mis-interpreting the Law of God.

Lyra in Deuteron. 17. & alij.

o Matth. 23. 2.

p Matth. 16. 6.
q Ibid. ver. 12.
r Math. 15.

Some man perhaps will say; they taught lesse then is implied in the Law, in that they condemned murther, adulterie, and the like crimes, but not lust, hatred, and such other sinister affections of the heart; and that therefore Christ did not reproue them as teaching any thing contrary to the Law, but as teaching lesse then is contained in it, and comming short of it. This euasion will not serue: for it appeareth euidently, that they did not onely come short of that the Law requireth, but were also contrary vnto it, and that Christ taxeth them for the same. s *Quia non intelligebant*, (saith S. *Augustine*,) *homicidium nisi per interemptionem corporis humani per quam vitâ priuaretur, aperuit Dominus omnem iniquum motum ad nocendum fratri in homicidij genere deputari: vnde & Iohannes dicit, Qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est; & quoniam putabant tantummodò corporalem cum fœminâ illicitam commixtionem vocari mœchiam, demonstrauit Magister etiam talem concupiscentiam nihil esse aliud*: That is, they vnderstood no other kind of murther, but that which is the sundring of soule and body, and the taking away of life, therefore our Lord shewed, that euerie vnrighteous motion to hurt our brother is to be accounted murther. Whence also S. *Iohn* saith, *He that hateth his brother, is a man-slayer*: and becausse they thought the vnlawfull coniunction of man and woman onely to be adulterie, our Maister shewed, that euen the desire is no lesse. Now I thinke, that to say, that is not murther nor adulterie which Christ pronounceth to be murther and adulterie, is not onely to teach lesse then is in the Law, but to teach contrary to it.

s *Augustin. contra Faust. Manichæi Lib. 19. cap. 24.*

But to make this point more cleare and euident, and that there may be

no doubt, but that their doctrine was contrarie to the Law, the Scripture reporteth, nay our Sauiour Christ telleth vs in the Scripture (whose report we may not doubt of) that they taught a man [t] *to loue his friend, and to hate his enemie*; whereas by the Law of God we are bound *to loue our enemies, to blesse them that curse vs, to do good to them that hate vs, and to pray for them that hurt vs, and persecute vs.* It is true indeed, that [u] S. *Augustine* not obseruing this glosse of hating our enemies, to be the lewd tradition of the Pharisees, but thinking it to be written in the Law, doth in one place say, that that which is sayd in the Law, *Thou shalt hate thine enemie*, is not to be taken as the voyce of him that commandeth and prescribeth what the iust should do, but permitteth what the infirmitie of the weake requireth; and in another place writing against the *Manichees* saith, [x] that that which is in the old Scripture, *Hate thine enemie*, & that which is in the Gospell, *Loue your enemies*, do agree together very well: For euery vnrighteous man *in quantum iniquus est, odio habendus est, & in quantum homo diligendus*, in that he is vnrighteous, is to be hated, and in that he is a man, is to be loued. This saying he saith the Pharisees did not rightly vnderstand, and that therefore Christ laboured to teach and instruct them better, and to let them know, that they were so to hate their enemies, that they should also loue them.

Matth. 5. 43.

[u] *Aug. de Serm. Dom. in monte lib. 1 cap. 41.*

[x] *Contra Faustum Manichæum, lib. 19. cap. 24.*

This which S. *Augustine* deliuereth is most Catholique and true: For we are to hate the vices, and loue the persons of our enemies; but neither is there any mandate in the Scriptures that we should hate our enemies, neither had that precept of the Pharisees that sense wherein S. *Augustine* conceiueth a man may lawfully hate his enemies; but as himselfe confesseth, they thought they were so to hate their enemies, that they were not bound to loue them; against which erroneous conceipt Christ opposeth himselfe, saying, *But I say vnto you, loue your enemies*. Neither doth he oppose an Euangelicall counsell of greater perfection then the Law requireth, to that imperfect thing the Law prescribeth, as some men haue ignorantly fancied; but the true meaning of the Law to the false construction of the same made by the Pharisees, as likewise he doth in all other his oppositions to that which had bene sayd to them of old time.

But let vs let this passe, and come to the other errours of the Pharisees taxed by our Sauiour Christ in such sort, as no man can excuse them. *Why do ye transgresse*, saith he, *the commandement of God by your traditions? for God hath commanded, saying, Honour thy Father, and thy Mother; and he that curseth Father or Mother, let him dye the death: but ye say, Whosoeuer shall say to Father or Mother, By the gift that is offered by me thou mayst haue profit, though he honour not his Father or Mother, shall be free: Thus haue you made the commandement of God of none effect, by your owne tradition.* Againe, they taught that it is [z] *nothing if a man sweare by the Altar, but that he that sweareth by the gift or offering that is on the Altar is a Dettor*; that is, bound to

[y] Matth. 15. 3.

[z] Matth. 23. 18.

o that he ſweareth. Many other like ſond and wicked gloſſes of the
hariſees we reade of, whereby they made the commandements of God
none effect, whereupon our Sauiour ſaith: [a] *Except your righteouſneſſe* a Matth. 5. 20.
ceede the righteouſneſſe of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye cannot enter into the
gdome of heauen. Thus then I hope it appeareth to all that are not wil-
lly blinded, that Chriſt meant not, when he ſayd, *The Scribes and Phari-*
ſit on Moſes chaire, therefore whatſoeuer they bid you, that obſerue and do,
t they could ſpeake nothing but truth, and that whatſoeuer they ſayd
s to be receiued without any examination; but that whatſoeuer things
y ſpake *pertinentia ad Cathedram* (as the author of the * Interlineall * *In illum loc.*
oſſe interpreteth the words) and whatſoeuer things they deliuered as
ing on *Moſes* chaire, that is, doing the duty of Teachers, they ſhould
liſtned vnto, howſoeuer otherwiſe they were wicked, and godleſſe
n.

They that teach, iudge, and rule the people of God, are deſcribed to
rforme thoſe things ſitting, to put them in mind that they muſt do all
ngs with ſetled, compoſed, and well aduiſed reſolution, and not raſh-
haſtily, and inconſiderately: whereupon Princes haue their thrones,
dges their Tribunals and iudgement ſeates, and Teachers their chaires.
nce *Moſes* office of teaching the people the lawes of God, and the per-
mance of the ſame, is metaphorically named *Moſes* chaire; and the ſuc-
ding of *Moſes* in this office and dutie of deliuering the lawes of God
he people, and the performance of the ſame, is rightly expreſſed by
ſitting on the chaire of *Moſes*: and in this ſenſe the Scribes and Pha-
es are rightly ſayd to haue ſit on *Moſes* chaire, becauſe they ſuccee-
him in the office and duty of teaching the people the lawes of God,
in the performance of the ſame duty in ſome part, though not wholy.
d therefore our Sauiour Chriſt requireth al men, notwithſtanding their
cked conuerſation and manifold errours in matters of doctrine, to do
atſoeuer they commanded while they ſate on *Moſes* chaire, that is,
formed the duty belonging to *Moſes* office and place.

It is ſtrange that any man ſhould ſeeke to extend the words of Chriſt
farther, as if they meant to cleare the Scribes and Phariſees from all
ſſibilitie and danger of erring, in that they poſſeſſed the roome of *Mo-*
and had the places of teachers in the Church; when it is [b] confeſſed by b *Bellar. de au-*
beſt learned of all ſides, that the Prieſts of the Law had no priuiledge *thoritate Concil.*
not erring in teaching the people of God after Chriſt appeared, and *liorum l. 2. cap. 8*
gan to teach in his owne perſon, whatſoeuer they had before; and [c] that c *Idem de Eccle.*
s was foretold by *Ieremie* the Prophet, when he ſayd, *Peribit lex à Sa-* *militante lib. 3.*
dote, verbum à Propheta, conſilium à Sapiente; The Law ſhall periſh *cap. 17.*
m the Prieſt, the word from the Prophet, and counſell from the wiſe.
t ſuch is the impudencie of ſome [d] of the friends and louers of the d *Vt refert Bel-*
urch of Rome, that they feare not to defend, and cleare the doctrine of *larm. de author.*
Concil. li. 2. ca. 8.

the Scribes and Phariſees from error, wherewith Chriſt ſo often charged thē, & to iuſtifie the proceedings of the high Prieſt, & the reſt of the priests and rulers aſſembled in Councell againſt Chriſt himſelfe, affirming, that the ſentence pronounced againſt him was true and iuſt, for that he was truly guiltie of death, in that he had taken vpon him our ſinnes to purge them in himſelfe, and that *it was indeede expedient, that he ſhould dye for the people*, according to the [e] ſaying of *Caiphas*, who in ſo ſaying is ſayd to haue propheſied, as being the high Prieſt that yeare. But *Bellarmine* ingenuouſly acknowledgeth the ouerſight of his friends and companions and ſaith, that howſoeuer thoſe words of *Caiphas* admit a good ſenſe (though not intended by him,) for he meant it was better that Chriſt being but one ſhould die, then that the whole people (whoſe deſtruction he thought vnauoidable, if Chriſt were ſuffered to liue) ſhould periſh and come to nothing: Yet there are other words of *Caiphas*, that in no ſenſe are iuſtifiable, as when he ſayd, [f] *He hath blaſphemed; what need we any more witneſſes?*

e Ioh. 18. 14.

f Matth. 26. 65.

Touching his former ſpeech, it was the will of God, for the honour of the Prieſthood, that he ſhould vtter that he meant ill, in ſuch words as might haue a good ſenſe, though not meant nor intended by him, whereupon he is ſayd to haue propheſied: but the latter words are words of curſed blaſphemie, and without horrible impietie cannot be excuſed in any ſenſe. Therefore there are others, who confeſſe that *Caiphas* and his aſſiſtants erred when they condemned Chriſt, but that it was but a matter of fact wherein they erred, in miſtaking the quality of Chriſts perſon, and in being miſ-informed of him, in which kind of things Councels may erre. This conceipt the Cardinall likewiſe reiecteth and exploden as abſurd: for that howſoeuer it was a queſtion of fact, and concerning the perſon of him that ſtood to be iudged, yet it inwrapped in it a moſt important queſtion concerning the faith, to wit, whether *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Marie* were the true *Meſſias* and Sonne of God: and therefore *Caiphas* with his whole Councell reſoluing that he was not, erred damnably in matter of faith, and pertinaciouſly, in that they reiected him as a blaſphemer of God, whom the Angels from heauen teſtified to be the Sonne of God; the ſtarre deſigned to be that light, that lightneth euery one that commeth into the world; the Sages from a farre adored, as being that King of the Iewes, that is to ſit vpon the throne of *Dauid* for euer, whoſe dominion is from ſea to ſea, and from the riuer to the end of the land; whom the ſea and winds obeyed, and at whoſe rebuke the Diuels went out of them they had formerly poſſeſſed. But if this defenſe of the helliſh ſentence of wicked *Caiphas* be too weake; as indeed it is, our aduerſaries laſt refuge is that this Councell erred, becauſe *Caiphas* and his fellowes proceeded tumultuouſly, and not in due ſort; which is a moſt ſilly ſhift. For how are Councels priuiledged from erring, which is the thing theſe men ſeeke

carefully to defend (though it be with excusing of the fact of those men, who shall be found vnexcusable in the day of iudgement) if Councels may proceed tumultuously, and so define against the truth.

Thus we see, that the great Councell of state amongst the Iewes, to which all matters of difficultie were brought, and from which there was no appeale, might and did erre sometimes dangerously, and damnably. This Councell continued in some sort as well after the captiuity of *Babylon*, and the returne from the same, as before: g though with this difference, that whereas before, the king had a principall interest in the same, afterwards the high Priest alwayes was chiefe, there being no more kings of *Iudah*, but the kings of *Persia*, *Ægypt*, and *Syria* commaunding ouer the Iewes, and making them tributaries vnto them. In this sort were they gouerned, till some differences growing amongst them for the place of the high Priest, they were by *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria* depriued both of their liberty and exercise of religion, and brought into miserable bondage; the indignitie whereof the *Assamonai* of the tribe of *Leui* could not indure, but by force and policie in a sort freed the state of the Iewes againe, and tooke vnto themselues first the name of Princes, and then of Kings. In the booke of *Maccabees* we reade, that *Mattathias* was constituted Priest, Prince, and Ruler, and that many came downe to him to seeke iudgment and iustice. *Iudas Maccabæus* succeeded *Mattathias*, and ioyned the dignitie of the high Priest to the princely power. *Ionathas* succeeded *Maccabeus*, of whom we reade, h *Now this day do we chuse thee to be vnto vs a Prince in stead of* Iudas, *and a captaine to fight our battels*. *Simon* succeeded *Ionathas*, and in his time *Demetrius* king of *Syria* and *Antiochus* his sonne remitted all tributes; so that then the *Iewes* recouered their ancient liberty in as ample manner as they had formerly enioyed it vnder their kings. *Iohn* succeeded *Simon*, and *Aristobulus Iohn*, who put vpon himselfe a Diademe, and assumed the name of a king. After *Aristobulus* succeeded *Alexander* his brother, marrying *Solina* his wife. *Alexander* being dead, *Alexandra* obtained the kingdome, and after her *Hircanus*, whom *Aristobulus* his brother expulsed. *Pompey* tooke this *Aristobulus* prisoner, subdued *Iudæa*, brought it into the forme of a prouince, and appointed *Antipater Ascalonita* to be *Procurator* of it; but not long after, *Antigonus* the sonne of *Aristobulus* recouered the City of Hierusalem, and inuaded the kingdome; against whom the *Romans* set vp *Herod* the sonne of *Antipater*, and gaue him the name of a King.

g *Sigonius de rep. Hebræorum lib. 7. cap. 4.*

h 1. Maccab. 9 30.

Thus the direction and gouernment of the *Iewes* rested principally in the *Sanedrim*, as well before as after their returne from *Babylon*; and the *Sanedrim*, which was the highest Court, and swaied all, consisted for the most part of men taken out of the house of *Dauid*, and therfore the Scepter did not depart from *Iudah* so long as that Court continued, and retained the authority belonging to it; though there were no king of the posteritie

steritie of *Dauid* and tribe of *Iudah*, but the high Priests first, and then other of the tribe of *Leui*, assuming to themselues Priestly, and Princely dignitie, had the chiefest place and highest roome in this court of state. But when *Herod* swaied the Scepter, slue all those that he found to be of the bloud royall of *Iudah*, and tooke away all power and authority that the *Sanedrim* formerly had, then the Scepter departed from *Iudah*, and the Law-giuer from betweene his feete; so that then was the time for the *Shiloh* to come.

Chap. II.

Of the manifestation of God in the flesh, the causes thereof, and the reason why the second Person in the Trinitie rather tooke flesh, then either of the other.

GOd therefore in that fulnesse of time sent his Sonne in our flesh to sit vpon the throne of *Dauid*, and to be both a King and Priest ouer his house for euer; concerning whom, three things are to be considered. First, his humiliation, abasing himselfe to take our nature, and become man. Secondly, the gifts and graces he bestowed on the nature of man, when he assumed it into the vnitie of his Person. Thirdly, the things he did and suffered in it for our good.

In the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, we consider first, the necessitie, that God should become man; secondly, the fitnesse and conuenience, that the second Person rather then any other: thirdly, the manner, how this strange thing was wrought and brought to passe. Touching the necessity that God should become man, there are two opinions in the *Romane* schooles.

For some thinke, that though *Adam* had neuer sinned, yet it had beene necessary for the exaltation of humane nature, that God should haue sent his Sonne to become man; but others are of opinion, that had it not beene for the deliuering of man out of sinne and miserie, the Sonne of God had neuer appeared in our flesh. [a] Both these opinions, saith *Bonauentura*, are Catholique, and defended by Catholiques: whereof the former seemeth more consonant to reason, but the later to the pietie of faith, because neither Scripture, nor Fathers doe euer mention the Incarnation, but when they speake of the redemption of mankind: so that seeing nothing is to be beleeued, but what is proued out of these, it sorteth better with the nature of right beleefe, to thinke the Sonne of God had neuer become the Sonne of man, if man had not sinned, then to thinke the contrarie. [b] *Venit filius hominis, saith Augustine, saluum facere quod perierat: Si homo non periisset, filius hominis non venisset: nulla causa fuit Christo veniendi, nisi peccatores saluos facere. Tolle morbos, tolle vulnera; & nulla est medicina*

[a] *Bonauent. in 3 Sent. dist. 1. quest. 2.*

[b] *Aug. de verb. Apostoli. Serm. 70 tractans illud Luc. Venit filius hominis saluum facere quod perierat: & illud 1. ad Timoth. 1. venit in hunc mundum peccatores saluos facere.*

cause,

causa: that is, The Sonne of man came to saue that which was lost; If man had not perished, the sonne of man had not come, there was no other cause of Christs comming, but the saluation of sinners: Take away diseases, wounds and hurts, and what neede is there of the Phisition or Surgeon? Wherefore resoluing with the Scriptures and Fathers, that there was no other cause of the incarnation of the Sonne of God, but mans redemption, let vs see whether so great an abasing of the Sonne of God, were necessary for the effecting hereof.

Surely there is no doubt, but that almightie God, whose wisedome is incomprehensible, and power infinite, could haue effected this worke by other meanes, but not so well beseeming his truth and iustice; whereupon the Diuines do shew, that in many respects it was fit and necessary for this purpose, that God should become man.

c First, *ad fidem firmandam*; to settle men in a certaine and vndoubted perswasion of the truth of such things as are necessarie to be beleeued: *vt homo fidentiùs ambularet ad veritatem*, saith * *Augustine, ipsa veritas, Dei filius, homine assumpto, constituit & fundauit fidem*: that is, That man might more assuredly, and without danger of erring, approach vnto the presence of sacred truth it selfe, the Sonne of God, assuming the nature of man, setled & founded the faith, & shewed what things are to be beleeued.

c *Thomas Sum. Theol. part. 3. quæst. 1. art. 2.*

* *August. de Ciuit. Dei. lib. 11. cap. 2.*

Secondly, *ad rectam operationem*, to direct mens actions; for whereas man, that might be seene, might not safely be followed, and God, that was to be imitated and followed could not be seene, it was necessary that God should become man, that he, whom man was to follow, might shew himselfe vnto man, and be seene of him.

Thirdly, *ad ostendendam dignitatem humanæ Naturæ*, to shew the dignitie and excellencie of humane nature, that no man should any more so much forget himselfe, as to defile the same with sinfull impurities. d *Demonstrauit nobis Deus*, saith *Augustine, quàm excelsum locum inter creaturas habeat humana natura, in hoc quòd hominibus in vero homine apparuit*: that is, God shewed vs how high a place the nature of man hath amongst his creatures, in that he appeared vnto men in the nature, and true being of a man. e *Agnosce* (saith *Leo*) *O Christiane dignitatem tuam, & diuinæ consors factus naturæ, noli in veterem vilitatem degeneri conuersatione redire*: that is, Take knowledge ô Christian man of thine owne worth and dignitie; and being made partaker of the diuine nature, returne not to thy former baseneſſe by an vnfitting kind of life and conuersation. Lastly, it was necessary the Sonne of God should become man, *ad liberandum hominem à seruitute peccati*, to deliuer man from the slauerie and bondage of sinne. For the performance whereof, two things were to be done: For first, the iustice of God displeased with sin cõmitted against him, was to be satisfied; & secõdly, the breach was to be made vp that was made vpon the whole nature of man by the same: neither of which things could possibly be performed by

d *Aug. de verâ Religione cap. 16.*

e *Leo Serm. 1. in natiuit. Dom.*

man or Angell, or by any creature. For touching the first, the wrath of God displeased with sinne, and the punishments which in iustice he was to inflict vpon sinners for the same, were both infinite; because the offence was infinite: and therefore none but a person of infinite worth, value, and vertue was able to endure the one, and satisfie the other.

If any man shall say, it was possible for a meere man stayed by diuine power and assistance, to feele smart and paine in proportion answering to the pleasure of sinne, which is but finite; and to endure for a time the losse of all that infinite comfort, and solace that is to be found in God, answering to that auersion from God that is in sinne, which is infinite, and so satisfie his iustice; he considereth not, that though such a man might satisfie for his owne sinne, yet not for the sinnes of all other, who are in number infinite, vnlesse his owne person were eminently as good as all theirs, and vertually infinite. Secondly, that though he might satisfie for his owne actuall sinne, yet he could not for his originall sinne, which being the sinne of nature, cannot be satisfied for but by him, in whom the whole nature of man in some principall sort is found. Thirdly, he considereth not, that it is impossible that any sinner should of himselfe euer cease from sinning; and that therefore, seeing so long as sinne remaineth, the guilt of punishment remaineth, he must be euerlastingly punished, if he suffer the punishment due to his euerlasting sinne: and consequently, that he cannot so suffer the punishments due to his actuall sinnes, as hauing satisfied the wrath and iustice of God to free himselfe from the same. If it be sayd, that by grace he may cease from sinning, and so suffer the punishment due to sinne so ceasing, and not eternall; it will be replied, that God giueth not his grace to any till his iustice be first satisfied, & a reconciliation procured: for he giueth it to his friends, and not to his enemies.

Touching the second thing that was to be done for mans deliuerance, which was the making vp of the breach made vpon the nature of man, and the freeing him from the impuritie of inherent sinne, that so the punishment due to sinne past being felt and suffered, he might be reconciled to God; it could not be performed by any meere creature whatsoeuer. For as all fell in *Adam*, the roote and beginning of naturall being, who receiued the treasures of righteousnesse and holinesse for himselfe, and those that by propagation were to come of him: so their restauration could not be wrought, but by him that should be the roote, fountaine, and beginning of supernaturall and spirituall being, in whom the whole nature of mankind should be found in a more eminent sort then it was in *Adam*: as indeed it was in the second *Adam*, [f] *of whose fulnesse we all receiue, grace for grace*. And this surely was the reason, why it was no iniustice in God to lay vpon him the punishments due to our sinnes, and why his sufferings do free vs from the same. It is no way iust, that one man hauing no speciall communion with another, should suffer punishment for another

[f] Ioh. 1. 16.

man

mans fault; but the whole nature of man being found in him in a more eminent sort, then either in *Adam* or any of them that came of him, and he hauing vndertaken to free and deliuer it, it was iust and right, he should feele the miseries it was subiect vnto: and that being felt, and sustained by him in such sort as was sufficient to satisfie diuine iustice, they should not be imposed or laid on vs.

Hereupon some haue said, that Christ was made sinne not by acting or contracting sin (for so to say were horrible blasphemy) but by taking on him the guilt of all mens sins: which yet is wisely to be vnderstood, least we run into errour. For whereas the guilt of sin implieth two things; a worthinesse to be punished, and a destination vnto punishment; the former implieth demerite naturall or personall in him that is so worthy to bee punished, and this could not be in Christ: the other, which is *Obligatio ad pœnam*, a being subiect vnto punishment, may grow from some communiō with him or thē that are worthy to be punished. And in this sense some say Christ tooke the guilt of our sins, not by acting or contracting sin, but by communion with sinners, though not in sinne, yet in that nature, which in them is sinfull and guilty; as those good men that are parts of a sinful Citty, are iustly subiect to the punishments due to that Citty, not in that they haue fellowship with it in euill, but in that they are parts of it being euill; the sonne of a traitor is iustly subiect to the grieuous punishment of forfeiting the inheritance that should haue descended vpon him from his father, though he no way concurred with him in his treasō, in respect of his nearenesse & cōmunion with him, of whom he is as it were a part. Wherepō all Diuines resolue, that men altogether innocent, yet liuing as parts of the societies of wicked men, are iustly subiect to those temporall punishments those societies are worthy of: and that the reason why one man cannot be subiect to those spirituall punishments which others deserue, is, for that in respect of the spirit & inward man, they haue no such deriuation from, dependance on, or communion with others, as in respect of the outward man they haue.

Wherefore to conclude this point, we may safely resolue, that no other could satisfie diuine iustice, and suffer the punishments due to sin in such sort as to free vs from the same, but Christ the Sonne of God, in whom our nature by personall vnion was found in an excellent sort; and that it was right and iust, that hauing taken our nature vpon him, and vndertaken to free and deliuer the same, he should suffer and endure whatsoeuer punishments it was subiect vnto. For the illustration of this point the learned obserue, that g when God created *Adam*, he gaue him all excellent & precious vertues, as Truth to instruct him, Iustice to direct him, Mercy to preserue him, and Peace to delight him with all pleasing correspondence; but that when he fell away, and forgate all the good which God had done for him, these vertues left their lower dwellings, and speedily returned backe

g *Cameracensis in principio in 3. lib. sent.*

backe to him that gaue them, making report what was fallen out on earth, and earnestly mouing the Almighty concerning this his wretched and forlorne creature; yet in very different sort and maner. For Iustice pleaded for the condemnation of sinfull man, and called for the punishment he had worthily deserued; & Truth required the performance of that which God had threatned; but Mercy intreated for miserable man made out of the dust of the earth, seduced by Satan, and beguiled with the shewes of seeming good: and Peace no lesse carefully sought to pacifie the wrath of the displeased God, and to reconcile the Creature to the Creator. When God had heard the contrary pleas and desires of these most excellent Orators, and there was no other meanes to giue them all satisfaction, it was resolued on in the high Councell of the blessed Trinitie, that one of those sacred Persons should become man, that by taking to him the nature of man he might partake in his miseries, and be subiect to his punishments, & by comioining his diuine nature and perfection with the same might fil it with all grace and heauenly excellencie. Thus were the desires of these so cõtrary Petitioners satisfied: for man was punished as Gods Iustice vrged; that was performed which God had threatned, as Truth required: the offender was pitied, as Mercy intreated; and God & man reconciled, as Peace desired; & so was fulfilled that of the *Psalmist*: h *Mercy and Truth are met together, Righteousnesse and Peace haue kissed each other.*

h Pal. 85. 10.

Wherefore now let vs proceede, to see which of the Persons of the blessed Trinitie was thought fittest to be sent into the world to performe this worke. Not the Father; for being of none, he could not be sent: Not the holy Ghost; for though he proceede, yet he is not the first proceeding Person; and therefore, whereas a double mission was necessary, the one to reconcile, the other to giue gifts to reconciled friends; the first proceeding Person was fittest for the first mission, and the second for the second. Secondly, who was fitter to be cast out into the Sea, to stay the tempest, then that *Ionas* for whose sake it arose? Almighty God was displeased for the wrong offred to his Sonne, in desiring to be like vnto God, and to know all things in such sort as is proper to the onely begotten Son of the Father, therefore was he the fittest to pacifie all againe. Thirdly, who was fitter to become the Sonne of man, then he that was by nature the Sonne of God? i *Patrem habuit in cœlis, Matrem quæsiuit in terris*: He had a Father in heauen, he sought onely a mother on earth. Who could be fitter to make vs the Sonnes of God by adoption and grace, then he that was the Sonne of God by nature? who fitter to repaire the Image of God decaied in vs, then he that was the brightnesse of glory, and the engrauen forme of his Fathers Person? Lastly, who was fitter to be a Mediator, then the middle Person, who was in a sort a Mediator in the state of creation, and before the fall?

i Bernard. de aduent. domini, Serm. 1.

Whereupon *Hugo de Sancto victore* bringeth in Almighty God speaking

f the Sonnes of men concerning Christ his Sonne in this sort: [k] *Nolite ure, quòd ipse tantùm sit Mediator in reconciliatione hominũ, quia per ipsum e- am commendabilis & placita sit aspectui meo conditio omnium creaturarũ:* hat is, thinke not that he is a Mediator onely in the reconciliation of men, or by him the condition of all creatures is grateful vnto me, and pleasing e my sight. *Magni consilij Angelus*, saith *Hugo*, *nobis mittitur, vt, qui con- ens datus fuit ad gloriam, idem perditis veniat ad medelam:* that is, the Angel f the great Counsell is sent vnto vs, that hee who was giuen vnto vs, hen we were made, to bee the crowne of our glory, and Prince of ur excellency, might relieue, helpe and restore vs when we were lost.

k Hugo. erudit. Theol. de Trinit. sum. per visib. agvition. lib. 7. cap. 21.

Yet our aduersaries take I know not what exceptions against *Caluin* for ying, that Christ was a Mediator in the state of creation; but they should now, that there is a Mediator of reconciliation of parties at variance, & a ediator of coniunction of them that are farre asunder, and remote one om another: and that in this latter sort, betweene the Father, that no ay receiueth any thing from another, and the creatures, that so receiue eir being from another, that they are made out of nothing, he may ghtly be said to mediate, that receiueth being from another, but the me that is in him from whom he receiueth it. If any man shall say, that e holy Ghost also in this sort commeth betweene him, in whom the ful- esse of being is originally found, and the creatures that are made of no- ing, as well as the Sonne, and that therefore in this sence, he also may e said to be a Mediator, it is easily answered, that the Sonne onely com- eth betweene the Father, in whom the fulnesse of being is originally ound, and the creatures made of nothing, as he by whom all things were ade; the holy Ghost, as he in whom all things do consist and stand; and hat therefore he hath not the condition of a Mediator being not conside- ed as he by whom all things are bestowed vpon vs, but as that gift in hich all other things are giuen vnto vs: so that the Sonne onely is the Mediator, because by him, from the Father, in the holy Ghost, we receiue ll that which we haue and enioy.

Neither needeth there any Mediator to conioine him to vs, and vs to him: for the *medium* conioineth both the extremes, first with it selfe, and then within themselues, in that it hath something of one of them, & some- thing of another, in something agreeing with, and in something differing from either of the extremes: So the Sonne of God agreeth with vs, in that he receiueth the being and Essence he hath from another, in which re- spect he is distinguished, though not diuided from the Father; but in that the nature he receiueth from the Father is not another, but the same which the Father hath, he is vnlike vnto vs, but agreeth with the Father. And here we may see the malice and ignorance of [l] them that charge *Caluine* with heresie, for affirming that Christ is *ἀυτόθεος*, God of himselfe, as if he denied the eternall generation of the Son of God, and

l Genebrard. lib. 1. de Trinitate Lindanus in 2. Dialogo qui inscribitur Dubitantius. Petrus Canisius præfat. lib. de Sto Ioanne Baptista citat à Bellarm.

and were contrary to the decree of the sacred *Nicene* Councell, which defineth that he is *Deus de Deo, Lumen de Lumine*: for these men should know, that Christ may be sayd to be from another in two sorts, either by production of Essence, or by communication of Essence: the Nicene Councell defined that Christ the Sonne of God who is ὁμοούσιος, that is consubstantiall with the Father, is notwithstanding God of God, that is hath his Essence & Deitie cõmunicated vnto him by eternall generation from the Father, euen the same the Father had originally in himselfe. All which *Caluin* most willingly acknowledgeth to be true, & therefore denieth not, but that it may be truly said according to the sacred decree and definition of that worthy Councell, that Christ the Son of God is God of God, & light of light: but to imagine, as *Valentinus Gentilis*, & other damnable heretickes did, that he is from the Father by production of Essence, whence it will follow, that he hath not the same essence with the Father, but another different from it, inferior to it, & dependant on it, is impious & heretical: and in opposition to this impious conceit of these Heretickes and in the sense intended by them, *Caluin* rightly denied Christ to be God of God. For this their conceipt was euer detested by all Catholique, as wicked & blasphemous, yea so farre are they frõ approuing any such impiety, that no axiome is more cõmon in al their Schooles, then that *Essentia nec generat, nec generatur*, that is, the diuine Essence neither generateth nor is generated: & surely, howsoeuer [m] *Kellison* in his Suruey saith the contrary, and opposeth his affirmatiue against the negatiue of all the most famous & renowned Schoole-men, yet I am perswaded he did so rather out of ignorance, then any reason leading him so to do, and do thinke it more then improper & hard to say, that the diuine Essence doth either generate or is generated.

[m] Booke 3. chap. 1.

Thus then Christ is truly said by *Caluin* to be God of himselfe, by way of opposition to that kinde of being from another, which is by production of Essence, and yet is rightly acknowledged by him with the *Nicene* Fathers to be from another, to wit, the Father, and to be *God of God*, in that he receiueth the eternall Essence by communication from him.

This [n] *Bellarmine* saw, and acknowledged to be true, pronouncing that touching this point *Caluin* erred not in iudgment, & that his opinion is rather an errour in the forme of words, and expressing ill that he meant well, then in the thing it selfe. That *Caluin* erred not in the thing it selfe he deliuered, he proueth at large, specially out of the doctrine of *Caluins* followers: for *Bezain axiomatibus de Trinitate*, and in the 14 axiome, affirmeth, that the Sonne is from the Father by infallible communication of the whole diuine Essence: & *Iosias Simlerus* in his epistle to the *Polonians*, defendeth the opinion of *Caluine*, and expresseth his owne opinion & *Caluins* in this sort: *Non negamus filium habere essentiam à Patre, sed essentiam genitã negamus*, that is, we do not deny the Son to haue receiued his Essence from

[n] *Bellarm. de Christo. lib. 2. cap. 19.*

rom the Father, but that his Essence is generated. This doctrine of *Sin-*
erus, why it should not be Catholique, *Bellarmine* professeth he cannot
ee: yet his fellowes in all their Pamphlets traduce *Caluins Autotheisme* as
n execrable heresie; and muster the *Autotheani*, as they call them, a-
mongst the damned Heretickes of this time: which is not to be maruai-
ed at: for the maner of these men is, odiously to obiect things againe and
gaine, that haue bene often cleared both by themselues and vs, lit-
le regarding whether it bee true or false they say, so they may fasten
ome note of disgrace vpon them whose persons & professions they hate.

One memorable example of hellish impudency in this kinde, worthy
euer to be forgotten, but to be remembred and recorded to the shame
nd reproofe, of the slaundering sect of Papists, we haue in *Matthew*
Kellison his late Suruey of the new religion: who, to proue that the Prote-
stants contemne the Fathers, affirmeth, that *Beza* called *Athanasius* (that
worthy Champion of the Catholique faith) *Sathanasius*, and iudged the
Fathers of the *Nicene* Councell to haue bene blinde Sophisters, ministers
of the Beast, and slaues of Antichrist: whereas *Beza* esteemeth of *Atha-*
nasius as one of the worthiest Diuines that the world for many ages had,
in whose lappe and bosome our wearied mother the Church, in her grea-
test distresses, forsaken of her owne children, was forced to repose and lay
her head in those restlesse and confused turmoiles during the time of the
Arrian heresie; p and professeth, that he thinketh the Sunne in heauen ne-
uer beheld a more sacred and diuine assembly or meeting then that of
the *Nicene* Fathers, since the Apostles times; yea he pronoũceth, that there
was neuer any found to resist against the proceedings and decrees of that
Councell, but their wofull and vnhappy ends made it appeare to all the
world, they were fighters against God: & condemneth the *Arrians* as exe-
crable miscreants, to the pit of hell, for vsing those words wherewith this
Surueiour chargeth him. Wherefore let the Reader beware, how without
due examination he giue credit to the sinister reports of these lewd com-
panions, who haue sold themselues not onely to speake lies, but to write
them, and leaue them vpon record to all posterity.

o Booke. 1. chap. 4. pag. 47.

p For proofe hereof see *Stapleton* in his triplicatiõ against *Whithaker*, pag. 210. and 211. And the author of the treatise of the grounds of the old religion. part. 1. cap. 9. pag. 102.

But let vs see whether *Caluin* haue not erred at least in the forme of
words, & ill expressed that he meant wel, as *Bellarmine* chargeth him. Sure-
ly we shall finde, if we take a view of that which *Caluin* hath written, that
the Cardinals reprehension of him in this behalfe is most vniust: for *Epi-*
phanius a worthy Bishop, and great Diuine writing against heresies, and
therefore endeuouring to be most exact in his formes of speech, calleth
the Sonne of God q ἀυτόθεον, as well as *Caluine* doth. It is true, saith *Bel-*
larmine, he doth so: but when he saith, Christ is ἀυτόθεος, he meaneth one-
ly, that he is truly God; whereas *Caluin* affirmeth, that he is so ἀυτόθεος,
that he is God of himselfe, which is false; for neither the Father, nor the
Son is God of himselfe, the Son being of the Father, & the Father of none,
because

q *Epiphanius contra Haref. he-*
reſ. 69.

becauſe he receiueth being frō none: as if it were ſo ſtrange a thing to ſay God is of himſelfe, or as if it were all one for a thing to be of it ſelfe, and to be produced, or to receiue being of, or from it ſelfe. [r] *Omne ens* (ſaith *Scaliger*) *aut eſt à ſe, aut ab alio*; that is, euery thing that hath being, either is of it ſelfe, or of another. [ſ] *Cuius rationi* (ſaith *Scotus*) *ſimpliciter repugnat eſſe ab alio, illud ſi poteſt eſſe, poteſt eſſe à ſe; ſed rationi primi effectiui repugnat eſſe ab alio; ergo poteſt eſſe à ſe, ergo eſt à ſe; quia quod non eſt à ſe, non poteſt eſſe à ſe: quia tunc non ens produceret aliquid ad eſſe, & idem cauſaret ſe, & ita non erit incauſabile omnino.* That thing, with the nature and condition whereof it cannot ſtand, to be of, or from another, if it may be at all, it may be of it ſelfe: but it ſtandeth not with the nature and condition of the firſt efficient cauſe, to be of or from another; therefore it may be, nay therefore it is of it ſelfe: becauſe that which is not of it ſelfe, cannot afterward be of it ſelfe: For then a thing not being might cauſe a thing to be, yea the ſame might be the cauſe of it ſelfe, and ſo the higheſt and firſt cauſe of all things might haue a cauſe giuing being vnto it, which is impoſſible. Theſe men feared not to ſpeake, as *Caluin* ſpeaketh, & yet I thinke *Bellarmine* dareth not reprehend themalſo as he doth *Caluine*; but if he do, I ſuppoſe the world will thinke they knew how to ſpeake as properly as he.

r *Scalig. exerc. 6. ſect. 3.*

ſ *Scotus, 1. Sent. diſt. 2 queſt. 2.*

Thus then we ſee the Sonne of God is αὐτόθεος, that is, God of himſelfe, and that yet he receiued his eſſence from the Father, but the ſame that was in the Father, not another cauſed, made or produced by him; and that he was a Mediator in the ſtate of creation betweene God and his Creatures, in that he was of a middle condition betweene him that no way was of any other, and thoſe things that by another were made and produced out of nothing, knitting and ioyning them together in an indiſſoluble band; and that in this reſpect he was fitteſt to become Man, and to be a Mediator of reconciliation, when betweene God and his creatures there was not onely a great diſtance as before, but a great diuiſion, difference, and breach alſo.

Chap. 12.

Of the manner of the vnion that is betweene the Perſon of the Sonne of God, and our nature in Chriſt, and the ſimilitudes brought to expreſſe the ſame.

Herefore let vs proceede to ſee how the natures of God and Man were vnited in Chriſt, and what kinde of vnion it was, that made God to become Man, and Man God. For the clearing heereof the [a] Diuines do note, that there is *Vnum per vnitatem*, and *Vnum per vnionem*, that is, that ſometimes a thing is ſayd to be one by vnitie or Oneneſſe, and ſometimes by vnion. *Vnum per vnitatem eſt illud in quo non eſt multitudo, quod ſcilicet non eſt in pluribus, nec ex multis*; that is, That thing is one by vnitie, wherein there are not many

a *Alex. de Ales Sum. Theolog. part. 3. queſt. 7. memb. 1. art. 1.*

any things found, which neither consisteth in many things, nor of ma-
y things: in which sort God onely is most properly sayd to be One, in
hom there is neither diuersitie of natures, nor multiplicitie of parts, nor
ompositon of perfection and imperfection, being and not being, as
all creatures. One by vnion, is that, which either consisteth in many
ings, or of many things; and is either in a sort onely, or simply One.
a sort onely a thing consisting in or of many things, is sayd to be one
ree wayes. First, when neither the one of the things whereof it consi-
th hath denomination from the other, nor the property of it, as when
ones are layd together to make one heape. Secondly, when the one
th the property of the other, but no denomination from it, as is the v-
on betweene the hand and those sweete spices it holdeth in it. Thirdly,
hen the one hath denomination from the other, but no property of the
her, as a man is sayd to be apparelled from his apparell, but no proper-
thereof passeth from it vnto him, as the sauour of the sweete spices doth
o the hand.

Vnion simply is of diuerse sorts: First, when one of the things vnited
urned into the other: this falleth out so often as there is a repugnance
tweene the things vnited, and one is predominant, and preuailing, as
en a drop of water is poured into a whole vessell of wine. Secondly,
en both the things vnited are changed in nature and essence; and that
mmeth to passe so often as the things vnited haue a repugnance be-
eene themselues, and yet no prevailing of one ouer the other: In this
t the elements are vnited to make mixt or compound bodies. Thirdly,
en there is no transmutation of the things vnited, but the constitution
a third nature out of them, because they haue no repugnance, but mu-
ll dependance: Of this sort is the vnion of the soule and body. Fourth,
when there is neither transmutation of the natures vnited, nor consti-
ion of a third out of them, but onely the founding, setling, and staying
the one of the things vnited in the other, and the drawing of it into the
ty of the personall being or subsistence of the other: this commeth to
sse, when there is neither repugnance nor mutuall dependance of one
he things vnited vpon the other, but a dependance of another kind;
the braunch of a tree being put vpon the stocke of another tree, is
wne into the vnitie of the subsistence of that tree into which it is put; &
hereas if it had bene set in the ground, it would haue growne as a sepa-
e tree in it selfe, now it groweth in the tree into which it is grafted, and
taineth to the vnitie of it.

Here is neither mixture of the natures of these trees, nor constitution of
ird out of them, but only the drawing of one of them into the vnitie of
subsistence of the other: so that here is not *Compositio huius ex his*, but
ius ad hoc, that is, not a composition of a third thing out of the things
ted, but an adioyning of one of the things vnited to the other. And

Durand. in 3. Sentent. dist. 6. quæst. 3.

this

this kinde of vnion doth of all other most perfectly resemble the perso-
nall vnion of the natures of God and man in Christ; wherein the nature of
man, that would haue bene a person in it selfe, if it had bene left to it selfe,
is drawen into the vnity of the diuine person, and subsisteth in it, being
preuented from subsisting in it selfe by this personall vnion and as-
sumption.

This that we may the better conceiue, we must consider what the dif-
ference is betweene nature and person, and what maketh an individu-
all nature to be a person. Some think that nature and person differ, as
that *Quod est*, and *Quo est*, that is, as the thing that is, & that whereby it
is. Other, that the condition of personal being, addeth to an individuall
nature a negation of dependance or being susteined by another: but to
leaue all vncertainty of opinions, to be *this* or *that*, is individuall; to be
this or *that* in and for it selfe, is personall being; to be *this* or *that* in or
for another, is to pertaine to the person or subsistence of another: so that
uery thing that is in or for it selfe, is a subsistence or thing subsisting,
and euery such rationall individuall nature is a person.

Amongst those created things which naturally are apt to make sub-
sistence, or to subsist in and for themselues, there is very great difference:
for some naturally may become parts of another more entire thing of the
same kinde, as we see in all those things wherein euery part hath the same
nature and name that the whole hath, as euery droppe of water is water,
and, being left to it selfe, is a subsistence in it selfe, and hath that being, qua-
lity and nature that is in it, in and for it selfe; but being ioyned to a grea-
ter quantity of water, it hath now no being, quantity or operation, but in
and for that greater quantity of water into which it is poured.

Other things there be, that cannot naturally or by the working of na-
turall causes put themselues into the vnity of any other thing, but by the
helpe of some forreine cause they may be made to pertaine to the vnity
of another thing different in nature and kinde: So the braunch of a tree
of one kinde, which put into the ground would be an entire distinct tree
in it selfe, growing, mouing, and bearing fruit in and for it selfe, may by
the hand of man be put into the vnity of the subsistence of a tree of an
other kinde and sort, and so grow, moue, and beare fruit, not distinctly
in and for it selfe, but iointly in and for that tree into which it is now
planted.

A third sort of things there are, which being left to themselues become
subsistences; and cannot by force of naturall causes, nor the helpe of any
forreine thing, euer become parts of any other created thing, or pertaine
to the vnity of the subsistence of any such thing: such is the nature of all
liuing things; and such is the nature of man, which cannot be brought by
force of any cause to pertaine to the vnity of any created subsistence, be-
cause it cannot haue such dependance on any created thing as is requisite

to make it pertaine to the subsistence thereof; yet by diuine and supernaturall working, it may be drawen into the vnitie of the subsistence of any of the Persons of the blessed Trinitie, wherein the fulnesse of all being, and the perfection of all created things is in a more eminent sort then in themselues. For though all created things haue their owne being, yet seeing God is nearer to them then they are to themselues, and they are in a better sort in him then in themselues, there is no question, but that they may be preuented, and staied, from being in and for themselues, and caused to be in and for one of the diuine Persons of the blessed Trinitie.

So that as one drop of water, that formerly subsisted in it selfe, poured into a vessell containing a greater quantitie of water, by continuitie becommeth one in subsistence with that greater quantitie of water: and as a braunch of a tree, which being set in the ground, and left to it selfe, would be an entire and independent tree, becommeth one in subsistence with that tree into which it is graffed; they both lose their owne bounds, within which contained, they were distinctly seuered from other things, and the relation of being totall things: so the indiuiduall nature of man assumed into the vnity of one of the Persons of the blessed Trinitie loseth that kinde of being, that naturally left to it selfe, it would haue had, which is, to be in and for it selfe, and not to depend of any other, and getteth a new relation of dependance and being in another. And as it is continuitie that maketh the former things one with them to which they are ioined: so here a kinde of spirituall contact betweene the diuine Person and the nature of man, maketh God to be Man. For as situation and position is in things corporall, so is order and dependance in things spirituall.

There are many similitudes brought by the Diuines to expresse this vnion of the natures of God, and Man in the same Christ, as of the soule and body; of a flaming and fiery sword; of one man hauing two accidentall formes: and lastly, of a tree, and a braunch or bough that is graffed into it. The similitude of the soule and body making but one man, is very apt, & vsed by the [b] Ancient, yet is it defectiue, and imperfect: first for that the soule and body being imperfect natures, concurre to make one full and perfect nature of a man: secondly, for that the one of them is not drawen into the vnitie of the subsistence of the other, but both depend of a third subsistence, which is, that of the whole: whereas in Christ, both natures are perfect, so that they cannot concurre to make a third nature or subsistence; but the eternall Word subsisting perfectly in it selfe, draweth vnto it, & personally sustaineth in it, the nature of man, which hath no subsistence of it owne, but that of the Sonne of God communicated vnto it.

Touching the similitude [c] of a fierie & flaming sword, it most liuely expresseth the vnion of the two natures in Christ, in that the subsistences of

b *Athanasius in Symbolo.*

c *Basil in orat. in Sanct. natiuit. & Damas. lib. 3. de Orthodox fide cap. 11.*

fire, and of the ſword, are ſo nearely conioined, that the operations of them for the moſt part concurre, and there is in a ſort, a communication of properties from the one of them to the other. For a fiery ſword in cutting and diuiding, waſteth and burneth; and in waſting and burning, cutteth and diuideth; and we may rightly ſay of this whole thing, wherein the nature of the fire, and the nature of the ſteele, or Iron (whereof the ſword is made) do concurre and meet, that it is fire, and that it is ſteele, or Iron: that this fiery thing is a ſharpe piercing ſword, and that this ſharpe piercing ſword is a fiery and deuouring thing. But this ſimilitude is defectiue, becauſe the nature of Iron is not drawen into the vnity of the ſubſiſtence of fire, nor the fire of Iron, ſo that we cannot ſay, this fire is ſteele or Iron, or this ſteele or Iron is fire.

The third ſimilitude of one man hauing two qualities, or accidentall formes, (as the skill of Phyſicke and Law) hath many things in it moſt aptly expreſſing the perſonall vnion of the two natures of God and Man in Chriſt. For firſt, in ſuch a man there is but one perſon: and yet there are two natures concurring and meeting in the ſame: the qualities are different, and the things had, not the ſame: but he that hath and poſſeſſeth them, is the ſame. Secondly, the perſon being but one, is denominated from either, or both of theſe different formes, qualities, or accidentall natures, and doth the workes of them both: and there is a communication of properties conſequent vpon the concurring of two ſuch formes in one man. For we may rightly ſay of ſuch a one: This Phyſition is a Lawyer; and, this Lawyer is a Phyſition. This Lawyer is happy in curing diſeaſes; and, this Phyſition is carefull in following his clients cauſes.

d *Scotus in 3. Sentent. diſt. 1. queſt. 1.*

d *Scotus* eſpecially approueth the ſimilitude of the ſubiect, & accident, firſt taking away that which is of imperfection in the ſubiect, as that it is potentiall in reſpect of the accident to be informed of it, & in a ſort perfected by it: Secondly, that which is of imperfection in the accident, as that it muſt be inherent: for otherwiſe the nature of man is ioyned to the perſon of the Son of God *per modum accidentis*, for that *aduenit enim in actu completo*, that is, it commeth to a thing already complete and perfect in it ſelfe. In which ſort, one thing may be added and come to another, either ſo, as not to pertaine to the ſame ſubſiſtence, as the garments that one putteth on; or ſo, as to pertaine to the ſame ſubſiſtence, but by inherence; or thirdly, ſo, as to pertaine to the ſame ſubſiſtence, without the inherence of the one in the other, by a kinde of inexiſtence, as the braunch is in the tree into which it is graffed; which is the e fourth ſimilitude, and of all other moſt perfect. For there are but two thinges wherein it faileth and commeth too ſhort: whereof the firſt is, for that the braunch hath firſt a ſeparate ſubſiſtence in it ſelfe, and after loſeth it, and then is drawen into the vnitie of the ſubſiſtence

Durand. in 3. Sentent. diſt. 6. queſt. 4.

e *Alex. de Ales. Sum. Theolog. part. 3. qu. 7. Memb. 1. art. 1.*

ſtence of that tree into which it is implanted: the ſecond, for that it hath no roote of it owne, and ſo wanteth one part pertaining to the integritie of the nature of each tree. But if a braunch of one tree ſhould by diuine power be created and made in the ſtocke of another, this compariſon would faile but onely in one circumſtance, and that not very important; ſeeing, though the humane nature want no part pertaining to the integritie and perfection of it, (as the implanted braunch doth of that pertaineth to the integritie of the natute of a tree, in that it hath no roote of it owne) yet the humane nature in Chriſt, hath no ſubſiſtence of it owne, but that of the Sonne of God communicated vnto it; and therefore in that reſpect it is, in ſome ſort, like to the braunch that hath no roote of it owne, but that of the tree, into which it is implanted, communicated vnto it.

This compariſon is vſed by *Alexander* of *Hales*, and diuers other of the Schoole-men, and, in my opinion, is the apteſt and fulleſt of all other. For as betweene the tree and the braunch there is a compoſition, not *Huius ex his*, but *huius ad hoc*, that is, not making a tree of a compound or middle nature, and qualitie, but cauſing the braunch, though retaining it owne nature, and bearing it owne fruite, to pertaine to the vnitie of the tree into which it is implanted, and to beare fruite in and for it, and not for it ſelfe: ſo the Perſon of Chriſt is ſaid to bee compounded of the nature of God and Man, not as if there were in him a mixt nature ariſing out of theſe, but as hauing the one of theſe added vnto the other in the vnitie of the ſame perſon. And as this tree is one, and yet hath two different natures in it, and beareth two kinds of fruite: ſo Chriſt is one, and yet hath two different natures, and in them performeth the diſtinct actions pertaining to either of them.

Laſtly, as a man may truly ſay, after ſuch implanting, this Vine is an Oliue tree, and this Oliue tree is a Vine; and conſequently, this Vine beareth Oliues, and this Oliue tree beareth Grapes: ſo a man may ſay, this Sonne of *Marie* is the Sonne of God: and on the other ſide, this Sonne of God, and firſt borne of euery creature, is the Sonne of *Marie*, borne in time: the Sonne of God, and Lord of life was crucified, and the Sonne of *Marie* laied the foundations of the earth, and ſtretched out the Heauens like a curtaine.

Chap. 13.

Of the Communication of the properties of either nature in Christ, consequent vpon the vnion of them in his Person, and the two first kindes thereof.

HAuing spoken of the assuming of our nature by the Son of God into the vnitie of his diuine Person, it remaineth, that we speake of the consequents of this vnion, and the gifts and graces bestowed vpon the nature of Man when it was assumed. The first and principall consequent of the personall vnion of the natures of God and Man in Christ, is, the Communication of their properties: of which there are three kindes or degrees. The first is, when the properties of either nature considered singly and apart, as the properties of this or that nature, are attributed to the person from whichsoeuer of the natures it be denominated. The second is, when the different actiõs of two natures in Christ concurre in the same works and things done. The third, when the diuine attributes are communicated vnto the humane nature, & bestowed vpon it. Vsually in the Schooles, only the first degree or kinde of communication, is named the communication of properties. Which that we may the better vnderstand, we must obserue, that there are abstractiue & concretiue words: the former whereof do precisely note the forme or nature of each thing; the latter imply also the person that hath the same nature or forme; as, *Humanitas*, and *Homo*, *Sanctitas*, and *Sanctus*. Manhood & Man: Holinesse & Holy. Secõdly we must obserue that abstractiue words, noting precisely the distinct natures, cãnot be affirmed one of the other, nor the properties of one nature attributed to the other abstractiuely expressed. For neither can we truly say, that *Deity* is *Humanity*, or *Humanity*, *Deity*; nor that the *Deity* suffered, or the *Humanity* created the world; but we may truly say *God* is *Man*, & *Man* is *God*: God died vpon the Crosse, & *Maries* babe made the world; Because the person which these concretiue words imply, is one: & all actions, passions, & qualities, agree really to the Person, though in, and in respect sometimes of one nature, and sometimes of another. When we say, *God* is *Man*, and *Man* is God, we note the coniunction that is betweene the natures meeting in one person; & therefore this mutuall and conuersiue predication cannot properly be named communication of properties; but the communication of properties is, when the properties of one nature are attributed to the Person, whether denominated from the other, as some restraine it, or from the same also, as others enlarge it. This communication of properties is of diuers sorts: first, when the properties of the diuine nature are attributed to the whole Person of Christ subsisting in two natures, but denominated from the diuine nature: as when it is said: [a] *Those things which the Father doth, the Sonne doth also.* Secondly, when the properties of the humane nature are attributed to the person denominated from

[a] Ioh. 5. 19.

from the diuine nature, as when it is said, [b] *They crucified the Lord of glo-* b 1. Cor. 2. 8.
ry; [c] *They killed the Lord of life.* Thirdly, when the properties of the di- c Acts. 3. 15.
uine nature are attributed to the person denominated from the nature of
man, as when it is said: [d] *No man ascendeth into Heauen, but the Sonne of man* d Ioh. 3. 13.
that came downe from Heauen, euen that Son of man that is in Heauen. Fourth-
ly, when those things that agree to both natures are attributed to the per-
son denominated from one of them, as when the Apostle saith: [e] *There is* e 1. Tim. 2. 5.
one God, & one Mediator betweene God & man, which is the man Christ Iesus.
Fiftly, when the properties of one nature are attributed to the person, nei-
ther denominated precisely from the one nature, nor from the other, but
vsed by a word indifferently expressing both; as when we say, *Christ* was
borne of *Mary*. If any man list to striue about words, not admitting any
cõmunication of properties, but when the properties of one nature, are at-
tributed to the person denominated from the other, as when we say, the
Son of God died on the Crosse, the *Son* of *Man* made the world; besides
that *he is* contrary to the ordinary opinion, he seemeth not to consider,
that it is a person consisting in two natures that is noted, by what appella-
tion soeuer we expresse the same; & that therefore the attributing of the
properties of any one of the natures vnto it, may rightly be named a com-
munication of properties, as being the attributing of the properties of this
or that nature to a person subsisting in both, though denominated from
one. For the better vnderstanding of that hath bene said touching this first
kinde of cõmunication of properties, & the diuers sorts thereof, there are
certaine obseruations necessary, which I wil here adde. The first is, that the
cõmunication of properties, wherein the properties of the one nature, are
affirmed of the person denominated of the other, is real, & not verbal on-
ly. The second, that the properties of the humane nature are not really cõ-
municated to the diuine nature. The third is, that the properties of the di-
uine nature, are in a sort really cõmunicated to the humane nature, where-
of we shal see more in the third kind of communication of properties. The
fourth obseruation is, that in the sacred & blessed Trinity, there is *Alius &*
Alius, but not *Aliud & Aliud*, diuersitie of persons, but not of being & na-
ture; but that in Christ there is *aliud & aliud*, & not *alius & alius*, that is, di-
uersity of natures, but so that he that hath them is the same; whence it com-
meth that the properties of either nature may be affirmed of the person,
from which soeuer of thẽ it be denominated; yet so that more fully to ex-
presse our meaning, it is necessary sometimes to adde for distinction sake,
that they are verified κατ' ἄλλο *secundum aliud*; that is, according vnto the o-
ther nature, & not according vnto that whence the person is denominated.
This explication, or limitation is then specially to be added, when such
properties of one nature, are attributed to the person denominated from
the other, as seeme to exclude the properties of the other: so when we say,
Christ the *Son* of God is a creature, we must adde, that we neither scanda-

lize them that heare vs, nor giue any occasiō of error, that he is a creature, in that he is man. Now it followeth that we speake of the second kinde or degree of communication of properties, which is in that the actions of Christ are θεάνδρικαι, *Deiuiriles*, Diuinely-humane, & Humanely-diuine, and each nature so worketh it owne worke, according to the naturall property thereof, that it hath a kinde of communion with the other. But lest we fall into error touching this point, we must obserue, that the actions of Christ may be said to be *Theandrical*, that is, *Diuinely-humane*, three waies. First so, as if there were one action of both natures, & so we must not vnderstand the actions of Christ to be *Diuinely-humane*, for this is to confound the natures; whereas we must vndoubtedly beleeue, that [f] *Omnia in Christo sunt duplicia, naturæ, proprietates, voluntates, & operationes: sola exceptâ subsistentiâ, quæ est vna:* that is, that all things in Christ are twofold, or double, as his natures, properties, wils, and actions: his subsistence onely or Person excepted, which is but one. Secondly, the actions of Christ may be said to be *Theandricall*, that is, *Diuinely-humane*, for that both the actions of *Deitie* & *Humanitie*, though distinct, yet concurre in one work: to which purpose *Sophronius* in that notable Epistle of his, which we reade in the [g] sixth general Councel, doth distinguish three kindes of the workes of Christ, making the first meerely diuine, as, to create all things: the second, meerely humane, as to eate, drinke, & sleep: the third, partly diuine & partly humane, as to walke vpō the waters: in which worke, walking was so humane, that the giuing of firmenesse & solidine to the waters to beare the weight of his body, was an action of Deity. Thirdly, the actions of Christ may be said to be *Theandricall*, that is, *Diuinely-humane*, in respect of the Person that produceth and bringeth them forth, which is θεάνθρωπος, *God-man*. In either of these two latter senses, the actions of Christ may rightly be vnderstood to be *Theandrical*: & that of *Leo* is most true concerning Christ. [h] *In Christo vtraq; forma operatur cum alterius cōmunione quod proprium est:* that is, in Christ both natures do work that which is proper vnto them, with a kind of communion the one hath with the other: for this saying is true, first in respect of the Person, & the communion which either nature hath with other therein. Secondly in respect of the work & effect, whereunto by their seueral proper actions they concurre, though in different sort; as in the healing of the sicke, not only the force of *Deity* appeared, and shewed it selfe, but the humane nature also did concurre, in respect of the body, in that he touched those that were to be healed, laid his hands vpon them, and spake vnto them: in respect of the soule, in that he desired, applauded, and reioiced in that, which by diuine power he brought to passe: thirdly, in that the actions of humane nature in Christ haue in them a greater perfection then can be found in the actions of any meere man, from the assistance of the *Deity*, that dwelleth bodily in him.

[f] *Epist. Agathonis recitata & approbata in 6. Synod. actio. 4.*

[g] *Actione 11.*

[h] *Leo epist. 10. cap. 4.*

CHAP.

Chap. 14.

Of the third kinde of Communication of Properties, and the first degree thereof.

NOw let vs come to the third kinde of Communication of properties, which is that wherby diuine & precious things are really bestowed on the nature of man. The things which are thus communicated and bestowed, are of two sorts. The first, finite, and created; as qualities or habites formally, habitually, & subiectiuely inherent in the humane nature: the second, the essentiall attributes of the diuinitie it selfe, communicated to the humane nature, not formally by physicall effusion, or essentiall confusion, but by dispensation of personall vnion. Touching the things of the first sort, there is no question but that they were bestowed vpon the nature of man, in all perfection when it was vnited to the Person of the Sonne of God: so that in it was found the fulnesse both of grace and vertue, according to that of S. *Iohn*: [a] *The word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst vs, and we saw the glory of it, as the glory of the onely begotten Sonne of God, full of grace and truth.* [b] The fulnesse of grace (as the Schoole-men excellently note) is of two sorts: first in respect of grace it selfe: and secondly in respect of him that hath it: The fulnesse of grace in respect of grace it selfe, is then, when one attaineth to the highest and vttermost of grace both *quoad essentiam, & virtutem, intensiue, & extensiue:* in the Essence and vertue of it, intensiuely, and extensiuely, that is, when he hath it as farre forth as it may be had, & vnto all effects and purposes whereunto grace doth or can extend it selfe; as he is said, to haue life perfectly, or the fulnesse of life, that hath it not onely in the essence, but according to all the operations and acts of life, sensible, rationall, intellectuall, spirituall, and naturall; in which sort, man onely hath the perfection and fulnesse of life in him, and no other thing of inferior condition. This kinde of fulnesse of grace is proper to Christ onely, [c] *Of whose fulnesse we all receiue.* The fulnesse of grace in respect of the subiect or him that hath it, is then, when one hath grace fully and perfectly, according to his estate and condition, both intensiuely to the vttermost bound that God hath prefixed to the same of such a condition; & extensiuely in the vertue of it, in that it extendeth to the doing & performing of all those things that may any way pertaine to the condition, office, or estate of such as are of his place and Ranke. In this sort *Stephen* is saide to [d] *haue bene full of the holy Ghost*, who is the fountaine of grace; and *Marie* the blessed Virgin, the mother of our Lord, is by the Angell pronounced, [e] *Blessed amongst women, and full of grace*: for that she had grace in respect of the Essence of it, intensiuely, in as perfect sort as any mortal creature might haue it, and in respect of the vertue of it, extending to all thinges that might any way pertaine to her that was chosen to bee the sacred vessell

a Ioh. 1. 14.
b *Thomas Sum. Theol. part 3. quæst. 7. art. 9.*
c Ioh. 1. 16.
d Acts 7. 55.
e Luke 1. 28

of the incarnation of the Sonne of God: So that there was neuer any bur Christ, whose graces were no way stinted, and to whom the spirit was not giuen in measure, that was absolutely full of grace; which fulnesse of grace in Christ, the Diuines do declare and cleare vnto vs, wherein it consisted, by distinguishing a double grace in Christ, the one of vnion, the other of vnction, or habituall; and do teach, that the grace of vnion, in respect of the thing giuen, which is the personall subsistence of the Son of God bestowed on the nature of man formed in *Maries* wombe (whence that which was borne of her, was the Son of God) is infinite, howsoeuer the relation of dependance found in the humane nature, whereby it is vnited to the person of the Son of God, is a finite, & created thing. Likewise touching the grace of vnction, they teach, that it is in a sort infinite also: for that howsoeuer it be but a finite, and created thing, yet in the nature of grace it hath no limitation, no bounds, no stint, but includeth in it selfe whatsoeuer any way pertaineth to grace, or cõmeth within the compasse of it. The reason of this illimited donatiõ of grace thus without all stint bestowed on the nature of man in Christ, was, for that it was giuen vnto it, as to the vniuersall cause, whence it was to be deriued vnto others. From the fulnesse of grace in Christ let vs proceed to speake of the perfectiõ of his vertues also. [f] Vertue differeth from grace, as the beame of light frõ light: for as light indifferently scattereth it selfe into the whole aire, & all those things vpon which it may come, but the beame is the same light as it is directed, specially to some one place or thing: so grace repleniseth, filleth & perfecteth the whole soule, & spirit of man; but vertue more specially this or that faculty or power of the soule, to this or that purpose or effect. In respect of both these the soule of Christ was perfect, being full of vertue as well as grace; whereupon the Prophet *Esay* saith: [g] *The Spirit of the Lord shall rest vpon the flowre of Ishai, the Spirit of wisedome and vnderstanding, the Spirit of counsell & strength, the Spirit of knowledge & of the feare of the Lord.* Wisedome is in respect of things diuine: vnderstanding of the first principles, science of conclusions, counsell of things to be done: feare maketh men decline from that which is ill, & strength confirmeth them to ouercome the difficulties wherewith weldoing is beset: So that seeing the spirit, that is the giuer of all these vertues (within the compasse whereof al vertue is confined) is promised to rest on our Sauiour Christ, we may vndoubtedly resolue, that there is no vertue pertaining to man ([h] neither including in it imperfection, as Faith, & Hope, nor presupposing imperfection in him that hath it, as Repentance, which presupposeth the penitent to be a sinner) but it was found in Christs humane nature, and reasonable soule, and that euen from the very moment of his incarnation. How is it then, will some man say, that the Scripture pronounceth, that he [i] increased in the perfections of the minde, to wit, both in grace and wisedome, as he grewe in stature of body. And here that question

f *Alex. de Ales. part 3. qu. 61. memb. 2. art. 4.*

g Esay. 11. 2.

h *Paludanus in 3. Sentent. dist. 14. qu. 2.*

i Luke. 2. 25.

queſtion is vſually propoſed and handled, whether Chriſt did truly and indeede profit, and growe in knowledge, as not knowing all things at the firſt, as he grew in ſtature of body from weake beginnings; or onely in the farther manifeſtation of that knowledge he had in like degree of perfection from the beginning. For the clearing whereof, we muſt note, that there were in Chriſt two kinds of knowledge: the one diuine, and increate: the other humane and created. Touching the firſt, there is no doubt, but that being the eternall Wiſedome of the Father, by whom all things were made, he knew eternally all things that afterwards ſhould come to paſſe; and therefore the *Arrians* impiouſly abuſed thoſe places of Scripture, which they brought to proue, that Chriſt grew in knowledge, and learned ſomething in proceſſe of time, which he knew not before; in that they vnderſtood them of his diuine knowledge which he had in that he was God: and thereby went about to proue, that he was not truely and properly God, nor conſubſtantiall with the Father, but ſo onely, and in ſuch a ſenſe, as that wherein the Apoſtle ſaith, [k] *There are many Lords, and many Gods.* The later kinde of knowledge found in Chriſt, which is humane, the Schoolemen diuide into two kinds; the one, *in verbo*, the other *in genere proprio*, that is, the one in the eternall Word, wherein he ſeeth all things; the other, that whereby he ſeeth things in themſelues: for he hath an immediate and cleare viſion of the Godhead, and in it of all things; and he hath alſo the knowledge and ſight of things in themſelues. [l] By vertue of the firſt of theſe two kinds of humane knowledge, the ſoule of Chriſt beholding the diuine Eſſence, in it ſeeth all things in reſpect of that they are, and taketh a perfect view of the Eſſence and nature of euery thing that is, may be, or is poſſible to be, as in that ſampler, according to which God worketh all things; but the actuall being of things it cannot know by the viſion and ſight of Gods Eſſence, but meerely by his voluntarie reuelation, and manifeſtation of the ſame; ſeeing though the Eſſence of God be naturally a ſampler of all things that are or may be, according to which all things are wrought, yet he produceth things voluntarily, and according to the good pleaſure of his will, and not naturally and neceſſarily: ſo that that kind of knowledge, which conſiſteth in the viſion of God, is more perfect then any other, and onely maketh men happie, becauſe it is in reſpect of the beſt and moſt noble obiect. Yet [m] the other kind of knowledge, that maketh vs take a view of things in themſelues, is more perfect, in that it maketh knowne vnto vs the actuall being of things, and particular facts, which that happie kind of knowledge of things ſeene in the glaſſe of the diuine Eſſence doth not.

k 1. Cor. 8. 5.

l *Durand. in 3. Sentent. diſt. 14. quæſt. 2.*

m *Ibid quæſt. 3.*

Theſe things thus diſtinguiſhed, it is eaſie to conceiue how, and in what ſort Chriſt grew and increaſed in grace and wiſedome, and how he was full of the ſame from the moment of his incarnation, ſo that nothing could

could be afterwards added vnto him. For, concerning his diuine knowledge, the perfection of it was such, and so infinite from all eternitie, that it is impious once to thinke that he grew and increased in the same.

* Touching the humane knowledge he had of things seene in the eternal word, and in the cleare glasse of the diuine Essence, it is most probably thought by some of excellent learning, that though the soule of Christ had at the first, and brought with it into the world a potentiall habilitie and aptnesse to see all things in God, so soone as it should conuert it selfe to a distinct view of them: that yet it did not actually see all things in the Essence of God at once from the beginning, but afterwards in processe of time; and for the [n] other kind of knowledge and apprehension of things, which he had as beholding them in themselues, they thinke it was perfect in habit from the first moment of his incarnation, but not in actual apprehension, wherein he did truly increase and grow; as also in experimentall knowledge. For the humane knowledge that was in Christ, was by conuersion to those *Phantasmata* and sensible representations of things, that from without are by the senses presented to the Soule; and was discursiue, though not proceeding from things known, to find out things altogether vnknowne, yet from things actually knowne, to such as he knew but habitually only, and not actually before. That humane knowledge Christ had of things in themselues, was discursiue, and by conuersion to the sensible representations of them from without, it is euident, in that all perfections are receiued according to the condition and capacitie of the receiuer. Now the condition of the Soule of man in the state of this life is, to know nothing but by conuersion to the sensible appearances of the same, and that not onely in respect of things naturall, but mysticall also and supernaturall; [o] *Quia impossibile est* (saith *Dionysius Areopagita*) *nobis aliter superlucere radium diuinum, nisi sacrorum velaminum varietate circumdatum*; that is, because it is impossible the beame of diuine light should shine on vs, vnlesse it be vailed on euerie side with the varietie of sacred vailes.

Thus then we see, how it may be truly sayd, that Christ grew in wisedome and knowledge, as he did in stature of body, *non quoad habitus essentiam & extensionem, sed quoad actualem cognitionem & experimentum*; that is, not in respect of the Essence or extension of the habit, but of actuall knowledge, and experience. That which *Thomas* and others haue, that Christ knew all things at first by an *infused* knowledge, & afterwards attained another kind of knowledge of the same things, which they named *acquisite*, is not so fit: for two formes or qualities of one kind cannot be in the same subiect. Now as the sight which is in mē naturally, & that which once lost is restored againe by miracle, is of the same nature & condition: so is that knowledge of things that is by *infusion*, & that which is *acquisite*, howsoeuer these men seeme to make them of two kinds. Wherfore passing by this cōceipt as not probable, to conclude this point; [p] euen as, touching the condition of children, which should haue bene borne in the state of innocency,

* *Vide apud Scotum l. 3. dist. 14. q. 2. opinionem Henrici quol. 5. q. 14. &c.*

n *Ibid. quæst. 4.*

o *Dionys. citatus ab eodem Durand. ibid. quæst. 3.*

p *Alex. de Ales part. 2. quæst. 89. membro. 2.*

nocency, there are diuerse opinions, some thinking they should haue had the vse of reason, & perfection of knowledge at the very first, so that they should haue growne and increased afterwards onely in experimentall knowledge; others, that they should haue had no vse of reason at the first; and a third sort, that so soone as they had bin borne, they should haue had the vse of reason, so farre forth as to discerne outward things good or euill (seeing euen the little lambes by natures instinct do know the wolfe, and flie from him, and seeke the dugges of their dammes) but not to discerne things concerning morall vertue, and the worship of God. So likewise, some thinke that the Babe *Iesus*, euen in his humane soule, had the actuall knowledge of all things euen from the beginning, and that he grew only in experimentall knowledge; but there are other of as good iudgement, and as great learning, who thinke, that howsoeuer he had the habit of all knowledge from the beginning, & brought it with him out of the womb, yet not the act and vse of it; & this is all that either *Luther* or *Caluine* say; and yet we know how clamorously some inueigh against them, as if they had broached some damnable heresie. But some man will say, if we grant that Christ in his humane Soule knew not all things from the beginning, but in processe of time learned that which before he actually knew not, we fasten on him the disgraceful note of ignorance, & consequently bring him within the confines & cōpasse of sin. Hereunto *Hugo de S. Victore* answereth; & sheweth the folly of this silly obiection, peremptorily resolving, that [q] *non omnis qui aliquid nescit, aut minus perfectè scit, statim ignorantiā habere, seu in ignorantiā esse dicendus est; quia ignorantia non dicitur, nisi tunc solùm, cum id quod ignorari non debuisset, nescitur*; that is, we must not say, that euery one that knoweth not a thing, or doth lesse perfectly know it, is ignorant, or in ignorāce, because ignorance is only the not knowing of such things as should haue bin knowne. Neither is there any distinction more triuiall or ordinary in the schooles, then that of nescience, & ignorance; & therefore howsoeuer some in the heate of their distempered passions lay a heauy imputation of horrible impietie vpon *Luther*, *Caluine*, & others, for that they say, there were some things which Christ in his humane soule did not actually know from the beginning; yet *Maldonatus*, a man as ill conceited of them as any other, [r] confesseth, that though some say Christ profited in wisdom & knowledge, not in his owne person, but in his mysticall body, which is, the Church; others, that his growing & increasing was only in the manifestation of that, which in all perfection was found in him from the beginning; or in experimentall knowledge of those things, which in generall contēplatiō he knew before; yet many of the anciēt Fathers, answering the obiections of the *Arrians*, & other like heretiques, & reiecting as impious their cōceit, who thought Christ was absolutly ignorāt of any thing, denied not but that there were some things which Christ in his humane nature did not actually alwayes know. This (saith *Maldonatus*) I suppose *Luther*, *Caluin*, & the rest knew not; for had they known, that

q *Hugo de S. Victore, de Sacramentis fidei lib. 1. part. 6. cap. 26.*

r *Maldonatus in 2. Luc. ver. 40.*

that the Fathers taught, that Christ did truly grow in humane knowledge and wisedome, and that he knew not all things actually from the beginning, to be contrary to the Fathers, they would haue beene of another minde. How charitable this his surmise and coniecture is, let the Reader iudge. Howsoeuer, we haue his cleare confession, that many of the Fathers were of opinion, that Christ in his humane nature did not alwayes actually know all things. Yea, vpon the 24 of *Matthew* he testifieth, that [s] many of them sayd plainely, that Christ as man knew not the day appointed for the generall iudgement of the quicke and dead, when he said, *That day and howre knoweth no man, no not the Angels, nor the Sonne himselfe, but the Father onely*. It is true indeed, that he goeth about, notwithstanding this his cleare confession of the truth, to construe the words of some of the Fathers in such sort, as if they had not meant simply, that Christ in his humane soule knew not that howre and time, but onely that he knew it not by force of his humane nature; but this commentarie (I feare) will not agree with their texts. For *Origen* in his third tract vpon *Matthew* saith, that Christ knew not the time and day of iudgement, when he sayd, *Of that day and howre knoweth no man, no not the Sonne*, but that afterwards he knew it, when he was risen, and appointed of his Father, King and Iudge; which words of his admit no such glosse. Wherefore *Iansenius* saith, there are [t] two principall interpretations of those words of Christ, when he saith, *Of that day and howre knoweth no man, no not the Sonne*; the one, that he sayd he knew it not, because he knew it not to reueale it, and because his body the Church knew it not; the other, that he knew it not, as man; and this interpretation he sheweth to be likewise two-fold: For, saith he, if we follow the common opinion, that Christ had the perfect knowledge of all things in his humane soule at the first, then we must vnderstand that Christ sayd, he knew not the day of iudgement, because he knew it not by naturall and acquisite knowledge, but by vertue of that knowledge, that was infused into him: but if we follow the other opinion, that Christ had not perfect knowledge of all things in his humane soule at the first, but grewe in it, then, as *Origen* among other senses deliuereth, the meaning of the words is, that he knew it not, till after his resurrection.

And surely [u] *Cyrill* a worthy Bishop, and one that had many conflicts with the *Nestorian* heretiques, who diuided the person of Christ, feareth not directly to say, that Christ as man knewe not the day appointed for the generall iudgement, when he vsed the words before mentioned. Neither is this the heresie of the *Agnoetæ*, as some ignorantly affirme: for their errour was, that the Deitie of Christ was ignorant of some thing, or that Christ in his humane nature was properly ignorant, that is, knew not such things, & at such time, as he should haue knowne; and that he is still ignorant of sundry things in the state of his glorification, as it appeareth by

[s] *Idem in 24. Matth. ver 36.*

[t] *Iansenius comm. in Euang. concord. cap. 123.*

[u] *Cyrill lib 9. thesauri. cap. 4. citat. a Iansenio, ibid.*

by that [x] Epistle of *Gregorie*, in which one of them alledgeth, that as Christ tooke our nature, so he tooke our ignorance, to free vs from the same: and therefore *Maldonatus* vpon the 24. of *Matthew* saith; that the *Themistians*, called also *Agnoetæ*, were accounted heretiques, not for saying Christ knew not the day of iudgement, as *Damascene de hæresibus* testifieth; but that, as may be gathered out of the same *Damascene*, they simply, without all distinction of the diuine or humane nature, said, Christ was ignorant thereof, because they thought the Diuinitie was turned into the Humanitie:

x *Gregor. lib. 8. epist. 42. Nicephor. lib. 18. cap. 50. de Agnoetis.*

Chap. 15.

Of the third kind of Communication of properties, and the second degree thereof.

THus hauing spoken of those finite and created things, that were bestowed on the nature of man, when it was assumed into the vnitie of the diuine Person, let vs come to those things that are infinite. Where first, we are certainely to resolue, that as the nature of man was truly giuen and communicated to the Person of the Sonne of God, so that he is indeed and really Man; so the Person of the Sonne of God was as truly communicated to the nature of man, that it might subsist in it, and that that which was fashioned in the wombe of the blessed virgin, and borne of her, might not onely be holy, but the holiest of all, euen the Sonne of God.

Secondly, that in this sense, the fulnesse of all perfection, and all the properties of the diuine Essence are communicated to the nature of man in the Person of the Sonne. For as the Father communicated his Essence to the Sonne by eternall generation, who therefore is the second Person in Trinitie, and God of God; so in the Person of the Sonne, he really communicated the same to the nature of man formed in *Maries* wombe, in such sort, that that Man, that was borne of her, is truely God. And in this sense the *Germane* Diuines affirme, that there is a reall Communication of the diuine properties to the nature of man in the personall vnion of the natures of God and Man in Christ; not by physicall communication, or effusion, as if the like and equall properties to those that are in God, were put inherently into the nature of man, in such sort, as the heate transfused from the fire into the water is inherent in it, (whence would follow a confusion, conuersion, and equalling of the natures, and naturall properties) but personall, in the Person of the Sonne of God. For as the Person of the Sonne of God, in whom the nature and Essence of God is found, is so communicated to the nature of Man, that the man Christ is not onely in phrase of speech named God, but is indeede, and really God: so he is as really

really omnipotent, hauing all power both in heauen and in earth. [a] There is one Christ (saith *Luther*) who is both the Sonne of God, and of the Virgin. By the right of his first birth, not in time, but from all eternity, he receiued all power, that is, the Deitie it selfe, which the Father communicated to him eternally: but touching the other nature of Christ, which began in time, euen so also the eternall power of God was giuen vnto him; so that the Sonne of the Virgin is truly and really eternall God, hauing eternall power, according to that in the last of *Matthew*, [b] *All power is giuen vnto me both in heauen, and in earth.* And of this power, a little after he bringeth in Christ speaking in this sort; Although this power was mine eternally, before I assumed the nature of man, notwithstanding after I began to be man, euen according to the nature of man, I receiued the same power in time, though I shewed it not during the time of my infirmitie, and crosse. [c] *Bonauentura* saith the very same in effect that *Luther* doth: when it is sayd, saith he, speaking of the Man Christ, This Man is euerie where, this may either note out the Person of Christ, or the singular and indiuiduall nature of a man: if the Person of Christ, there is no doubt but the proposition is true: if the indiuiduall nature of a Man, yet still it is true, not by proprietie of nature, but by communication of properties, because that which agreeth to the sonne of God by nature, agreeth vnto this Man by grace. Cardinall [d] *Cameracensis* agreeth with *Bonauentura*, affirming, that the diuine attributes and properties are more really communicated to the Man Christ, then the humane are to the Sonne of God: and that therefore a man may most truely and properly say, speaking of the Man Christ, This Man is immortall, almightie, and of infinite power, and maiestie; becauſe he is properly the diuine Person, and so consequently, truely and really immortall, and omnipotent. Yea [e] *Bellarmine*, though he impugne the errours of the *Lutherans*, (as he calleth them) with all bitternesse, yet confesseth all that hitherto hath bene sayd to be most true. "I say, saith he, as before, that the glorie of God the Father was giuen to the humanitie of Christ, *non in ipsâ*, not to be formally or subiectiuely inherent in it, but in the diuine Person; that is, that by grace of vnion the humane nature of Christ obtained to be in such sort the nature of the Sonne of God, that the Man Christ should be truely and really in the glory of God the Father, filling both heauen & earth. Again he saith, those places, [f] *All things are giuen me of my Father*; and, [g] *All power is giuen me both in heauen and earth*, may be vnderstood, first, of diuine power which the Sonne of God receiued of the Father by eternall generation; and secondly, of diuine power which the nature of Man receiued by personall vnion: and in another place speaking of sundry things proper to God, he saith, [h] All those things may be sayd to be communicated and giuen to the humane nature, not formally in it selfe, but in the Person of the Sonne of God by the grace of vnion.

[a] *Luther. de verb. nouiss. Dauidis, tom. 3. fol. 91.*

[b] Matth. 28. 18.

[c] *Bonauent. in 3. Sentent. dist. 22. quæst. 2.*

[d] *Camerac. lib. 3. quæst. 1 in Sententias.*

[e] *Bellarm. de Incarnatione, lib. 3. cap. 16.*

[f] Matth. 11. 27.

[g] Matth. 28. 18.

[h] *Ibid. cap. 25.*

The

The Diuines diſtinguiſh the properties of God, and make them to be of two ſorts; communicable, and incommunicable: Communicable properties they define to be thoſe perfections, that are called *perfectiones ſimpliciter*, which are found without mixture of imperfection in God, and in a more imperfect ſort in the creatures. Theſe they name *perfectiones ſimpliciter*, that is, ſimply and abſolutely perfections, becauſe it is better for any thing to haue them, then not to haue them; & becauſe thoſe things are better that haue them, then thoſe that haue them not: as likewiſe, for that they implie in them no imperfection, though they be mingled with imperfection & defect in the Creatures. Of this ſort is life, which it is better to haue, then not to haue; and it includeth in it no imperfection, though it be accompanied with defect and imperfection in many of the things wherein it is found: for that life that is in trees, is an imperfect life, and the life of men, who in truth then begin to die, when they begin to liue, is imperfect; yea, the life of Angels is imperfect, becauſe, if they be not continually ſuſtained, they returne to that nothing out of which they were made. Of the ſame kind, are Truth, Goodneſſe, Iuſtice, Mercie, Wiſdome, Knowledge & Vnderſtanding. And therfore all theſe ſeparated from that imperfection that cleaueth vnto them elſewhere, are found in God, and may truely be attributed vnto him. Incommunicable properties are nothing elſe but the negation and remouing of all that imperfection that is in the creatures, of which ſort are Immortality, Eternity, Immenſitie, Infinity, and the like, all importing a negation of imperfection. The former of theſe two ſorts of diuine properties which are named Communicable, are cõmunicated to meere creatures in ſome degree & ſort, though in higheſt degree they are no where found but in God, &, with the additiõ of words expreſſing ſuch eminencie, they may be attributed to none but to God: for he only is almightie, moſt wiſe, moſt iuſt, & moſt mercifull. But both theſe, with addition of higheſt degree, & the other, which are named Incõmunicable, are by al Diuines confeſſed, to be in ſuch ſort cõmunicated in the Perſon of the Son of God to the nature of man aſſumed into the vnity of the ſame, that the Man Chriſt, and Sonne of *Marie*, is not in title onely, but really and indeed moſt wiſe, moſt iuſt, omnipotent, incomprehenſible, eternall and infinite. And this is all, as I thinke, that the Diuines of *Germanie*, the followers of *Luther* meane, when they ſpeake of the reall communication of diuine properties to the humane nature in Chriſt.

If any man ſay, that they may iuſtly bethought to proceede farther, and to vnderſtand ſome other cõmunication of properties, then that by vs expreſſed, in that they do not only ſay cõcretiuely, that the Man Chriſt is omnipreſent, but the Humanitie alſo: It may be anſwered, that when we ſpeake of the humanity of Chriſt, ſometimes we vnderſtand only that humane created eſſence of a man, that was in him; ſometimes all that, that is implied in the being of a Man, as well ſubſiſtence as eſſence. In the former

former ſort, it is abſurd and impious to thinke that the humanitie of Chriſt, that is, the created Eſſence of a man in him, is omnipotent, omnipreſent, or infinite; neither do they ſo thinke; but they affirme, that the ſubſiſtence of the man Chriſt implied in his being a man, is infinite, and omnipreſent, as being the ſubſiſtence of the Sonne of God communicated to the nature of Man, in ſtead of that finite ſubſiſtence, which, left to it ſelfe, it would haue had of it owne.

Much contention there hath beene betweene them and other, touching the vbiquitarie preſence of the humanitie of Chriſt; but I verily thinke it hath beene in a great part vpon miſtaking, and becauſe they vnderſtood not one another. For the followers of *Luther* confeſſe, that the bodie of Chriſt is onely in one place locally, and do not thinke it to be euerie where in extent of Eſſence diffuſed into all places, but ſay only, that it is euerie where in the infiniteneſſe of the ſubſiſtence of the Sonne of God communicated to it. [i] If we aske them (ſaith *Zanchius*) whether Chriſts bodie be euerie where, they anſwere, that locally it is but in one place, but that perſonally it is euery where: If they meane, ſaith he, that in reſpect of the being of Eſſence it is finite, and confined to one certaine place, but that the being of ſubſiſtence which it hath is infinite, and contained within the ſtraites of no one place, they ſay the truth, and contradict not them whom they ſeeme to do.

[i] *Zanchius in iudic. de diſſidio cœnæ Dominicæ; in fine Miſcell. eorum.*

Now that this is their meaning, which this worthy learned Diuine acknowledgeth to be true and Catholique, and not contradicted by them that ſeeme to be their oppoſites, they conſtantly profeſſe: and therfore I am perſwaded, that howſoeuer ſome of them haue vſed harſh, doubtfull, dangerous, and vnfitting formes of ſpeech, yet they differ not in meaning and iudgement from the Orthodoxe, and right beleeuers. For they do not imagine, if we may beleeue their moſt conſtant proteſtations, any eſſentiall or naturall communication of diuine properties, but perſonall onely, in that the Perſon of the Sonne of God is really communicated to the nature of man, in which Perſon they are. Neither do they define the perſonall vnion by the communication of properties, but ſay onely, that it is implied in it: and touching the co-operation of the two natures of God and Man in Chriſt, they teach no other, but that which we deſcribed, when we ſpake of the *Theandricall* actions of Chriſt.

The infinite obiections that are made on either ſide, to the multiplying of needleſſe, and fruitleſſe contentions, may eaſily be cleared, and the ſeeming contradictions reconciled by the right vnderſtanding of the point, about which the difference hath growne.

CHAP.

Chap. 16.

Of the worke of Mediation performed by Christ in our nature.

THus hauing ſpoken of the abaſing of the Sonne of God to take our nature, and of the gifts and graces he beſtowed on it, when he aſſumed it into the vnitie of his Perſon; it remaineth, that we ſpeake of the things he did and ſuffered for vs in the ſame. The thing in generall which he did for vs in our nature thus aſſumed, was, the mediating betweene God and vs, that he might reconcile vs vnto God. For the better vnderſtanding whereof we muſt obſerue, what it is to mediate, and the diuerſe kinds of mediation. Mediation is by all ſayd then to be performed, when one interpoſeth himſelfe betweene ſuch as are at variance, to reconcile them, or at leaſt, betweene ſuch as haue no friendly intercourſe, to ioyne them in a league of friendſhip and amitie. The mediation that is betweene them at variance, (the ende whereof is reconciliation) is performed foure wayes. Firſt, by diſcerning and iudging the matters of quarrell and diſlike, that diuide & eſtrange them one from another. Secondly, by reporting from one of the parties to the other, the conditions vpon which either of them may come to an agreement with the other; in which ſenſe *Moſes* ſaith vnto the children of *Iſrael*, [a] *I was a mediatour at that time betweene God and you*; and the Apoſtle ſayth in the Epiſtle to the *Galathians*, [b] *The Law was giuen by Angels in the hand of a mediatour*. Thirdly, by intreating one partie for another: and fourthly, by ſatisfying one partie for the wrongs done by the other. All theſe wayes Chriſt may be ſayd to haue bene a Mediatour betweene God and vs.

a Deut. 5. 5.
b Gal. 3. 19.

For firſt, he interpoſed himſelfe as an Arbitrator betweene God and vs, ſo ordering the matters of difference betweene vs, that God ſhould accept our repentance, faith, and purpoſe of amendment: and that we ſhould not onely repent vs of the euils paſt, and proſtrate at the feete of his Maieſtie, entreate for mercie; but make a Couenant alſo with our ſelues, and bind our ſelues by a ſolemne vow, neuer to caſt his Lawes behind our backe any more.

Secondly, he put himſelfe betweene God and vs, by reporting Gods pleaſure vnto vs, and what he requireth of vs, and by reporting vnto God our ſubmiſſiue yeelding of our ſelues to do that he requireth.

Thirdly, he performed the worke of a Mediator, by entreating the one partie to be reconciled to the other, in that [c] *He maketh requeſt for vs*, as it is in the Epiſtle to the *Romanes*, and [d] *is our Aduocate*, as it is in the Epiſtle of S. *Iohn*. Laſtly, he mediated by ſatisfying one partie for the wrongs done by the other: and this kind of mediation was proper to Chriſt alone,

c Rom. 8. 34.
d 1. Ioh. 2. 1.

2. Cor. 5. 21. according to that of the Apostle, *He was made sinne for vs, that we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him.* These being the diuerse kinds wherein Christ mediateth betweene God and vs, for the better vnderstanding of the nature and force of his mediation, two things are to be obserued: First, what the nature of *Medium*, that is, a meane betweene two extremes is; and secondly, how, and according to which nature Christ was a Mediatour betweene God and vs.

A *medium* or meane betweene two extremes, is of three sorts: The first, when two extremes or contraries concurre and meete in a third nature, arising and growing out of the mixture of them both; as white and blacke, being contrary colours, do meete and concurre in the middle colours, and in this sort there can be no meane betweene God and vs. The second, when some qualities or properties of either of the extremes or opposites are found in a third thing; and so Christ, as Man, was a meane betweene God and Men: For in his humane nature was found righteousnesse, wherein he was like to God; and miserie, wherein he was like to men. To which purpose that is, that S. *Augustine* hath when he saith, [e] *Christus est Mediator inter Deum & homines. Quid est Deus? Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus. Quid sunt homines? Peccatores, impij, mortales. Inter illam Trinitatem, & hominum infirmitatem, & iniquitatem, Mediator factus est homo non iniquus, sed tamen infirmus: vt, ex eo quòd non iniquus, iungeret te Deo; in eo quòd infirmus, propinquaret tibi*; that is, Christ is a Mediator betweene God and Men. What is God, but the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost? What are Men, but sinners, wicked ones, and subiect vnto death? Betweene that Trinitie therefore, and the infirmitie, and iniquity of men, that Man became a Mediatour, that was not sinfull, but infirme; that, in that he was not sinfull, he might ioyne thee to God; and in that he was infirme, he might draw neare vnto thee.

[e] *August in Psal. 39.*

The third, when both extremes concurre and meete in the same person; and in this sort Christ is most properly a meane, or of a middle condition betweene God and vs, in that both the natures of God and man do concurre, and are conioyned in his Person. And to this purpose excellent is that of *Hugo de S. Victore.* [f] The Apostle (saith he) saith, *A Mediatour is not a Mediatour of one. Duo enim erant Deus & Homo; Diuersi, & Aduersi: Deus erat iustus, Homo iniustus; in hoc nota aduersos: Homo erat miser, Deus beatus; in hoc nota diuersos. Sic igitur Homo & aduersus Deo erat, per iniquitatem, & diuersus à Deo, per miseriam*: That is, For God and man were two; diuerse and different; aduerse and contrary one to the other. God was iust, man vniust; in this obserue their contrarietie: Man was miserable, God blessed; in this note their diuersity and difference: So therefore man was both aduerse, and contrary vnto God, in respect of iniquitie, and diuerse and different from God, in respect of misery. And therefore in this behalfe needed a Mediator vnto God, that he might be reconciled,

[f] *Hugo Erudit. Theol. de Sacramentis fidei, lib. 2. part. 1. cap. 12.*

and

and brought backe vnto him; but the diſpatch of this buſineſſe of reconciling them that were ſo greatly at variance, no man could conueniently and fitly vndertake, who was not nearely conioyned by the bands of friendly Societie and peaceable agreement with both the parties. For this cauſe therefore the Sonne of God became Man, that he might be a Mediatour of reconciliation, and peace betweene man and God. *Suſcepit humanitatem, per quam hominibus appropinquaret; & retinuit Diuinitatem, per quam à Deo non recederet: factus Homo, ſuſtinuit pœnam, vt demonſtraret affectum: ſeruauit iuſtitiam, vt conferret remedium:* that is, he tooke vnto him the nature of a Man, that therein he might draw neare vnto men, and retained the nature of God, that ſo he might not depart from God: Being made Man, he ſuffered puniſhment, to ſhew his affection: but kept himſelfe iuſt, and vnworthie of puniſhment, that he might helpe and relieue others. Againe, the ſame *Hugo* proceedeth and goeth forward, excellently expreſſing the concurrence of the natures of God & man in the vnitie of Chriſts perſon, in this ſort: *Verbum, quod cum Patre Deo vnum erat per ineffabilem vnitatem, cum homine aſſumpto vnum factum eſt per admirabilem vnionem: Vnitas in naturâ, Vnio in perſonâ: Cum Patre Deo vnum in Naturâ, non in Perſonâ: Cum homine aſſumpto vnum in perſonâ, non in naturâ. Aſſumpſit ex nobis noſtram naturam vt eam ſibi ſociaret per vnionem in perſonâ, quæ ſociata non erat per vnitatem in naturâ: vt per id quod de noſtro vnum ſecum fecerat, nos ſibi vniret, vt cum ipſo vnum eſſemus, per id quod noſtrum ſibi vnitum erat; & per ipſum vnum eſſemus cum patre, qui cum ipſo vnum erat.* That is, The word which was one with God the Father by ineffable vnity, became one with man aſſumed by admirable vnion. The vnity was in nature: the vnion in Perſon. With God the Father it was one in nature, not in perſon: with man aſſumed it was one in Perſon not in nature. It tooke of vs our nature to ioyne it to it ſelfe by vnion in Perſon, which had no ſociety with it by vnity of nature; that by that which, taken frō vs, it made one with it ſelfe, it might vnite vs to it ſelfe, that we might be one with it, by that of ours which was vnited to it: & by it we might be one with the Father, who is one with it. Thus hauing ſhewed in what ſort Chriſt is a meane between the two extremes God & Man, it remaineth that we ſeeke out, how, and according to which nature he is a Mediator. That he is a Mediatour according to the concurrence of both natures in the vnitie of his Perſon, it is confeſſed by all: for if he were not both God and Man, he could not mediate betweene God and Men. But whether he be a Mediator according to both natures concurring in the worke of mediation, there be ſome that make queſtion. For the clearing whereof, the Diuines diſtinguiſh the workes of mediation, making them to be of two ſorts: Of Miniſterie, and of Authority. Of Miniſterie, as to pray, to pay the price of Redemption, and by dying to ſatisfie for ſinne. Of Authority, as to paſſe all good vnto vs from the Father in the holy Ghoſt.

Touching the workes of Miniſterie, it is agreed on by all, that the Perſon of the Sonne of God performed them in the nature of Man: for we muſt diſtinguiſh *Principium quod*, and *Principium quo*; that is, the Perſon which doth and ſuffereth, and that wherein it doth and ſuffereth ſuch things as are neceſſary to procure our reconciliation with God. It was the Sonne of God and Lord of life, that died for vs on the Croſſe, but it was the nature of Man, not of God, wherein he died; and it was the nature of God, and infinite excellencie of the ſame, whence the price, value, and worth of his paſſion grew. The workes of Authoritie and Power, as to giue life, to giue the Spirit, to raiſe the dead, to make the blind ſee, and the dumbe to ſpeake, were all performed by the diuine nature; yet not without an inſtrumentall concurrence of the nature of Man, in ſort as hath bene before expreſſed, when I ſhewed how the actions of Chriſt were *diuinely-humane*.

If it be alledged, that *Opera Trinitatis ad extra* are *indiuiſa*, that is, that there is nothing that one of the Perſons of the bleſſed Trinitie doth towards the creatures, but they all do it, and conſequently, that thoſe things which Chriſt did in his diuine nature, pertained not to the office of a Mediator, being common to all the Perſons: we anſwer, that as the Perſons of the bleſſed Trinitie, though they be one and the ſame God, yet differ τρόπῳ ὑπάρξεως in ſubſiſtence, and the manner of hauing and poſſeſſing the Deitie, and diuine nature; ſo though their action be the ſame, and the worke done by them, yet they differ τρόπῳ πράξεως, in the manner of doing it: for the Father doth all things *authoritatiuè*, and the Sonne *ſubauthoritatiuè*, as the Schoolemen ſpeake; that is, the Father, as he from whom, and of whom all things are; the Sonne, as he by whom all things are, not as if he were an inſtrument, but as *Principium à Principio*, that is, a cauſe & beginning of things, that hath receiued the Eſſence it hath, and power of working from another, though the very ſame that is in the other. And in this ſort to quicken, giue life, & to impart the ſpirit of ſanctification to whom he pleaſeth, eſpecially with a kind of concurring of the humane nature, meriting, deſiring, & inſtrumentally aſſiſting, is proper to the Sonne of God manifeſted in our fleſh, & not common to the whole Trinity; and therefore, notwithſtanding the obiection taken from the vnity of the workes of the diuine Perſons, may be a worke of mediation. *Bellarmine* the Ieſuite bringeth many reaſons to proue, that Chriſt is not a Mediator according to both natures: but that which aboue all other he moſt vrgeth, is this. g If Chriſt, ſaith he, be a Mediator according to both natures, then either according to both iointly, or ſeuerally; not ſeuerally, becauſe not according to his diuine nature ſeuerally conſidered, being the party offended: Not according to both ioyntly, becauſe though in that ſort he differ from the Father & the holy Ghoſt, neither of which is both God & Man; & from the ſonnes of men, who are meerly men; yet he differeth not from the

g *Bellarm. de Chriſto mediatore lib. 3. cap. 5.*

the Sonne of God (who was to be pacified by the Mediatour, as well as the Father, and the holy Ghost) neither in nature, nor in person.

This surely is a silly kind of reasoning: for it is not necessary that a thing should differ from both the extremes according to all that in respect whereof it is of a middle condition, but it is sufficient, if it differ in some thing from one, and in some thing from another. The middle colour differeth from the extremes, not in the whole nature of it, but from white, in that it hath of blackenesse, and from blacke, in that it hath of whitenesse: but it is *medium*, in that it hath something of either of them.

So the Sonne of God incarnate differeth not onely from the Father and the holy Ghost, but from himselfe as God, in that he is Man; and from Men, and himselfe as man, in that he is God; and therefore may mediate not onely betweene the Father and vs men, but also betweene himselfe as God, and vs miserable, and sinfull men. Wherefore to conclude this point we say, that some of the workes of Christ the Mediator, were the workes of his Humanitie in respect of the thing done, and had their efficacie, dignitie and value from his Diuinitie, in that they were the workes of him that had the Diuinitie dwelling bodily in him; and some the workes of his Diuinitie, the humane nature concurring onely instrumentally, as the giuing of sight to the blind, raising the dead, remitting of sinnes, and the like. Neither do we imagine one action of both natures, nor say that Christ died, offered himselfe on the Altar of the Crosse, or prayed for vs in his Diuinitie, as some slanderously report of vs; and therefore all the obiections that are mustered against vs, proceeding from the voluntarie mistaking of our sense and meaning (which some will not conceiue, that they may haue something to say against vs) are all easily cleared and answered by this explication of the same.

By that which hath bene sayd touching Christs being a Mediatour according to both natures, we may easily vnderstand, how, and according to what nature he is Head of the Church. In a naturall Head [h] *Bonauentura* obserueth three things; the first, that it is *Conforme cæteris membris*: the second, that it is *Principium membrorum*; and the third, that it is *Influxuum sensus & motus*; that is, first, that it hath conformitie of nature with the rest of the members of the body. Secondly, that it is the first, chiefest, and in a sort the beginning of all the members; and thirdly, that from it influence of sense and motion doth proceed: and he sheweth the same to be found in Christ, the mysticall head of the Church. For first, he hath conformitie of nature with them that are members of his body, the Church, in that he is Man: Whereupon S. *Augustine* writing vpon S. *Iohn*, saith, [i] *Vnius naturæ sunt vitis & palmites*; the vine and the branches are of the same nature. And secondly, as the naturall Head is the chiefest and most principall of all the members, so is Christ more excellent then they that are Christs. [k] *Omnia membra faciunt vnũ corpus*, saith S. *Augustine*; *multum*

h *Bonauent in 3. Sentent. dist. 13 quæst. 1.*

i *August tract 80. de cap. 15.*

k *Idem in Psal. 39.*

multum tamen interest inter caput, & cæteras membra: Etenim in cæteris membris non sentis nisi tactu, tangendo sentis in cæteris membris: in capite autem & vides, & audis, & olfacis, & gustas, & tangis: All the members make one body, yet is there great difference betweene the head, and the rest of the members: for in the rest a man hath no sense, but that of feeling, in the rest he discerneth by feeling; but in the Head he seeth, and heareth, and smelleth, and tasteth, and feeleth. So in the members of Christs mysticall body, which is the Church, there are found diuersities of gifts, operations, and administrations: and to one is giuen the word of wisedome, to another the word of knowledge, to another faith, to another the gift of healing, to another the operation of great workes, & to another prophesie: but to the man Christ, the Spirit was giuen without stint or measure, and in him was found the fulnesse of all grace. The third property of a naturall Head, which is the influence of Sense and motion, agreeth vnto Christ in respect of his humanitie and diuinity both. For he giueth influence of diuine sense and motion two wayes: *per modum præparantis*; and *per modum impertientis*; that is, by preparing and making men fit to receiue grace, and by imparting it to them that are fitted and prepared. He prepareth and fitteth men to the receipt of Grace by the acts of his humanity, in which he suffered death, dying satisfied Gods wrath, remoued all matter of dislike, merited the fauour and acceptation of God, and so made men fit to receiue the grace of God, and to enioy his fauour: He imparteth and conferreth grace, by the operation and working of his diuine nature, it being the proper worke of God to inlighten the vnderstandings of men, and to soften their hearts. So that, to conclude this point, we may resolue, that the grace, in respect whereof Christ is Head of the Church, is of two sorts; the one created, and habituall: the other increate, and of Vnion. In respect of the one, he giueth grace *effectiuè*, by way of efficiencie; in respect of the other, *dispositiuè*, by way of disposition, fitting vs, that an impression of grace may be made in vs.

Chap. 17.

Of the things which Christ suffered for vs, to procure our reconciliation with God.

HAuing shewed how Christ as a Mediator interposed himselfe betweene God and vs when we were his enemies, and how he is the Head of that blessed company of them that beleeuing in him looke for saluation; let vs see and consider, first, what he suffered for vs, to reconcile vs to God; secondly, what he did for vs; thirdly, what the benefits are that he bestoweth on vs; and fourthly, to whom he commited the dispensation of the rich treasures of his graces, the word of reconciliation, and the guiding and gouerning of the people, which he purchased as a peculiar inheritance to himselfe.

Touching

Touching the first, to wit, the sufferings of Christ, he was by them to satisfie the iustice of God his Father displeased with vs for sinne; that so we might be reconciled vnto him. Wherefore, that we may the better conceiue what was necessary to be done or suffered to satisfie the iustice of God, we must consider sinne in the nature of a wrong, and in the nature of sinne. In the nature of a wrong; and so two things were required for the pacifying of Gods wrath: for first, he that hath done wrong, must restore that he vniustly tooke away from him whom he wronged; and secondly, he must do something in recompence of the wrong he did: as, if he tooke away another mans good name, by false and lying reports, he must not only restore it to him againe by acknowledging that the things were vntrue, which in defamation of him he had spoken, but he must also take all occasions to raise, continue and increase a good opinion of him. If sinne be considered in the nature of sinne, it implieth in it two things: *debitum pœnæ*, and *debitum neglectæ obedientiæ*; that is, a debt of punishment, and a debt of obedience then neglected, when it should haue bene performed: and therefore in the satisfaction that is to reconcile vs to God displeased with vs for sinne as sinne, two things must be implied: for first, the punishment must be sustained that sinne deserued; and secondly, that obedience must be performed, that should haue bene yeelded whilest sin was committed, but was neglected. For if only the punishment be sustained, we may escape the condemnation of death, but we cannot inherit eternall life, vnlesse the righteousnesse and obedience which Gods law requireth be found in vs also: Now the law of God requireth obedience, not only in the present time, and time to come, but from the beginning of our life to the end of the same, if we desire to inherit the promised blessednes. And though the performance of that obedience that was neglected may seeme to be in the nature of merit rather then satisfaction; yet in that it is not simply the meriting & procuring of fauour & acceptation, but the recouering of lost friendship, and the regaining of renewed loue, it is rightly esteemed to pertaine vnto satisfaction. Touching sin considered in the nature of an offence and wrong, & the things required to pacifie Gods wrath in that respect, there is no question, but that the sinner himselfe that wronged God in sinning, must, by sorrow of heart, disliking and detesting, and by confession of mouth, condemning former euils, restore that glorie to God he tooke from him; and seeke and take all occasions the weakneſse of his meanes will affoord, to glorifie God as much as he dishonored him before; and God accepteth weake indeauours as sufficient in this kind, Christ hauing perfectly satisfied for vs: as a publicke person may accept of a meane and weake satisfaction for the wrong done to him, but must inflict punishment answerable to the fault, to satisfie publicke iustice offended by that wrong. Wherefore, passing from this kinde of satisfaction, let vs speake

of that other that God requireth, standing in the suffering of punishments due to sinne. Some define this kind of satisfaction, to be the suffering of the punishments that God inflicteth, or wherewith a man voluntarily punisheth himselfe: but this is not a good definition. For as a thiefe or murtherer may not lay violent hands on himselfe, and be his owne executioner when he hath offended, to satisfie publique iustice, but must submit himselfe to that which authoritie will lay on him: so it is so farre from being any satisfaction to Gods iustice, for a man, when he hath sinned, to become his owne executioner, and to punish himselfe for his sinne, to satisfie the iustice of God, that it highly displeaseth God.

It is true indeede, that we may lawfully afflict our selues, not to satisfie Gods iustice, but to purge out the drosse of that sinfull impurite that cleaueth to vs, and to cure the wounds of our soules: as, we may afflict our selues by fasting, watching, and abstaining from many things, otherwise lawfull, for the freeing of our selues from the remaines of our former excessiue and immoderate delight in eating, drinking, sinfulness, and riot, and other abuses of the good creatures of God. So that we must not define satisfaction, to be the suffering of those punishments, that God inflicteth, or wherewith the sinner punisheth himselfe; for it is onely the sustaining of those, that God in iustice doth inflict.

And in this sort Christ satisfied his Fathers wrath, not by punishing himselfe, but by being obedient to his Father, euen vnto the death. Wherefore let vs proceed more particularly, to consider the satisfactory sufferings of Christ, and see first, what punishments Christ suffered to pacifie his Fathers wrath, and secondly, what the manner of his passion was.

Touching the punishments that Christ suffered, they were not ordinary, but beyond measure, grieuous, bitter, and insupportable; yea, such as would haue made any meere creature to sinke downe vnder the burthen of them to the bottome of Hell: For he suffered grieuous things from all the things in Heauen, Earth, & Hell; and in all that any way pertained to him. He suffered at the hands of God his Father, and of Men; of Iewes, of Gentiles, of enemies insulting, of friends forsaking, of the Prince of darknesse, and all his cruell and mercilesse instruments; of the elements of the world, the Sunne denying to giue him light, the aire breath, and the earth supportance. He suffered in all that pertained to him: In his name, being condemned as a blasphemer, as an enemy to *Moses*, the Law, the Temple, and worship of God; to his owne nation, to *Cæsar*, and the *Romanes*: a glutton, a companion with publicanes, and sinners, a Samaritan, one that had a Diuell, and did all his miracles by the power of *Beelzebub*. In the things he possessed, when they stripped him out of his garments, and cast lots on his seamelesse coate. In his friends, greatly

distressed

distressed and discomforted with the sighe of those things that fel out vnto him, according to that which was propheſied before: a *The Shepheard ſhall be ſmitten, and the Sheepe ſhall be ſcattered.* In his body, when his hands and feete were nailed, his ſides goared, his head pierced with the crowne of thornes, his cheekes ſwollen with buffeting, his face defiled with ſpitting vpon, his eies offended with beholding the ſcorneſull behauiour of his proud and inſulting enemies, his eares with hearing the words of their execrable blaſphemy, his taſte with the mirrhe and gall that they gaue him in his drinke, his ſmell with the ſtinch and horror of the place wherein he was crucified, being a place of dead mens skuls.

a Mark. 14. 27

Laſtly, in his ſoule diſtreſſed with feares, and compaſſed about with ſorrowes beſetting him on euery ſide, and that euen vnto death: In ſo wofull ſort did he take on him our defects, and ſuffer our puniſhments. But, becauſe we may as well enlarge and amplifie Chriſts paſſions and ſufferings too much, as extenuate them too much, let vs ſee, if it be poſſible, the vttermoſt extent of that he ſuffered: For the clearing hereof b ſome ſay, that he ſuffered all thoſe puniſhments that were beſeeming him, or behouefull for vs: that he ſuffered all thoſe puniſhments, that neither preiudice the plenitude of ſanctitie, nor ſcience. But, that we may the better informe our ſelues touching this point, we muſt obſerue, that the puniſhments of ſinne are of three ſorts: Firſt, *Culpa*; Secondly, *ex culpa, & ad culpam.* Thirdly, *ex culpa, ſed nec culpa, nec ad culpam*: that is, Firſt, ſinne; Secondly, ſomething proceeding from ſinne, and inducing to ſin. Thirdly, things proceeding from ſin, that neither are ſins, nor ineſine and induce to ſinne. Examples of the firſt, are Enuie, afflicting the minde of the proud man; grieuous diſorders, accompanying the drunkard, and a reprobate ſenſe, following the contempt of Gods worſhip and ſeruice. * Of the ſecond, naturall concupiſcence, proneneſſe to euill, difficulty to do good, contrariety in the faculties of the ſoule, and repugnance and reſiſtance of the meaner againſt the better. Examples of the third, which are things proceeding from ſinne, but neither ſinnes, nor inclinations to ſin, are hunger, thirſt, weakeneſſe, nakedneſſe, & death it ſelfe. The puniſhments of this laſt ſort onely Chriſt ſuffered, and neither of the former two: for neither was there ſinne in him, nor any thing inclining him to euill, or diſcouraging him from good. The puniſhments of this kinde are of two ſorts: Naturall, and Perſonall. Naturall, are ſuch as follow the whole nature of man, as hunger, thirſt, labour, wearineſſe, and death it ſelfe. Perſonall, are ſuch as grow out of ſome imperfection and defect in the vertue and faculty forming the body, diſorder in diet, or ſome violence offered; and theſe are found but in ſome particular men, and not in all men generally, as Leproſies, Agues, Gowts, and the like. All thoſe puniſhments, that are puniſhments only, that are from without, & that are common to the whole nature of Men, Chriſt ſuffered, that came to be a

b *Bonauent. in 3. Sent. Diſt. 15. queſt. 2.*

* The puniſhments of this ſecond ſort are ſins, though the Schoolemen do not eſteeme them to be ſo.

Redeemer

Redeemer of all without respect of persons: but such as flow from sinne dwelling within, or proceede from particular causes, or are proper to some, and not common to all, he suffered not.

The punishments that are punishments onely, and not sinne, and are common to the whole nature of man, are likewise of two sorts; for either they are suffered for sinne imputed, or sinne inherent. For one may be punished either for his owne fault, or the fault of another in some sort imputed to him. When a man is punished for his owne fault, he hath remorse of conscience, blaming and condemning him as having brought such euils vpon himselfe, by his owne folly. But when a man is punished for another mans fault, whereof hee hath bene no cause, by example, perswasion, helpe, or consent, he can haue no remorse of conscience.

Now our Sauiour Christ suffered the punishments of the sinnes of other men, not his owne, and therefore hee was free from remorse of conscience, though it be generally found in all men, and be neither sinne, nor inducement to sinne.

Lastly, the punishments that are punishments onely, and not sinne, that are common to the whole nature of Man, and suffered not for the faults of him that suffereth them, but for the sinnes of other, are of two sorts: for either they are the punishments of sinne eternally remaining in staine and guilt; or broken off, ceasing, and repented off.

The punishments of sinne eternally remaining, must according to the rules of diuine iustice, be eternall, and consequently ioyned with desperation, which alwaies is found, where there is an impossibility of any better estate for euer. But it is no way necessary, neither doth the iustice of God require, that the punishments of sinne repented of, ceasing, and forsaken, should bee euerlasting, or ioyned with despaire.

c Picus Mirandula, in Apologia quest. 2. & Scotus in 4. Sentent. dist 46 qu. 1. in re p ad argumēta principalia.

For, as the Diuines do note, that there are three things to be considered in sinne; The auersion from an infinite, and incommutable good: the inordinate conuersion to a finite good; and the continuing in the same, or ceasing from it: so to these seuerall things in sinne, there are three seuerall thinges answearing in the punishment of it. For to the auersion, which is obiectiuely infinite, there answereth *pœna damni*, the losse of God, which is an infinite losse.

To the inordinate conuersion of the sinner to things transitory, there answereth *pœna sensus*, a sensible smart and griefe intensiuely finite, as the pleasure the sinner taketh in the transitory thinges he inordinately loueth, is finite.

To the eternity of sinne remaining euerlastingly in staine and guilt, or

of the continuance of it but for a time, answereth the eternity of punish-
ment, or the suffering of the same but for a time.

It is true, that euery sinner sinneth *in suo æterno*, as Saint d *Gre-*
gorie speaketh, in that he would sinne euer if he might liue euer; and
that euery sinner casteth himselfe, by sinning into an impossibility of
euer ceasing to sinne of himselfe: as a man that casteth himselfe in-
to a deepe pit, can neuer of himselfe rise out of it againe: And there-
fore naturally eternity of punishment is due to sinne: but, if by force
of diuine operation men bee framed to cease from sinne, and to
come from it vnto GOD, the Iustice of GOD requireth not eter-
nitie of punishment, but onely extremity answerable to the grieuous-
nesse of sinne.

d *Gregor. expos. sit. moral. lib. 34 cap. 10. in 41. Caput Iob. in illa verba, Aestimabit Abyssum, &c.*

Wherefore, seeing our Sauiour Christ suffered onely for those sinnes
which he meant to breake off by framing the sinners to repentance, it
was no way necessary for the satisfying of diuine Iustice, that he should
endure eternall punishment.

If it be said, that all do not repent, nor cease from doing ill, we ea-
sily graunt it: but it is likewise to be knowne, that the satisfaction of
Christ is not applyable to all sinners, not through any defect in it
selfe, but through the incapacitie of them to whom it should be applyed.
So that as Christ dyed, and satisfied Gods wrath sufficiently for
all, but effectually onely for the elect and chosen: so likewise he gi-
ueth grace to cease from sinne, if the fault were not in themselues, suffici-
ently to all.

But to the elect and chosen, whom he foreknew before the world was
made, he giueth grace effectually, that his passion may be applyed vn-
to them, and they really and indeede made partakers of it.

They seeme therefore to be deceiued, who thinke, that the excellen-
cie of the person of Christ, dispensed with the eternity of punish-
ment, which otherwise, to satisfie diuine Iustice, he was to haue suffe-
red; and thereupon inferre, that it might also dispense with the grie-
uousnesse and extremitie of punishment, that otherwise he was to haue
endured.

For the worth and excellency of his person, was neither to dispense
with the time, nor grieuousnesse of his punishments, but to make the
passion of one auaileable for many.

Otherwise, if it might haue dispensed with one degree of extremitie
of punishment due to sinne, it might also haue dispensed with two, and
consequently with all, as e *Scotus* aptly noteth, though to another
purpose.

e *Scotus in 4. sentent. dist. 44. qu. 4. de art. 4.*

These things being thus distinguished, it is easie to answer that question
that hath troubled many: Whether Christ suffered all the punishmẽts of
sinne

sinne or not. For we may safely pronounce, as I thinke, that Christ suffered the whole generall punishment of sinne, that onely excepted which is sinne, or consequent vpon the inherence, and eternity of sinne that is punished, as remorse of conscience and desperation. If any man shall go further, and aske, whether to satisfie Gods iustice, Christ suffered the paines of hell or not: it will be answered, that he suffered not the paines of hell in *specie* or *loco*, that is, either in kinde or place; but some thinke that he suffered paines and punishments conformable and answerable to them in extremity, that onely excepted which is sin, or consequent vpon the inherence, and eternity of the sinne of such as are punished in hell.

f *Cusanus Excitationum lib. 10. pag. 659.*

Concerning *pœna sensus*, that is, sensible smart and griefe, Cardinall *Cusanus* (a famous learned man) is clearely of opinion, that Christ suffered extremity of such paine, answerable to that sensible smart & griefe that is endured in hell: but the doubt is principally of the other kinde of punishment, named *Pœna damni*, which is, the losse of God. For the clearing of which point, *Scotus* aptly obserueth diuers things. For first, he sheweth that punishment is the discernable want of some fitting good in an intellectuall nature, and the presence of some euill in the same. Secondly, that the good that is in an intellectuall nature is of two sorts; the one of vertue, the other, of sweete, ioyfull, and pleasing delight: and that, though both these concurre sometimes, as in the fruition of God in heauen, wherein the perfection of vertue, and the fulnesse of ioy and delight do meete together; yea, that though euery thing that is vertuous, be delightfull, yet it is not so much the height of vertue as of delight, that is to be iudged happinesse. Thirdly, he inferreth from hence, that there are two kindes of punishment consisting in the losse of God; whereof the one is, the want of that vertue whereby the soule is to be ioined and knit vnto God; the other, the want of that delight and pleasure that is to be found in God.

g *Scotus in 4. sent. dist. 46. quæst. 4.*

That the former is an euil of vnrighteousnesse and sin, and may be called an obstinacy in sinne, and is nothing else but sinne not remitted nor remoued, *Pœna derelicta non inflicta*, that is, no new euill brought in vpon the sinner, but that left in him that he wrought in himselfe. The other is more properly named *Pœna damni*, or *Damnum*, that is the punishment of losse, or a losse and damage. It were impious to thinke, that Christ suffered the former kinde; but that he suffered this later kinde of punishment of losse and damage, many great Diuines are of opinion. For though as he was ioyned to God *affectione iustitiæ*, that is, by the affection of vertue or iustice, he could nor be diuided or separated from him, no not for a moment, because he could not but loue him, feare him, trust in him, and giue him the praise and glory that belongeth to him; yet, as he was to be ioyned to him, *affectione commodi*, that is, by that affection that seeketh

teth pleasing content in enioying those ineffable delights and plea-
sures that are found in him, he might be, and was for a time diuided from
him. For as very great and graue Diuines do thinke, he was *destitutus*
omni solatio, that is, destitute and void of all that solace he was wont to
finde in God, in that fearefull howre of darknesse, and of his doleful passi-
on. [h] As, saith *Melchior Canus*, Christ in the time of his life, miraculous-
ly restrained, and kept within the closet of his secret Spirit, the happi-
nesse that he enioyed in seeing God, that it should not spread farther, and
communicate it selfe to the inferior faculties of his soule, or impart the
brightnesse of it to the body; so in the howre of his passion, his very Spi-
rit was with-holden from any pleasure it might take in so pleasing an ob-
iect, as is the Essence, Maiestie, and glory of God, which euen then he
clearely beheld. So that Christ neuer wanted the vision of that obiect
which naturally maketh all them happy, that behold it, and filleth
them with such ioy, as no heart of mortall man can conceiue, or tongue
expresse.

h *Canus Locor. Theol. lib. 12. cap. 13.*

But as it was strange, and yet most true, in the time of his life, that his
soule enioyed heauen-happinesse, and that yet neither the inferior facul-
ties thereof were admitted into any fellowship of the same, nor his body
glorified, but subiect to misery and passion; so it fell out by the speciall
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paines of hell, more then on earth to enioy the happinesse of heauen;
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Hereunto it is answeted, that in ordinary course, it is impossible for any
man liuing in this world, either to enioy the happinesse of heauen, or
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Viator and *Comprehensor*, that is, a man like vnto vs that iourney here in
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owne euils, the sight thereof would be a very perfect hell vnto him:
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i *Luther. conso. lat. pro laborantibus. c. 1. de spectro primo, tom. 2.*

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pressed,

i *Luther. consol. pro laborantibus. c. 1. de spectro primo, tom. 2.*

preſſed, to which he voluntarily ſubiected himſelfe, to ſatisfie diuine iuſtice comming fierce and violently vpon him, with as cleare a ſight, and as perfect an apprehenſion of them, as is to be had in the other world.

Chap. 18.

Of the nature and qualitie of the paſsion and ſuffering of Chriſt.

Hitherto we haue ſpoken of the puniſhments that Chriſt ſuſtained and ſuffered to ſatisfie the iuſtice, and paciſie the wrath of his Father. Now it remaineth, that we come to take a view of the nature and qualitie of his paſſion and ſuffering, conſiſting partly in his feare and agonie before, and partly in his bitter ſorrow and diſtreſſe in the very act of that doleful tragedy. Touching the firſt, the Scripture teſtifieth, that *he* [a] *feared exceedingly, and deſired* [b] *the cuppe might paſſe from him.* Touching the ſecond, that *he* [c] *was beſet with ſorrowes euen vnto the death*; and that in his extremitie *he cryed aloud*; [d] *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* but touching both theſe paſſions of feare, and ſorrow, it is noted, [e] that whereas there are three kindes of faults found in the paſſions of mens minds; the firſt, that they ariſe before reaſon be conſulted, or giue direction; the ſecond, that they proceed farther then they ſhould, & ſtay not when they are required; & the third, that they tranſport reaſon & iudgemẽt it ſelfe: Chriſt had theſe paſſions, but in a ſort free from all theſe faults: For neither did they ariſe in him before reaſon gaue direction; whereupon hee is ſaid to *haue* [f] *troubled or moued himſelfe* in the caſe of *Lazarus*, for whom he greately ſorrowed; neither did they proceede any farther, if once reaſon and iudgement commanded a ſtay, and retrait, whereupon they are called [g] *Propaſsions* rather then *Paſsions*; not becauſe, (as [h] *Kelliſon* ignorantly ſuppoſeth) reaſon preuenteth them, and cauſeth them to ariſe, though it be true it doth ſo; but becauſe they are but fore-runners to paſſions at liberty, and beginnings of paſſions to be ſtaied at pleaſure, rather then full and perfect paſſions; and therefore much leſſe had they any power to tranſport iudgement and reaſon it ſelfe. From theſe generall conſiderations of the paſſions of Chriſt, let vs proceede to take a more particular view of the chiefe particulars of his paſſions, to wit, Feare, and Sorrow. Feare is deſcribed to be a retiring, or flying backe from a thing, if it be good, becauſe it is too high and excellent aboue the reach, and without the extent of our condition and power; if it be euill, becauſe it is hard to be eſcaped.

So that the proper and adequate obiect of feare, is not, as ſome ſuppoſe, future euill, but difficulty, greatneſſe, and excellency: which found in things good, makes vs know we cannot at all attaine them, or at leaſt that

a Mark. 14. 33. Mat. 26. 37.
b Matth. 26. 39.
c Matth. 26. 38.
d Matth. 27. 46.
e *Bonauent. in 3. Sent. diſt. 16. qu. 2.*
f Ioh. 11. 33.
g *Hieronym. in 26 Matthæi.*
h Survey. Book 3. chap. 10. pag. 177.

hat we cannot attaine them but with too great difficulty and labour; euill, that they wil not easily be ouermaistered or escaped. The difficul-, greatnesse, and excellency, found in thinges that are good, causeth are of reuerence, which maketh vs steppe backe, and not to meddle at l with thinges that are too high and excellent for vs, nor with thinges ard, without good aduice: and causeth vs to giue place to those of bet-r condition, and to acknowledge and professe by all significations of ody and mind, the distance, and disproportion that we know to be be-ceene them and vs, together with our dependance of them, or subiecti-n to them.

This kinde of feare causeth and produceth all acts of Reuerence and doration. It is found in the Angels, and spirits of iust and perfect en, and is more excellent then any other vertue. The greatnesse that found in thinges that are euill, causeth a feare declining them as euill, hich is of diuers sorts: For first, there is an *Humane* feare, which ma-eth men more decline the losse of their liues and good estates, then e losse of the fauour of God. Secondly, there is a *Mundane* feare, that useth them to decline the dis-fauour of the world, more then the dis-leasure of Almighty God: and these two kindes of feare driue men om God; but there are other kinds which driue them vnto God.

The first whereof is a *Seruile* feare, that maketh men leaue the act of nne, both inward and outward, to auoid punishment, though they taine the loue and liking of it. The second is an *Initiall* feare, that ma-eth them cast from them, the very desire of sinning, not out of the ue of God, which they haue not yet attained vnto, but out of the con-deration of the wofull consequence of it: and thirdly, there is a *Fili-* feare, proceeding from the loue of God, causing vs to decline the ffending of him whom we so dearely loue, and of whom we are so earely loued, more then any euill whatsoeuer.

The former kindes of feare that driue men from God, could not be ound in Christ, who was not onely nearely ioyned vnto God, but od himselfe blessed for euermore: for neither did he prize life, nor e fauour of the world that knew him not, at any higher rate then as fit.

Of the later sorts of feare, neither *Seruile* nor *Initiall*, were in him at was free from all sin; and touching *Filiall* feare, being well assu-d of his owne power, in respect whereof it was impossible for him bee drawen to the committing of any euill, though hee had that art of it, which standeth in declining the offence of GOD more en any euill in the world, yet not that other, that proceedeth om the consideration of the danger of being drawen thereunto: so at he could not feare lest he should fall into sinne. Besides all these ndes of feare, whereof some driue men from God, and some bring

them

them to God, there is another which is the ground of them all, name*Naturall* feare, which is the declining of any thing that is hurtfull, or contrary to the desired good of him that feareth: This *Naturall* feare, as also the feare of *Reuerence*, and that part of *Filiall* feare, that is the declining of sinne, and the displeasing of God, was found in Christ, as all other sinlesse and harmelesse affections were. For in the nature of man, he reuerenced and adored the Maiesty of God his Father; and with a *Naturall* feare, declined death, and the bitternesse of that cuppe he was to drinke of, and with a *Filiall* feare declined the offending of God his Father, more then hell it selfe.

But (passing by the feare of *Reuerence*, and that part of *Filiall* feare that was found in Christ, concerning which there is no question among the Diuines) that we may the better discerne, both what his *Naturall* feare was, and in respect whereof; we must note, that [i] feare is, first, in respect of things which cannot be auoided, neither by resistance and encounter, nor by flying from them: which things though they may seeme rather to make an impression of sorrow then feare, because in respect of their certainty they are rather apprehended as present, then future; yet for that we know not experimentally, how we shall be afflicted with them, and in what sort we shall sustaine and beare them, we may rightly be said to feare them. Secondly, in respect of such things, as may be escaped or ouercome with a kinde of vncertaintie of euent, and danger of the issue. Thirdly, in respect of such as may be escaped or ouercome without any vncertaintie of the euent or issue, though not without great conflict and labour.

i *Caietan. in 3. part. Summe quæst. 15. art. 7.*

These kindes of *Naturall* feare thus distinguished, it is easie to see what Christ feared, and in what sort. For first he feared death, and the stroke of the iustice of God his Father, sitting on the Tribunall or iudgement seate, to punish the sinnes of men, for whom he stood forth to answere that day: and secondly, he feared euerlasting destruction. The former of these he feared, as things impossible to be escaped, in respect of the resolution and purpose of God his Father, that by his satisfactory death and suffering, and no other way, man should be deliuered. The latter he feared, that is, declined as a thing he knew he should escape without all doubt or vncertainty of euent, though not without conflicting with the temptations of Sathan, and the enduring of many bitter and grieuous things: for it was no otherwise possible for him, hauing put himselfe into the communion of our nature, to escape the swallowing vp of that gulfe into which wicked sinners sinke downe, but by resisting the temptations of sinne, that it might not enter into him, by breaking off the same in others, and by suffering whatsoeuer it had deserued. But some man will say, [k] *Beza* teacheth that *Christus veritus est succumbere, & absorberi a morte*; that is, that Christ feared to sinke downe, and to be swallowed vp of

k *Annotat in 5. ad Hebræos. ver. 7*

death; and consequently, that he feared euerlasting destruction, with an vncertainty of his escape from the same.

It is true that *Beza* saith, that Christ feared to sinke downe, and to be swallowed vp of death; yet doth not that follow, which is alledged as a consequent of his saying, nor any thing contrary to that hath bene said of vs. For whereas there is a double[l] apprehension of reason in Christ, the one, named Superior, that looketh into things with all circumstances; the other, Inferior, that presenteth to the minde of man some circumstances and not all; *Beza* teacheth, that Christ feared to sinke down, and to be swallowed vp of death, that is, that he so declined the swallowing gulfe of death, out of which he saw no escape within the view of Inferior reason, presenting vnto him this hideous and destroying euill, in it owne nature endlesse, without shewing the issue out of the same; that yet notwithstanding simply he feared it not, Superiour reason clearely shewing him the issue out of it.

l *Bonauent. in 3. sent. dist. 16. qu. 2. Scotus in 3. dist. 15. quæst. vnica.*

This will not seeme strange vnto vs, if we consider, that in Christ euery faculty, power, and part was suffered, notwithstanding the perfection found in some other, to do that which properly pertained to it; and from hence it is easie to discerne, how it came to passe, that Christ should desire & pray for that which he knew should neuer be granted, as namely, that the [m] cup of death might passe from him. For the sense of nature and Inferior reason presented death, & the ignominie of the Crosse vnto him, as they are in themselues euill, without the consideration of any good to follow; and so caused a desire to decline them, expressed in the prayer he made: But Superiour reason considering them with all circumstances, and knowing Gods resolution to be such, that the world should thereby be saued, and by no other meanes, perswaded to a willing acceptance of them.

m Matth. 26. 39

Betweene these desires and resolutions, there was a diuersity, but no contrariety; a subordination, but no repugnance or resistance. There was no contrariety because they were not in respect of the same circumstances: for Death, as Death, is to be auoided; neither did Superiour reason euer dislike this iudgement of the Inferiour faculties, but shewed farther and higher considerations, wherein it was to be accepted and embraced. There was no repugnance or resistance, because the one yeelded to the other. For euen as a man that is sicke, considering the potion prescribed to him by the Physition, to be bitter and vnpleasant, declineth it while he staieth within the bounds and confines of that consideration, but when casting his eies farther, he is shewed by the Physition, the happy operation of good that is in it, he willingly accepteth it, in that it is beneficiall and good: So Christ considering death as in it selfe euill, and contrary to nature, while he staied within the bounds and confines of that consideration, shunned and declined

ned it; and yet, as the meanes of mans saluation, ioyfully embraced it, accepting that hee refused, and refusing that he accepted. [n] There is a thing (saith *Hugo de Sancto Victore*) that is *Bonum in se*, good in it selfe, and the good of euery other thing. There is a thing good in it selfe, and yet good but to certaine purposes onely. And there is a thing euill in it selfe, and yet good to some purposes.

n *Hugo de St°. Victore. de Sacramentis fidei. lib. 1. part. 4 cap. 19.*

The two former sorts of things may be desired simply and absolutely: the third cannot but only respectiuely to certaine ends: and of this kinde was the death of the Crosse, with all the woefull tormentings concurring with the same, which simply Christ shunned and declined, but respectiuely to the ends aboue specified, willingly embraced. The Papists[o] impute I know not what impiety to *Caluine*, for that hee saith Christ corrected the desire and wish that suddenly came from him. But they might easily vnderstand if they pleased, that hee is farre from thinking that any desire, or expressing of desire, was sudden in Christ, as rising in him without consent of reason, or that hee was inconsiderate in any thing he did or spake: but his meaning is, that some desires which hee expressed, proceeded from Inferior reason, that considereth not all circumstances: and that he corrected, and reuoked the same, not as euil, but as not proceeding from the full and perfect consideration of all things fit to be thought vpon, before a full resolution be passed.

o *Bellarm. lib. 4. de animâ Christi, cap. 8.*

Thus hauing spoken of Christs feare and agony before his passion, it remaineth that we proceede to speake of the sorrowes that afflicted and distressed him in his passion.

These sorrowes were such, and so great, that being beset and compassed about with them on euery side, he professed [p] *his soule was heauy euen vnto the death:* Yea, such was the bitternesse of his soule, that pressed with the weight and burthen of grieuous and insupportable euils, hee was forced to cry out aloud, [q] *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* These words of sorrowfull passion, the Papists say, *Caluine* thought to be words of despaire, and that Christ despaired when he vttered them.

p Matth. 26. 38.

q Matth. 27. 46.

Surely this shamelesse slander sheweth that they that thus speake they care not what, are desperatly malicious, and maintaine a desperate cause that cannot be vp-holden, but by falshood, and lying. But *Caluine* is farre from any such execrable and hellish blasphemy. For, hauing by occasion of these words, amplified the sorrowes and distresses of Christ in the time of his passion, [r] he saith, there were some that charged him that he said, these words were words of desperation, and that Christ despaired when he vttered them: but he accurseth such hellish blasphemy, & pronounceth that howsoeuer the flesh apprehended destroying euils, and Inferiour reason shewed no issue out of the same, yet there

r *Comment. in 27. Matthæi.*

there was euer a most sure resolued perswasion resting in his heart, that hee should vndoubtedly preuaile against them, and ouercome them.

Wherefore passing ouer this wicked calumniation of our Aduersaries, let vs see in what sense Christ the Sonne of God complained of dereliction, and cryed aloud vnto his Father, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* For the clearing hereof the Diuines do note, that there are sixe kindes of dereliction or forsaking, whereof Christ may be thought to haue complained.

The first whereof, is by disunion of Person; the second, by losse of Grace; the third, by diminution or weakning of grace; the fourth, by want of assurance of future deliuerance, and present support; the fift, by denyall of protection; the sixth, by withdrawing of solace, and destituting the forsaken of all comfort. It is impious once to thinke, that Christ was forsaken any of the foure first waies. For the vnitie of his Person was neuer dissolued, his graces were neuer either taken away or diminished; neither was it possible he should want assurance of future deliuerance and present supporte, that was eternall God, and Lord of life.

But the two last waies he may rightly be said to haue bene forsaken; in that his Father denyed to protect and keepe him out of the handes of his cruell, bloudy, and mercilesse enemies, no way restraining them, but suffering them to doe the vttermost of that their wicked hearts could imagine, and left him to endure the extremitie of their furie, and malice; and, that nothing might bee wanting to make his sorrowes beyond measure sorrowfull, withdrew from him that solace he was wont to finde in God; and remoued farre from him all things, that might any way lessen and asswage the extremity of his paine. So that Christ might rightly complaine that he was forsaken, though he were farre from despaire, and words of despaire.

Chap. 19.

Of the descending of Christ into Hell.

WITH the sufferings of Christ, his Descension into Hell is connexed, both in the order of thinges, and in the Articles of the Creede, and therefore it remaineth, that inthe next place, we speake of that. [a] *Bellarmine* obserueth, that the Article of Christs descending into Hell, was not in the Creede with all Churches from the beginning:

[a] *De animâ Christi, lib. 4. c. 6.*

for that *Irenæus, Origen,* & *Tertullian* haue it not; & *Augustine* in his booke *de Fide & Symbolo,* and in his foure bookes *de Symbolo ad Catechumenos,* mentioneth it not, expounding the Creede fiue times; though [b] elsewhere he say, that none but an Infidell will deny the descension of Christ into Hell. *Ruffinus* expoundeth it amongst the Articles of the Creede, but noteth, that it is not in the *Symbole* of the *Romane* Church, nor those of the East.

b Epist. 99.

The *Nicene* Creede hath it not, but that of *Athanasius* hath, and other of the Fathers reade it also. And at this day it is receiued in all the Churches of the world without contradiction; though there be some question touching the meaning of it. *Bellarmine* reckoneth three opinions of Protestants, differently vnderstanding the same; whereof the first is, that to descend into hell, is to be vtterly annihilated, and brought to nothing; the second, that it is to suffer the paines of hell; and the third, that it is nothing else but his burial. Of these three opinions imputed by *Bellarmine* to the Protestants, the first is nothing but his owne fancie, neuer dreamed of by any Protestant. For who euer, professing himselfe a Christian, thought, that to go downe into hell, is to be vtterly extinct, and to be no more? But (saith he) [d] *Brentius* bringeth in Christ speaking in this sort: I will descend into hell, I will feele the paines of hell, and seeme vtterly to perish: therefore he is of that opinion, whatsoeuer others are.

c De animâ Christi, lib. 4. cap. 7. 8. & 9.

d Comment. in 2 Actorum.

A strange thing it is, that men of learning, and iudgment, should so forget themselues, as this *Cardinall* often doth, saying hee knoweth not what. For doth he vtterly cease to be, that feeleth the paines of Hell? or do not the wicked perish, and is not their estate in holy Scripture described to be euerlasting perdition? hee knoweth right well it is: and yet, I thinke, dareth not from thence inferre, that they are vtterly extinct, and haue no more being. If he do, we will not feare to brand him with the marke of impiety, and intollerable ignorance; for the wicked are said vtterly to perish, not by losing all being, but all good, desirable, and happy being.

If *Brentius* escape his hands, hee hath good hope to conuince *Caluine* of this errour, and so still to lay vpon vs the heauy imputation of so damnable an impietie. *Caluine* hath written a Booke called *Psychopannychia*, the drift whereof is, to proue, that the soules and spirits of men, sleepe not after death, but liue, either in paine, or rest; out of this booke the Cardinall presumeth, that he shall be able to proue, that the soules and spirits of wicked men are vtterly extinct, and haue no more being.

An ill chosen booke, in my opinion, for such a purpose, the whole drift thereof being to demonstrate the contrary of that he vndertaketh to proue out of it. Yet let vs see how he goeth about to conuince the Author

Author of this booke of that errour, which throughout the same he labou-reth to confute.

His first demonstration is this. *Caluine* proueth at large in that booke, that the wicked do liue for euer, though in paine and torment; there-fore he thinketh that to go downe into hell, is to be vtterly extinct, and to haue no more being. A strange illation, and such as perhaps will not satisfie all: therefore let vs heare another, for he hath store of proofes.

Caluine in the same booke, laboureth to proue, that the Spirits of iust men are not extinguished, but that they liue and remaine for euer, because that Christs soule was not extinguished in his death, but remai-ned still, and liued after death.

That Christs Soule was not extinguished in his death, he strongly demonstrateth, because it was so commended into the handes of his Father, that it could not perish so as the wicked doe, who are swallo-wed vp of hell and destruction, and yet still remaine and liue for euer.

If this demonstration satisfie vs not, what will? Christs soule was so kept by GOD the Father, to whom it was commended, that it could not perish at all, no not so as the wicked doe, who yet are not extinct, but liue for euer in bitter sense of woe and misery, much lesse be extinct, and vtterly cease to be: therefore Christs descension into hell, was an vtter extinction.

These must be the Cardinals proofes, if hee will bring any out of that booke to conuince *Caluine* of that errour, wherewith he chargeth him. But he knoweth right well, that neither these, nor any other that he doth or can produce out of the same, conclude any such thing as hee intendeth; and therefore let the Reader know that the Cardinall neuer perswaded himselfe, that either *Brentius*, or *Caluine*, or any other Protestant was of that opinion, with which hee chargeth them; but that hee sought onely to abuse his Reader: and therefore that which in vile hypocrisie hee saith of *Caluine* and *Brentius*, that [e] they bring in Atheisme, by these their impious and damnable assertions, may be verified of himselfe, and other his consorts, who by their shamelesse lying, and hellish slaundering, wrong both God and men, and bring all Religion into horrible contempt.

[e] *De animâ Christi, lib. 4. cap. 7.*

Wherefore leauing these Hellish and Diuellish slaunderers to Gods most righteous and fearefull Iudgements; touching the descending of Christ into hell, it is true that Saint *Augustine* saith, *None but an Infi-dell will deny it*: for it is one of the Articles of our Christian Faith. But how we are to vnderstand this his descending, it is not so certaine. Whereupon we shall finde, that there are presently three opinions in the Church concerning the same.

[f] *Epist. 99.*

For some vnderstand by the anme of Hell, the place of dead bodies, and the dominion of death holding soule and body asunder, and turning the body forsaken of the soule into rottennesse, and corruption. These do so interprete this Article, as that they vnderstand nothing else, by Christs descending into Hell, but his going downe into the chambers of death, and his three daies continuance in the places of darknesse vnder the dominion thereof.

Others, vnderstand by the name of Hell, the paines of Hell, and thinke, that Christs descending into Hell, was nothing else but the suffering of hellish paines in his soule, in the time of his Agonie in the Garden, and in the howre of his death vpon the Crosse. A third sort there are, that vnderstand by the name of Hell, into which (in this Article) Christ is said to haue descended, the receptacles and places appointed for the soules of men after this life sequestered from the presence of God, and not admitted into heauen.

These places the *Romanists* imagine to be foure. Of which, the first is, the Hell of the damned, wherein wicked Cast-awaies, and impenitent sinners are punished, not onely with the losse of the sight of God, but with sense also of smart and misery, and that for euer. The second, is by them named, *Limbus puerorum*, where infants dying vnbaptized, and in the state of originall sinne, are supposed to be holden for euer, exiled from the presence of God and his holy ones, yet without all sensible smart or paine. The third (they imagine) is Purgatory, where they thinke the soules of good, but yet imperfect men, are punished, till they haue satisfied the wrath of God for sinnes committed in the time of their life, but not sufficiently repented of, nor satisfied for, while they liued. The fourth place, imagined by them, is *Limbus patrum*, wherein the soules of *Abraham*, *Isaake*, and *Iacob*, and all the iust, were holden till the comming of Christ, and kept from the sight and presence of God, yet without all sensible smart or griefe.

These being the different mansions of that place, wherein the soules of men are sequestered from the presence of God, comprehended all in a sort, vnder the name of Hell, as our Aduersaries fancie: the ordinary opinion of the Schoole-men heretofore was, g that Christs soule went locally onely into *Limbus patrum*, and not into any of the other mansions of hell, neither *Limbus puerorum*, Purgatory, nor the lowest hell: but that he descended into these places vertually onely, in that he made it appeare to all that were in them, that the worke of redemption was now wrought, by force whereof, they in Purgatorie, after full satisfaction should be receiued into Heauen: the rest, as well in *Limbus puerorum*, as in the lowest Hell, being excluded from all hope of bettering their estate, and left in endlesse misery with the Diuell and his Angels,

g *Thomas Summa part. 3. quæst. 52. art. 2.*

But

But [h] *Bellarmine* thinketh, hee went personally and locally into the place of the damned, euen into the lowest hell. These being the diuers and different opinions of men, touching the meaning of the Article of Christs descending into hell, let vs see what is to be resolued touching the same.

h *De animâ Christi lib. 4. cap. 16.*

It is true, according to the first and second opinion imputed by *Bellarmine* vnto the Protestants, that Christ dying, after a sort suffered the paines of hell, and being dead, was vnder the dominion of death three dayes: yet neither of these interpretations seemeth fitly to agree to the Article of our Faith: for that the hellish and bitter sufferings of Christ, are sufficiently expressed, in that he is said to haue suffered vnder *Pontius Pilate*, to haue beene crucified, and to haue dyed; and his being vnder the dominion of death, in that he is said to haue bene buried.

Wherefore the third opinion, which is, that he descended into the places of soules sequestered, and shut out from the presence of God, seemeth more truly to expresse the meaning of this Article; not vnderstanding that he went into Purgatory, *Limbus puerorum*, or *Limbus patrum*, but that hee descended into the lowest hell. For the three former imagined places are no where, and so no part of Hell into which Christ descended.

Of Purgatory, we finde nothing in the Scriptures, or in the writings of the most ancient Fathers, as I haue [i] elsewhere shewed. Of *Limbus puerorum*, we reade in *Augustine*, [k] but confuted and reiected by him, as an erroneous conceipt of the *Pelagians*, who imagined a third place betweene Heauen and Hell, and a third or middle estate betweene heauen happinesse, and the miseries of the lowest Hell, wherein men dying in the state of Nature onely, shall continue for euer, depriued of the happinesse of seeing God, but no way subiected to sensible smart and griefe.

i Booke. 3. chap. 17.

k *August. in Hypognostico resp. 5. Lib. 1. de peccator. merit. & remis. cap. 28. & Serm. 14. de verbis Apostoli.*

Of this it is, that Saint *Augustine* saith, hee hath heard of the right hand, and the left; of *Come yee blessed*, and *Goe yee cursed*; of *Sheepe* and *Goates*; of the kingdome of heauen, and hell where the Diuell and his Angels are euerlastingly punished: But of a third estate, of a third sort of men, or of a third place, he hath neuer heard or read, and therefore is verily perswaded there is no such.

Touching *Limbus patrum*, it is true, that some amongst the Ancient seeme to speake of some such thing: but we cannot perswade our selues that there is any such place, nor that Christ is to be vnderstood to haue descended thither, when in the Article of the Creede, he is said to haue descended into hell.

First, because, as Saint [l] *Augustine* fitly noteth, wee doe not finde in the Scripture, that the word Hell is euer vsed to expresse any

l *Epist. 99.*

other place, but a place of woe and misery: and therefore so direfull a word, vsed onely to note out vnto vs the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, cannot signifie that place where the soules of the iust did rest till the comming of Christ, named in the parable or history of the rich man and *Lazarus*, *Abrahams* bosome. Neither did *Augustine* euer learne any other lesson afterwards, as [m] some vntruly report that he did.

[m] In *Andrad. defens fidei Trident. lib. 2 fol. 175.*

Secondly, because we cannot conceiue what Christ did benefite the spirits of the iust, abiding in *Abrahams* bosome, when he went downe into Hell: *A quibus* (as Saint [n] *Augustine* rightly noteth) *secundum beatificam Diuinitatis præsentiam, nunquam recessit, sed quemadmodum apud Tartara semper fuit iudicante potentiâ, ita in paradiso, & sinu Abrahæ beatificante sapientiâ*; that is, from whom according to that presence of his Deity that maketh all them happy that do enioy it, he neuer departed, but as he was euer present in hell by his power iudging and fastning condemnation to the wofull inhabitants of that place of vtter darknesse, so he was alwaies in paradise, and in the bosome of *Abraham*, as that wisdome of God that filleth all with blessednesse, where it vouchsafeth to manifest it selfe. Christ therefore descended into Hell, according to the Article of the Creede, into the place of soules sequestered from the presence of GOD, into the place of damned soules, euen into the lowest Hell: for there are no soules or spirits of men sequestered from the presence of God, after the separation from the body, but the soules of wicked Cast-awaies; nor other place of soules so sequestered, but the prison of the lowest Hell.

[n] *Vbi Supra.*

The end of Christs going, and descending into the Hell of the damned, was not as [o] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and some other did thinke, to preach vnto the damned spirits, and to deliuer from thence such as should there beleeue in him, either all or any. For we must constantly resolue, that none were deliuered out of hel by Christs descēding, nor none there conuerted by his preaching, but that his descending was onely to fasten condemnation to the Diuell and his Angels, to triumph ouer the principalities of darknesse, to secure vs from being surprized by them, and to preuent our comming thither, not to fetch backe any that were there already. The places that are brought to proue that Christ preached in Hel, & sought the deliuerance either of all, or at the least of some of them he found there, are specially two. The first is that of the Apostle S. *Peter*: where he saith: [p] *The Gospell was preached to the dead, that they might be iudged according to men in the flesh, but liue according to God in the Spirit.* Here we see the Apostle speaketh of preaching vnto the dead; but he is to be vnderstood to speake of preaching to the dead, [q] that is, to such as were dead when he wrote, but not when the Gospell was preached vnto them: as we say, Christ shall iudge the quicke and dead, not as if any should be

[o] *Strom. lib. 6.*

[p] 1 Pet. 4. 6.

[q] *Andrad. defens fid. Trident. lib. 2 pag 173.*

be iudged being dead, but because manie of them that shall be iudged, are then dead when we speake of them, though they shall not be, when they shal come into iudgement: Or otherwise, that he speaketh of such as were dead in sinne, as [r] some interprete his words. The second place is that of the same Apostle, where he saith, that [t] *Christ in spirit went, & preached to the spirits in prison, sometimes disobedient in the dayes of Noe.* But, as S. [t] *Augustine* fitly noteth, this preaching of Christ in spirit mentioned by the Apostle, was not after his death in his humane Soule, but in the daies of Noe in his eternall Spirit, and Deitie. And as [u] *Andradius* rightly obserueth, they that he preached vnto, are named *spirits in prison*, because they were spirits in prison, when *Peter* wrote of thē, not when Christ preached to them; though, if they should be vnderstood to be named Spirits in prison, as being such when Christ preached vnto them, yet we might rightly conceiue as S. *Augustine* doth, that he preached to the Soules and Spirits of Men shut vp in the prison-house of their sinfull bodies, and the darke dungeons of ignorance, and sinne, and not in the prison of Hell.

r *Lyra & Glossa ordinaria in hūc locum.*

s 1. Pet. 3. 19. 20

t *Epist. 99.*

u *Defens. fid. Trident. li. 2. pag 172*

Thus then our Diuines denie the descending of Christ into Purgatorie, *Limbus puerorum*, and *Limbus Patrum*, perswading themselues that there are no such places. But his descending into the Hell of the damned they all acknowledge, though not to deliuer men thence, yet to fasten condemnation to them that are there, to bind Sathan the Prince of darknesse, that he may not preuaile against them that beleeue in Christ: and to keepe them from sinking downe into that deuouring pit, into which he went, & out of which he so triumphantly returned. Onely this difference may seeme to be amongst them, that some of them thinke he went personally and locally, others onely vertually, in power and operation: Which diuersitie of opinions is likewise amongst the Papists; *Bellarmine*, and some other in our time teaching, that he went locally into the lowest Hell: and the Schoolemen, that he went not locally into the lowest Hell, but vertually onely in the manifestation of his vertue, and power, and into *Limbus Patrum* locally and personally: so that all the controuersie betweene them and vs, standeth in two points; The descending of Christ into *Limbus Patrum*, and the suffering of Hellish paines. For whereas Cardinall [x] *Bellarmine* laboureth to proue a locall Hell, he busieth himselfe in vaine, no man denying it: But, saith he, *Beza*, and others do say, the words vsed in the Hebrew and Greeke *Sheol*, and ἅδης, do alwaies signifie the Graue in holie Scripture, and not Hell, whence it may seeme to follow, that there is no other Hell then the Graue: and so consequently, no locall Hell for damned soules.

x De *animâ Christi lib. 4. cap. 10.*

Surely this is a most vniust, and vntrue imputation. For *Beza*, and the other learned Diuines he speaketh of, do not affirme that *Sheol* and ἅδης do precisely and alwayes in holy Scripture signifie the graue, but as [y] *Arias Montanus*

y De *arcano sermone cap. 21.*

z Defens. fidei Trident. lib. 2. fol. 174.

Montanus, z *Andradius*, and ſundry other excellently learned amongſt our Aduerſaries do, that *Sheol*, which the *Septuagint* tranſlate ᾅδης, doth not preciſely, and immediatly ſignifie the place of damned ſoules, but in an indifferencie, and generality of ſignification noteth out vnto vs the receptacles of the dead: And that, ſeeing there are two parts that are ſundered one from another in them that are dead, there are likewiſe two kinds of receptacles of death, or dwelling places for them on whom death hath her full force: the one prouided for their bodies putrifying, and rotting, and the other for their ſoules tormented euerlaſtingly. So that, when theſe words, thus indifferently ſignifying either of theſe receptacles of death, do note out vnto vs the one, or the other of theſe two places, either the graue for the body, or hell for the ſoule, cannot be gathered out of the words themſelues, but the circumſtances of thoſe places of Scripture where they are vſed.

In like ſort they ſay, that the word *Nepheſh* tranſlated ψυχὴ and *anima* doth not alwayes ſignifie the ſpirituall ſubſtance of man that is immortall, but the whole perſon, the life, yea, and ſometimes that which hath bene aliue, though now dead, euen a dead carkaſſe: according as we reade in *Leuiticus*, where God pronounceth, that whoſoeuer toucheth a *Nepheſh*, that is, a dead corpes, ſhall be vncleane. And in this ſenſe it is, that b *Arias Montanus* tranſlateth not that place in the c *Pſalme*, *Non derelinques animam meam in inferno*, that is, *Thou ſhalt not leaue my ſoule in Hell*, but, *Non derelinques animam meam in ſepulchro*, that is, *Thou ſhalt not leaue my Soule, Life, or Perſon, or that Body that ſometimes was aliue, in the Graue.* For it cannot be vnderſtood that the reaſonable ſoule, or immortall Spirit of Chriſt was euer in the graue, either to be deliuered thence, or left there.

a Leuit. 21. 2. Numb. 19. 11.
b *Verſion. Interlinear. in Biblijs Regijs.*
c Pſal. 16. 11.

If it be ſayd, that the Greeke and Latine words vſed by the Tranſlators, ſignifie more preciſely Hell, and the reaſonable Soule or Spirit, then thoſe Hebrew words שאול, and נפש doe: we anſwere, that whatſoeuer their vſe and ſignification be in prophane Authors, yet they muſt be enlarged in the Scripture, to ſignifie all that which the Hebrew words do, that ſo the tranſlation may be true and full. d *Bellarmine*, to confute this explication, and conſtruction of the Hebrew words made by *Beza*, and the reſt, vrgeth, that the *Septuagint* neuer tranſlateth שאול by μνῆμα, which properly ſignifie the Graue, but by ᾅδης: and that therefore שאול doth not properly ſignifie the Graue. Hereunto we anſwer, that the word of it ſelfe being indifferent to ſignifie any receptacles of the dead, whether of their bodies or ſoules, muſt not be tranſlated by a word preciſely noting the graue, as τάφος doth: and that therefore it is not to be marueiled at, that the *Septuagint* neuer tranſlate the Hebrew word by this Greek word of a narrower compaſſe, and ſtraiter ſignification. Secondly we ſay, that ſeeing שאול, when (by the circumſtances of the places where it is vſed) it is reſtra-

d De anima Chriſti, lib. 4. cap. 10.

restrained to signifie only the place of dead bodies, yet doth not precisely note that fitting receptacle prouided for them to be layd in, as in their beds of rest, by the liuing, as τάφος doth, but any other receptacle whatsoeuer, euen of such as want that honorable kind of buriall, whether they be deuoured by wild beasts, swallowed vp of the sea, or receiued into any other place of stay and abode, till the time of the generall resurrection; the Translators vsed not the word τάφος, of too narrow compasse and straight signification, but the word ἅδης, enlarged by thē to expresse al that the Hebrew word importeth; & in this sense [e] *Iacob* said, he would go down mourning into שאול, or ἅδης to his son, not into a place of soules sequestred from God, or into hell, for he neuer thought his sonne to be gone thither; nor into the graue properly so named, for he thought his sonne had bene deuoured of a wild beast; but into the receptacles of the dead, and into the chambers of death, wherein there are many, and very different mansions. e Gen. 37. 35.

The words of this holy Patriarche, professing that he would go downe mourning to his sonne into שאול, or ἅδης, and the not obseruing of this generality of signification of the word שאול, but restraining it to note onely the receptacles of damned spirits, gaue occasion to some for to thinke, that the soules of the iust were in some part of hell, or at the least in some inuisible place farre from heauen, and within the confines of hell, till the resurrection of Christ, if not till the generall resurrection, and his returne, to iudge both the quicke and dead, as [f] *Irenæus*, [g] *Tertullian*, and others imagined. But howsoeuer the Greeke or Latine words may seeme to be restrained, to note onely the places of damned spirits, yet it is plaine and euident, that the Hebrew word שאול, signifieth any deuouring gulfe or pit, swallowing vp the dead, in that [h] *Kore*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, with their wiues, children, cattell, tents, and all that euer they had, went downe into שאול, which cannot be vnderstood to be precisely the place of damned spirits, vnlesse we will imagine, that sheepe, oxen, and tents may find any place amongst damned spirits.

f *Contra hæreses lib. 5. in fine.*
g *De anima, cap. 32.*
h Num. 16. 33.

The reason why our Diuines do so much vrge the generality of the signification of this word, and will not suffer it to be restrained to signifie onely the place of damned spirits, is, because the proprietie of the word admitteth no restraint, and there are many things in Scripture sayd to go downe into שאול, or to be in שאול, that cannot be vnderstood to haue gone into hell, or to be in hell; and not for that they denie Christs descending into the hell of the damned: for there is no Protestant but confesseth that Christ did virtually descend into hell, and many thinke he descended locally, and personally; which difference of opinions is also amongst the Papists. For [i] *Durandus* thinketh that Christ descended into no part of hell personally, or locally, but viitually onely: [k] The rest of the Schoolemen, for the most part suppose, that he descended locally into that part of hell

i *In 3. Sent. dist. 22. quæst. 3.*
k *Thom. Summe 3. parte quæst. 52. art. 2.*

Hell which they call *Limbus Patrum*, but into the Hell of the damned, and the other infernall mansions vertuallie onely. But [l] *Bellarmine* thinketh he went locallie into the lowest Hell, or Hell of the damned, moued so to thinke, as he saith, by the authoritie of the Fathers, that seeme to haue beene of that opinion. So that, as I said before, the onely difference betweene the *Romanists* and our Diuines about the descending of Christ into Hell, is, touching the suffering of Hellish paines, (whereof I haue spoken at large before, clearing the opinions of our Diuines in such sort, as I thinke our Aduersaries will not much resist against the same so vnderstood, as I haue shewed they must bee) and touching *Limbus Patrum*. Wherfore let vs proceed to take a view of the proofes they bring for confirmation of their *Limbus*.

l *De animâ Christi lib. 4. cap. 16.*

The first place that *Bellarmine* bringeth for confirmation thereof, is that in *Genesis*, where *Iacob* saith, [m] *I will descend or go downe mourning to my Sonne into* שאול. See, saith [n] *Bellarmine*, *Iacob* was a godlie man, and so was *Ioseph*, and yet neither of them went vp into heauen, but both descended into Hell. That they descended into שאול, that is, into the chambers of death, and receptacles of dead bodies, we make no question, but that they went into the Hell of the damned, or into anie region of darknesse neare vnto it, cannot be proued; howsoeuer some amongst the Ancient, deceiued by the Greeke and Latine words ἅδης and *Infernus*, vsed by the Translatours to expresse the force of the Hebrew word שאול, haue so thought. The second proofe that he bringeth is this. *Abraham* in the Gospell telleth the rich man in Hel, that betweene them there is [o] χάσμα, which signifieth such a separation as is by the renting of the earth, and diuiding of one part thereof from another; therfore there is no solide thing betweene them, and consequently, they were all in the same deuouring gulfe or pit. But this surely is a strange kind of proofe: for his owne friends, and followers vnderstand by this χάσμα, the immoueable decree of God, who will neuer suffer the one to passe to the other, & not litterally such a void, emptie and gaping distance, as the word doth properly signifie. Yea [p] *Maldonatus* is so farre from being perswaded by the bare signification of this one word, that *Abraham* and *Lazarus* were in the same deuouring gulfe with the rich man, that he saith, the place *Abraham* speaketh of, betweene which and Hell there is so great a distance, is heauen.

m Gen. 37. 35.
n De animâ Christi, lib. 4. c. 11
o Luke 16. 26
p In eum locum.

Whereunto *Augustine* seemeth in part to consent, who [q] pronounceth that he could neuer find, that *Abrahams* bosome, wherein *Lazarus* rested, was anie part of Hell.

q Epist. 99.

Wherfore it is absurd to imagine vpon the bare and onely signification of the word χάσμα, that *Abraham*, and the rich man in Hell, were in the same pit, diuided onely by an emptie gulfe betweene them; seeing [r] *Tertullian* a verie Ancient writer, that knew

r Aduersus Marcionem, lib. 4.

knew the force of this word, as well as *Bellarmine*, affirmeth, notwithstanding any thing that may be inferred frō thence, that *Abrahams* bosome is on high, farre aboue those infernall dwellings of the damned. Whereunto that in the *Prouerbs* agreeth, [u] *The way of life is on high to the prudent, to auoide from Hell beneath.* u Pro. 15. 24.

The next place that the Iesuite bringeth to proue *Limbus*, is that of [x] *Samuel*, whom the *Pythoniſſe* raiſed, when *Saul* conſulted her, being deſtitute of other meanes of direction. But this place of all other maketh leaſt to the purpoſe, it being very doubtfull, whether it were true *Samuel* that appeared, or Sathan taking vnto him a body, and comming forth in the likeneſſe of *Samuel*. But let vs ſuppoſe it was true *Samuel*: could not his Soule returne from ſome other place as well as out of *Limbus*? No doubt it might: and that which *Bellarmine* hath, that the Soule of *Samuel* appearing vnto *Saul*, ſeemed to come out of the earth, and conſequently out of *Limbus*, is a very ſilly conceipt; for what eye could ſee and diſcerne *Samuels* Soule? But ſaith he, *Samuel* appearing told *Saul* a wicked & godleſſe man, that he ſhould be with him very ſhortly: therefore he was in ſome region of Hell, and not in Heauen, ſeeing this wicked King could not goe to him into Heauen. We need not ſeeke far for anſwere to this obiection; for the ordinarie [y] Gloſſe doth excellently anſwere it, ſaying, that if theſe were not the words of a lying Spirit, they may be vnderſtood in reſpect of the common condition of death, not in reſpect of the ſame place, there being ſo great a diſtance betweene them, and ſo ſurely ſettled and eſtabliſhed. x 1 Sam. 28. y *In hunc locum*

Touching this appearing *Samuel*, I find great difference of opinions amongſt Diuines: ſome thinking it was true *Samuel* the Man of God; others, a lying Spirit in his likeneſſe. *Lyra* in his annotations vpon the *firſt of Kings, Chapter twenty eighth*, putteth downe the reaſons brought on both ſides, and firſt, that it was the true *Samuel*, he ſheweth that theſe reaſons are commonly brought.

Firſt, becauſe the Scripture ſpeaketh of him, as of his very perſon, not of any counterfeit likeneſſe of him, calling him, not once, but often, by the name of *Samuel*.

Secondly, for that it had bene a great diſhonour and irreuerence offered to *Samuel*, if ſo often the Diuell ſhould haue bene called by his name in holy Scripture.

Laſtly, for that it is ſaid in *Eccleſiaſticus*, in the praiſe of *Samuel* the Prophet of God, that [z] he propheſied after his death, that he afterwards ſlept againe, and that he made knowne to King *Saul* his end, and the ouerthrow of his armies, which prediction is not to be imputed to a lying Spirit, ſeeing he ſo certainely foretold what was to come to paſſe. On the other ſide, he produceth theſe proofes. Firſt the Gloſſe vpon the twenty ninth of *Eſay* ſaith, the *Pythoniſſe* did not raiſe *Samuel*, but euocated & cal- z Eccluſ. 46. 20

led

led out the Diuell in his likeneſſe.

Secondly, it is not likely, that God, who would not anſwere *Saul* by liuing Prophets, would ſend any from the dead to aduiſe or direct him.

Thirdly, he that appeared vnto *Saul* ſayd vnto him, *To morrow thou ſhalt be with me*; but *Saul* as a wicked man was to be in Hell the place of torments: therefore he that appeared was ſo.

Fourthly, he that appeared ſuffered *Saul* to worſhip him, which true *Samuel* would not haue done, ſeeing God onely is to be worſhipped.

Fifthly, if it were true *Samuel* that appeared; either he was raiſed by diuine power, or by the power of magicall incantations: if by diuine power, God ſhould very much haue fauoured magicall arts, if at the inuocation of this *Pythoniſſe* he had wrought ſuch a miracle: if by the power of Magicke, then was he raiſed by the Diuell: and that either with his conſent, and then he had done euill, which he could not do: or without his conſent, which could not be, ſeeing the Diuell hath no power to force the Saints of God after their death, and departure hence.

Laſtly, he alledgeth the authority of [a] *Auguſtine*, who bringing the reaſons on both ſides, in the end inclineth rather to this later opinion: and that in the [b] *Decrees, Cap. Nec mirum, &c.* adding, that if that decree taken out of *Auguſtine* be the decree of the Church, no man may thinke otherwiſe; but if it be not (as he thinketh it is not, becauſe *Auguſtine*, out of whom it was taken, diſputeth the matter doubtfully, and many of the Diuines ſince the compiling of that decree, are of another opinion, which they ought not to be, if it were the decree of the Church) he rather thinketh it was true *Samuel* that appeared, then any counterfeit in his likeneſſe. If any man deſire to ſee the different opinions of the Fathers touching this point, let him reade *Tertullian* in his booke *de Anima*, the 33. Chapter, and the annotations vpon the ſame place of *Tertullian*. But howſoeuer, whether it were true *Samuel* that appeared vnto *Saul*, or a counterfeit in his likeneſſe, I hope it is cleare and euident out of that which hath bene ſayd, that this apparition no way proueth the imagined *Limbus* of the Papiſts. There remaine yet two other places of Scripture to be examined, that are brought for confirmation of the ſame, but yeelding as little proofe as this. The one is in the propheſies of *Zacharie*, the other in the Epiſtle of S. *Peter*. The words in the former place according to the Vulgar tranſlation are theſe: [c] *Thou in the bloud of thy teſtament, haſt deliuered thy priſoners, out of the Lake wherein there is no water.* But in the Originall the words are otherwiſe, and [d] *Arias Montanus* tranſlateth the place otherwiſe in this ſort, *And thou*, to wit, *Ieruſalem, in the bloud of thy teſtament*, that is, *ſprinkled with the bloud of thy teſtament, reioyce and be glad, I haue diſmiſſed thy priſoners, out of the lake wherein there is no water.* So that theſe words, *Thou in the bloud of thy teſtament*, are not applicable vnto Chriſt, but to *Hieruſalem*; and the other, touching the diſmiſſing of the

a *Ad Simplicianum.*

b *Part. 2. cauſa, 26. quæſt. 5. cap. Nec mirum.*

c Zach. 9. 11.

d *In verſione interlineari.*

the prisoners out of the lake wherein is no water, vnto God the Father, who speaketh in this place to *Hierusalem*, concerning Christ her King, and comforteth her, saying: *Reioyce, ô Daughter of Sion: be glad, ô Daughter of Hierusalem; for behold, thy King commeth vnto thee meeke, and riding on an Asse vsed to the yoke, and the sole of an Asse. I will destroy the Chariot from Ephraim, & the Horse from Hierusalem: He shall destroy the bowes of the fighters, and the multitude: and publish peace to the nations. He shall rule from Sea to Sea, and from the riuer to the end of the Land; And thou,* to wit, *Hierusalem, in the bloud of thy testament*, that is, *Sprinkled with the bloud of thy testament, reioyce and be glad. I haue dismissed thy Prisoners out of the Lake, wherein there is noe water.*

Thus we see this place according to the Originall veritie and the translation of *Arias Montanus*, maketh nothing for the confirmation of that for proofe whereof it is brought. Yea, though we should follow the Vulgar Translation, and take the words to be spoken by Almightie God to Christ his Sonne, yet could not our Aduersaries proue *Limbus* out of this place.

For the Author of the Glosse, and manie other, following the Vulgar Translation, vnderstand these words of the deliuerance of the people of God, out of the captiuitie of *Babylon*, which was as a deepe pit, hauing in it no water, but mire, wherein their feet stucke fast. And [e] *Hierome* himselfe, though he vnderstand the words of Christs descending into Hell, yet mentioneth the other interpretation also in the same place, not much disliking it.

[e] *In eum locum.*

Neither doth his interpretation of Christs descending into Hell proue *Limbus*. For he speaketh of the prison of Hell, where is no mercie, and calleth it a cruell, or fearefull Hell; and not of *Limbus Patrum*, or *Abrahams* bosome. *Bellarmine*, cunningly after his manner, to discredit our interpretation of deliuerance out of *Babylonicall* captiuitie, maketh, as if *Caluine* onlie had expounded the words of the holie Prophet in that sort; whereas yet manie excellent Diuines, long before *Caluine* was borne, interpreted them in the verie same sort, as we doe. But if the challenge of noueltie faile, he betaketh himselfe to another of absurditie, and improbabilitie, pronouncing that our interpretation hath no probabilitie: first, because in the words immediately going before, there is a prophesie concerning Christ, vttered vnto *Hierusalem* in these words: *Reioyce, ô Daughter of Sion: for behold thy King commeth &c.* Which the Euangelists expound of Christs comming into *Hierusalem*: and then secondlie, an apostrophe to Christ in the words questioned. But first heerein he is deceiued: for the speech of Almightie God to his Church, begunne in the former words, is still continued in these, shewing, what fauours for Christs sake he had, and still meant to bestowe on her: whereas according to the Translation they follow, there is first a speech directed to the

Church

Church concerning Christ, then an Apostrophe to Christ, and then thirdly a returne vnto the Church againe. Secondly, if that were graunted, which he vrgeth touching the supposed Apostrophe, it would not proue that there is no probabilitie in our interpretation. For this consequence will neuer be made good in the Schooles: Christ is prophesied of in the words immediatly going before, and in these words God speaketh vnto him by way of Apostrophe; therfore they cannot be vnderstood of deliuerance out of *Babylonicall* captiuitie; seing it is certaine, that Christ deliuered the *Israelites* out of all the miseries, out of which they escaped. But, saith *Bellarmine*, if we admit this interpretation, in what bloud of the couenant may we vnderstand the *Iewes* to haue bene deliuered out of *Babylonicall* captiuitie? Surelie, this question is soone answered. For their deliuerance out of the hands of their enemies, and all other benefits, were bestowed on them by vertue of the couenant betweene God and them, which was to be established in the bloud of Christ; in figure whereof, all holie things among the *Iewes* were sprinkled with bloud, as the Booke of the couenant, the Altar, the Sanctuarie, & People. Wherfore seeing this place maketh nothing for the confirmation of the Popish errour, touching *Limbus*, let vs come to the last place brought for proofe thereof, which is that of S. *Peter* concerning [f] Christs going in spirit, and preaching to the spirits in prison: and see, whether from thence it may be proued anie better. [g] S. *Augustine* vnderstandeth the words of the Apostle, as I noted before, of Christs preaching in the daies of Noe, in his eternall Spirit of Deitie, and not of preaching in Hell, in his humane Soule after death: but this interpretation of S. *Augustine*, first *Bellarmine* reiecteth as contrarie to the Fathers; and secondly indeuoureth to improue it by weakening the reasons brought to confirme it, and by opposing certaine reasons against it. The first of the Fathers that he alledgeth, is [h] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who indeed vnderstandeth the words of S. *Peter*, not as S. *Augustine* doth, but of Christ preaching in Hell after his death in his humane Soule; but, not conceiuing to what purpose preaching should serue in Hell, if there were not intended the conuersion and saluing of some there, he runneth into a most grosse and dangerous errour, condemned and reiected as well by *Bellarmine*, and his companions, as by vs: so that his authoritie, as contrarie to *Augustine*'s interpretation, needed not to haue beene alledged, nor would not haue bene, if *Bellarmine* had meant sincerely. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* affirmeth, as he well knoweth, that so manie Infidels as beleeued in Christ and listened to the words of his preaching when he came into Hell, were deliuered thence, and made partakers of euerlasting saluation: against which errour, himselfe being iudge, S. *Augustine* not without good cause disputeth in his epistle to *Euodius*. The second ancient writer that he produceth for proofe of Christs preaching in Hell after

f 1. Pet. 1. 19. 20.

g *Epist. 99.*

h *Stromat. lib. 6.*

after his death, is [i] *Athanasius*, who indeed doth expound the words of *Peter*, of Christs going in Soule to preach in Hell after his death; but no way expresseth in what sort, to whom, to what purpose, or with what successe he preached. [k] *Epiphanius*, whom he produceth in the third place, doth not so interprete the words of *Peter* himselfe; but onely vpon another occasion citeth the epistle of *Athanasius* to *Epictetus*, wherein he doth so interprete them. So that the authoritie of *Epiphanius* might haue bene spared.

i *Epist. ad Epictetum.*

k *Hæres. 77.*

Ruffinus in his explicatiõ of the Creed, interpreteth the words of *Peter*, as *Athanasius* doth. [l] *Cyrill* in the place cited by *Bellarmine*, speaketh of Christs preaching to the spirits in Hell, but saith nothing in particular of this place of *Peter*. [m] S. *Ambrose* doth not speake of this place, but that other of preaching the Gospell to the dead.

l *Lib. de recta fide ad Theodosiũ, & lib. 12. in Ioannem cap. 36.*

m *In cap. 10. ad Romanos.*

So that there are no moe Ancient writers cited by *Bellarmine*, that doe precisely interprete this place of *Peter*, of Christs preaching in Hell in his humane soule after death, but onely *Clemens*, *Athanasius*, *Ruffinus*, and *Oecumenius*. On the other side we haue S. *Augustine*, *Beda*, the authors of the Ordinarie and Interlineall Glosses, *Lyra*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, and other, interpreting the words as we doe: so that our Aduersaries haue no great aduantage in respect of the number of Interpreters: and yet if they had, it would not helpe them for confirmation of their supposed *Limbus*, seeing some of the Fathers cited by him, as namelie *Clemens Alexandrinus*, speake directly of preaching in the lowest Hell, for the conuersion of Infidels; which they dislike as much as we. Wherefore let vs proceed to examine the reasons that are brought either of the one side or the other, to confirme their seuerall interpretations of these words; and let vs see how *Bellarmine* weakneth the reasons brought by S. *Augustine*, and improueth his interpretation by reasons brought against it. The first reason whereby S. *Augustine* confirmeth his interpretation, is, for that mortification in the flesh, and viuification in the Spirit mentioned by the Apostle, cannot be vnderstood of the bodie and Soule, of Christ, as they that follow the other interpretation do vnderstand them, seeing Christ neuer dying in soule, could not be said to be quickned in it.

Besides that, the verie phrase of the Scripture opposing flesh and Spirit in Christ, doth euer import the infirmitie of his humane nature, and the power of his Deitie: and in other men, that part that is renued by the sanctification of the Spirit, and that which is not yet so renued. Against the former part of this reason of S. *Augustine*, *Bellarmine* opposeth himselfe, saying that it is not good: seeing a thing may be said to be quickned that was neuer dead, if it be preserued from dying, & kept aliue. But he should know, that onelie those things may be said to be quickned, in that they were preserued from dying, which otherwise, if they had not bene so preserued, might haue bene killed, or died of themselues. Which cannot

be verified of the Soule of Christ, that could neither die of it selfe, nor be killed by anie other; and therefore the Soule of Christ cannot be said to be quickned in this sense.

The place in the seauenth of the *Acts*, brought by *Bellarmine* to proue, that those things may be said to be quickned, that were neuer dead, besides that it is nothing to the purpose, is strangely wrested. For S. *Stephen* in that place speaketh nothing of viuification or quickening in that sense we now speake of it, but of multiplying, and increasing; saying that

n Act. 7. 18. n *After the death of Ioseph, there rose vp another King in Egypt, that knew not Ioseph, who cuill intreated our Fathers, & made them cast out their infants, that new borne children*, ὥστε τὰ μὴ ζωογονεῖσθαι; that is, that they should not increase, and multiplie: and therefore *Bellarmine* should not in reason so haue pressed the Latine word of viuification vsed by the Vulgar translator, seeing the Originall importeth no such thing as he indeauoureth to proue. But to take away all doubt touching the words of *Peter*; there is a decree of the o *Tridentine* Councell, that the *Romanists* in all their disputations, readings, & sermons shall vse the Vulgar translation, and no way dare to refuse the authoritie of it vnder anie pretence whatsoeuer. Now in the ordinarie readings of the Vulgar Translation, the words of the Apostle do lie in this sort; *Christ died for sinners, the iust for the vniust, that he might offer vs to God, mortified in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit: in which Spirit he went and preached, &c.* So that according to this reading, the Apostle speaketh not of Christs quickening, but of our quickning in the Spirit, which cannot be vnderstood of the humane Soule of Christ, but of the Spirit of sanctificatiõ: whence it followeth, that Christ going to preach in that Spirit, by the force whereof we are quickened, & made aliue from the death of sin, went in his eternal spirit of Deity, & not in his humane Soule.

o *Sess.* 4. Decret. *de editione & vsu sacrorum Librorum.*

But, saith *Bellarmine*, it cannot be said properly, but Metaphorically onely, that Christ did goe in his eternall Spirit of Deitie to preach to the old world. Suppose it to be so: Is it so strange a thing, that such locall motions should be Metaphoricallie attributed vnto God, that we should thereupon denie the going of Christ to preach, to haue bene in his eternall Spirit of Deitie? Do we not often reade in Scripture of Gods comming downe to see what things are done on earth? But it is hard to vnderstand by Spirits in prison, the soules of men shut vp in the prisons of their bodies, and in the darke dungeons of ignorance and impietie, as *Augustine* doth, and therefore we must not follow his interpretation. Surelie, it is true that it is something hard to vnderstand these words of the Apostle, as S *Augustine* doth, and therefore we rather follow the interpretation of p *Andradius* before mentioned, who expounded the words of the Apostle so as *Augustine* doth, saue that he thinketh that they to whom Christ preached in his eternall Spirit in the daies of *Noe*, are named spirits in prison, not for that they were so when he preached to them

p *Defens. fidei Trident. lib.* 2. *fo.* 172.

them, but when *Peter* wrote of them. Thus we see, the Cardinall hath not yet greatlie weakned anie of *Augustines* reasons.

One reason more S. *Augustine* hath, so forcible and strong, to confirme the interpretation he followeth, that I thinke the Iesuite will hardlie be able to say much against it: If the Apostle (saith S. *Augustine*) had meant to describe the descending of Christ in his humane soule to deliuer the Patriarches, he would not haue expressed his meaning by saying, *He went & preached to the Spirits in prison sometimes disobedient in the daies of Noe*: for, to say, as *Bellarmine* doth, that Christ went and preached only to the good spirits in *Limbus*, but that the Apostle describing the same, nameth the disobediēt in the daies of *Noe*, lest it might be thought that they all perished, is friuolous; seeing there was no reason, why the Apostle in describing the descending of Christ into *Limbus*, should be so carefull to let all men know, that they did not all perish that contemned the preaching of *Noe*: and besides, if the Apostle had meant anie such thing, he would haue added, that howsoeuer these men were disobediēt for a time, yet they did afterwards repent, obeying the voice of God speaking by the mouth of *Noe*. If anie man shall aske, as *Bellarmine* doth, why *Peter* should mention Christs preaching in his eternal Spirit to them in the daies of *Noe*, more then to them in the daies of *Abraham*, or *Moses*: the answere is easie: for therefore doth he mention them, rather then anie other, because they that liued before the floud, were men of another world, and are named the old world, and it was the greatest mutation of the world that euer was before or since, that followed vpon the refusall of Christs preaching by the mouth of *Noe*, who was the same then, that he is now: the same yesterday, and to day, and for euer.

That which the Cardinall hath in the conclusion, that the Fathers generally beleeued that Christ descended into Hell, we thinke to be most true: but that the soules of all the iust were in Hell, till the resurrection of Christ, and then deliuered thence, is not the opinion of the Fathers. For *q Augustine* clearly denieth that the spirits of the iust, dying before Christ were in Hell, till the comming of Christ; and touching the rest of them, some thought, that the Spirits of the iust are and shall bee in a place of sequestration, separate from the presence of God, till the generall resurrection: so that according to their opinion, Christ by descending into Hell did not deliuer them from thence: of which opinion we find *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and some others to haue bene. Some there were that thought, that Christ deliuered out of the lowest Hell, such as beleeued in him when he came thither: & some, that he went not to Hell to deliuer anie from thence, but to preserue and keepe such from going thither, as otherwise should haue gone thither, if by vertue of his descending they had not bene preserued from falling into that hideous and deuouring gulfe. So that, though it were euer most certainely resolued, that Christ descended

q Loco citato.

ſcended into Hell, to triumph ouer the Prince of darkneſſe, to faſten condemnation to the Diuell and his Angels, and to preſerue all beleeuers and faithfull ones from falling into the pitte of deſtruction; yet, as it appeareth by *Auguſtines* epiſtle to *Euodius*, there was noe certaine reſolution amongſt the Ancient, whether Chriſt deliuered anie, or all; or whom he deliuered, if anie, when he went into Hell.

CHAP. 20.

Of the Merit of Chriſt: of his not meriting for himſelfe, and his meriting for vs.

HAVING ſpoken ſufficiently of the ſufferings of Chriſt, and his deſcending into Hell, it remaineth that in the next place we come to ſpeake of his merit; where we muſt obſerue three things. Firſt, whether he might or did merit. Secõdlie, whether he merited for himſelfe. Thirdlie, how, and *in* what ſort he merited for vs.

The firſt of theſe queſtions is mouued, becauſe Chriſt being *in termino*, and *comprehenſor*, that is, in poſſeſſion of all deſired bleſſednes, and ſeeing God face to face, euen while he liued heere, may ſeeme to haue bene *extra ſtatum merendi*, that is, in ſuch a ſtate and condition, wherein there is no place for merit, and ſo not to haue merited: to merit being proper to them, that are *viatores*, that is, men iourneying towards the poſſeſſion of Heauen-happines not yet attained.

Wherfore, for the clearing of this point the Diuines do note, [a] that Chriſt in his humane nature, in the daies of his fleſh, was both *Viator* and *Comprehenſor*; *in termino*, and *extra terminum*: that is, both a man iourneying towards heauen-happineſſe, and one that had alreadie attained it: being alreadie come to the vttermoſt bound of all his deſires, and yet in a ſort not being come vnto it, becauſe, howſoeuer he was perfectlie ioyned with God *affectione iuſtitiæ*, that is, with that affection that yeeldeth vnto God the praiſe, honour, and loue that is due vnto him, and ſaw him face to face with cleare & perfect viſion: yet he was not ſo fullie ioyned to him, as he is to be enioyed *affectione commodi*, that is, with that affection that ſeeketh after pleaſing delight: but that he ſuffred manie bitter, grieuous, and vnpleaſant things, faſting, watching, weeping and wearying himſelfe; in all which reſpects being *extra terminum*, that is, not yet come to the vttermoſt extent and bound of that is deſired, he was in ſtate of meriting. But, becauſe the enduring of theſe bitter, grieuous, and afflictiue euils may ſeeme rather to pertaine to the nature of ſatisfaction, then merit, therefore they adde, that howſoeuer in reſpect of the perfection of his Diuine and Heauenlie vertues, he

[a] *Scotus in 3. Sent. diſt. 18. queſt. vnica.*

were

were *in termino*, that is, come to the vttermost bound, and extent thereof, yet in the expressing of the actions of them, he fitte himselfe to the condition of men heere below, as appeared in the actions of his loue and obedience in that he gaue himselfe for the pacifying of his Fathers wrath, the satisfying of his iustice, and the promeriting of our good: and besides, he had the actions of manie vertues that are proper to the conuersation of this world; and whereof there is no vse in heauen, or in heauen-happinesse, but in the way and iourney towards heauen: as Temperance, Sobrietie, Fortitude, Patience, and the Obseruation of the ceremoniall, and iudiciall law; in which respect he may verie properlie be said to haue bene in a state of meriting, and to haue merited.

Wherefore presupposing that Christ might and did merit, let vs see whether he merited anie thing for himselfe. The [b] Papists impute, I know not wat impietie to *Caluine*, becausse he saith, Christ merited not for himselfe, but for vs onely; and vrge against him that saying of the Apostle, when he saith, that [c] *Christ humbled himselfe, and was made obedient vnto death, euen the death of the Crosse, and that therfore God exalted him, and gaue him a name aboue euerie name.*

b *Bellarmin. de Christo Mediatore li. 5. cap. 9.*
c *Philip. 2. 8.*

Wherfore let vs take a view of that they teach touching this point, that so we may the better discerne, whether *Caluine* be iustly blamed by them, or not. The Shoolemen generallie agree, that Christ neither did, nor could merit the grace of personall vnion, the habituall perfections of his humane Soule, or the vision of God, becausse he possessed all these from the beginning, and it would haue bene a matter of more imperfection to haue wanted anie of them at the first, then of perfection to haue gotten them by merit afterwards: Yet the [d] *Master* of *Sentences*, and others resolue, that he did procure vnto himselfe by his merit the impassibilitie, and glorification of his bodie. But [e] *Scotus* verie acutely and wittily obiecteth against them that so thinke, that Christ cannot be said to haue merited the impassibilitie and glorification of his bodie, becausse they would haue beene found in it from the verie first instant of the vnion of the Natures of God and Man in him by vertue of that vnion, before anie act of his, had not the naturall consequence and flowing of them from that vnion beene staied and hindered by speciall dispensation, for the working of our saluation: and therfore he saith, that if we will defend the *Master* of *Sentences* from errour in this point, we must so construe his words, as that Christ did not directly merit glorification and impassibilitie, but onely the remouing of that miraculous stay of the naturall redundance of glorie from his Soule, filled with the happie vision of his Deitie, into his bodie.

d *Lib. 3. dist. 18.*
e *Scotus in 3. dist. 18.*

But surely this fauourable construction will not helpe the matter: for seeing the miraculous stay of the redundance of glorie from the Soule of Christ into his bodie, was of it selfe to cease, when that should be performed,

fourmed, for the effecting whereof such stay was made, he could no more merit such remoue of stay then the glorie it selfe, that in respect of the grace of personall vnion, would as naturallie haue bene communicated to his bodie, as it was in his Soule, had not God for speciall purpose staied and hindered such redundance.

So that we shall find, that howsoeuer the Papists do presse certaine testimonies of Scripture, as if they would proue out of them, that Christ merited the name aboue all names, and the fulnesse of all power both in heauen and in earth, which he could no more merit then to be God; yet in the end they are forced to confesse, (so great is the trueth which will euer preuaile) that he neither merited the personall vnion of his two natures, the perfection of his habituall graces, the vision of God, nor the glorification of his bodie, but onely the remouing of that stay and impediment, that hindered the flowing of glorie from his soule into his bodie, and finding, that this stay or hinderance was to cease of it selfe, so soone as the worke of our Redemption should be wrought, and consequently, that he could not merit it, they flie for helpe to a distinction of merits, which they make to be of three sorts,

[f] *f Bonauent. in Sent. lib. 3. dist. 18. quest. 2.*

For [f] there is, as they say, one kind of merite, that maketh a thing due that was not due before; another, that maketh a thing more due then it was before; and a third, that maketh a thing more waies due then at first it was. The two first kinds of merit, they confesse, did not agree to Christ, there being nothing that was not due vnto him in as high degree in the beginning, as euer it was afterwards.

But they say, that he merited in the third sort or kind, in that he made those things that were due vnto him as consequents of the personall vnion of his two natures, to be due vnto him as a reward of his passion.

This truely is a verie sily euasion; seeing that cannot be a reward of a mans labours, that was due to him in as high degree before, as after his worke is done. He that laboureth in the field or vineyard of another man, and she that nourisheth a child that is not her owne, trauaile both in hope of reward, but that reward must of necessitie be some thing that was not due to them before such trauaile: yea, he that dresseth his owne vine, and she that nourisheth her owne children, looke to the recompense of reward; but that reward is no other thing, but the prosperitie and increase of their fields and vineyards, and the grouth of their children, like the Oliue braunches round about their table; which, without such paines and trauaile, they could not looke for. In like sort, a Man may say to his child; this land shall be the reward of thy dutyfull behauiour; if he haue power to put it from him, if his behauiour be not dutiefull: but if he haue not, it is ridiculous to promise it as a reward, seeing a reward is euer some good to be gained by our weldoing or patient suffering, counteruailing the difficultie in doing, and bitternesse in suffering.

It is

It is therefore most absurd, that anie thing which is a mans owne, in as ample sort before he begin his worke as after he hath done it, should be the reward of his worke.

But some man perhaps will say, that a thing that was due in respect of the habit resting in the mind, may become due in respect of the Act alone: & consequently, that that which was due one way, may become more waies due. Surelie we make no question but it may, because it was due to the Habit as to the Roote of such action, when occasion should be offered, and opportunitie serue, and not otherwise. But seeing in Christ, the glorificatiō and impassibilitie of his bodie was due vnto him as a consequent of personall vnion, and not of anie habituall qualitie, or habit inclining and fitting vnto action, therefore that could not become due to anie action of Christ, that was due vnto him in respect of some former thing, as that may be due to the action of a Man, that was formelie due to the habit that is the roote of such action.

The places of Scripture that are brought to proue, that Christ merited for himselfe, are specially two: for though there be a third, as pregnant as anie of the other, in the first to the *Hebrues*, where it is said of Christ, *Thou hast loued righteousnes, and hated iniquitie: therfore God, euen thy God hath annointed thee with the oyle of Gladnesse aboue thy fellowes:* yet do they not much stand vpon it, because, if it proue anie thing, it proueth that Christ merited the grace of vnction, which they denie, who teach that Christ merited for himselfe. g Heb. 1.9.

The first of the two places alleaged to proue that Christ merited for himselfe, is in the second to the *Hebrues*: where the Apostle saith, h *We see Iesus for the passion of death, crowned with glorie and honour.* But the words, as some thinke, are not so to be read, but to be placed in this sort: *We see Iesus, who was for a little while made lower then the Angels, for the passion of death*, that is, that he might suffer death, *crowned with glorie and honour*; so expressing the finall cause of his humiliation, and not the meritorious cause of his exaltation. This coniecture is made exceeding probable by those words added by the Apostle, *that he might taste of death*: which otherwise haue no coherence with anie part of his speech. The second place that they bring, is that of the second to the *Philippians*: The words are these: i *Christ humbled himselfe, and became obedient vnto the death, euen the death of the crosse: Wherefore God hath also highly exalted him, and giuen him a name aboue euerie name, &c.* This place, as k *Hugo de S. Victore* hath fitly noted, importeth, that the humiliation of the Sonne of God becōming Man, was the cause of the exaltatiō of the nature of Man: for when he personally assumed the nature of Man, & became Man, Man became God almightie, hauing all power, and a name aboue all names: according to that of *Leo*, l *Diuinæ maiestatis exinanitio, servilis formæ in summa prouectio est*; that is, The abasing of the Diuine Maiestie, and Person of the h Hebr. 2.9.

i Philip. 2.8.9.

k Hugo de S. Victore de Sacram. fidei, lib. 2. part. 1. cap. 6.

l Leo Serm. 12.

Sonne of God, is the high aduancing and exaltation of the forme of a Seruant: and therefore he addeth, that *Ex quo Deus cœpit esse homo, & homo cœpit esse Deus; Deus cœpit esse homo subiectus, & homo cœpit esse Deus perfectus. Si Deus humiliatus est quantum potuit in homine, homo sublimatus non est quantum potuit in Deo?* that is, When God began to be Man, and Man began to be God; God began to be a Man in subiection and humilitie, and Man to be God in the heighth of perfection: For if God were humbled, as much as he might be, in that he became Man; was not Man exalted, as much as he might be, in that he became God? God was humbled, when first he became Man, *In quantum homo, dignitate; in quantum bonus, voluntate*: that is, in that a Man, in condition and state, in that a good man, in will and mind: but manifested the same more specially in his passion: Likewise the Man Christ was exalted, when he was borne the Sonne of God, but manifested the same more specially after his resurrection then before.

For we must not thinke, that the Man Christ did then first receive the full, and perfect power of Deitie, when he sayd, [m] *All power is giuen me in heauen and in earth:* seeing before the vttering of those words, he commanded the Diuels, had the Angels to do him seruice, and made the very elements of the world to bow and bend at his pleasure.

m Matth. 28. 18.

Wherefore this place is vnaduisedly brought by our Aduersaries, to proue that Christ merited for himselfe, it being most cleare and euident, that the name aboue all names mentioned in this place, which is the name of God Almightie, was giuen to the Sonne of God *donatione naturali*, that is, by naturall communication, when he was begotten of his Father before all eternitie, and to the Man Christ *donatione gratuita*, that is, by free gift, when God was made Man, and Man became God, as the ordinarie Glosse vpon these words fitly obserueth: and so could no more be merited by the passion of Christ, then it was possible for him to do any thing whereby to merit to be God.

And hereupon [n] *Caluine* rightly asketh (which all the Papists in the world are not able to answere) *Quibus meritis assequi potuit homo vt iudex esset mundi, caput Angelorum, atque vt potiretur summo Dei imperio?* that is, by what merites could man attaine to be Iudge of the world, Head of Angels, and to haue the highest authoritie and power of God?

n *Caluin. Instit. lib. 2. cap. 17.*

But some man will say, that Christ pronounceth, [o] *it was necessarie that he should suffer, and so enter into his glorie*; and that therefore it seemeth, he could not haue entered into it, vnlesse he had suffered. *Quomodo ergo suam* (sayth *Hugo*) *si oportuit? & quomodo oportuit, si suam? Si gloria eius fuit, quomodo vt ad illam intraret, pati oportuit? Sed suam propter se; oportuit propter nos:* that is, Howe then was it his glorie, if he could not enter into it, vnlesse he suffered? and how was it necessary that he should suffer to enter into it, if it were his?

o Luke 24. 26.

Surely,

Surely it was his in respect of himselfe; and it was necessary he should enter into it by suffering, onely in respect of vs. For Christ truly, if he had pleased, might haue entred into his glory some other way, and haue receiued it in what sort he would, euen as he needed neuer to haue wanted it, vnlesse he had pleased: but he would for our sakes by punishment enter into his glory, that dying he might take away the feare of death, and rising againe he might restore vnto vs the hope of glorification: he would not go any other way, because we could not go any other way; we would, but could not; he could, but would not: *Quia, si aliter iuisset, peruenisset, sed non subuenisset*: that is, because if he had gone any other way, he might haue entred in himselfe, but could not haue brought vs in with him.

There is nothing therefore that Christ gained to himselfe by his passion, but that he was made an example of suffering to all that beleeue in him, and a cause of glorification to all them that suffer with him, that they may be glorified with him: but what did this profite him? He went before, and we all follow him: whose good is this? I finde men out of the way, I go before them to shew them the way, and all follow me; what doth it profite me? I knew the way, and could haue gone it by my selfe alone: *Sed non esset causa pergendi, nisi compassio esset subueniendi*: that is, but there were no cause of my going, if the compassionate consideration of such as know not the way, did not moue me by going before them to be a guide vnto them.

Thus then we say, that Christ merited nothing for himselfe; not because we would detract any thing from him, for he did things worthy of most ample rewards, if there had bene any thing he had not already, that might haue bene giuen & added to him, or that he had not already a iust claime vnto; but because we admire his perfection, which was so great from the beginning, that nothing could be after added vnto it; and praise his goodnesse, that came into this world for our sakes onely, and not for his owne good. Wherefore let vs proceede to see how, and in what sort he merited for vs. In the merite of Christ, two things are to be considered: The worth of those actions and workes of vertue, which he performed: and the dignity of his Diuine and infinite Person performing them.

Touching the former, though the actions of the best men that euer were, done in the state of grace, and proceeding from the working of Gods Spirit, be not worthy of the glory that shall be reuealed; yet wee constantly affirme and teach, that the actions of Christ, done in his humane nature, were worthy of that glory; and therefore dare not deny, that Christ merited for vs *ex condigno*, as some of the Schoole-men doe. But for the better clearing of this point, touching the merite of Christ, we must obserue, that to Merite, simply, absolutely, and properly so named,

named, foure things concurre. For first, he that will merite or deserue any thing at another mans hand, must doe something that the other had no former claime vnto. Secondly, he must doe something that may bee beneficiall and good vnto him, of whom he desireth to deserue something. Thirdly, he must do something that may be beneficiall in as high a degree vnto him, as he looketh to be benefited by him againe. And fourthly, he must not hurt and wrong him, as much one way, as he beneficeth him another: for if he do so, he loseth all merite of reward.

These being the things required to the nature of Merite, strictly so named, no creature can in this sort merite any thing at Gods hand, seeing there is nothing that any creature can do which God may not iustly claime & challenge as due, in respect of good already done to it; or whereby it may any way benefice, or profite him, according to that in *Iob*, that p *Our righteousnesse reacheth not vnto God*: Yet such is the goodnesse of Almighty God towards his poore creatures, that, as if he had no claime to their weldoings, in respect of benefites already bestowed on them, and, as if they were as good and beneficiall to him, as they are good *in themselues*, seeking in all his workes to communicate, and not to receiue any good, in the day he made them, he couenanted with them to giue them rewards answerable to the worth of their actions: which gracious condescending of Almighty God to the condition of his creatures presupposed, e *Adam* in the state of his innocency, and before he fell, might haue merited and deserued good at Gods hand; but the best men in the world since his fall, are excluded from all possibility of meriting any thing, especially heauen-happinesse, properly of him: first, because they haue lost all that power of weldoing, which originally in the first of their creation they had, and can performe nothing that is good, vnlesse it be giuen vnto them by a new free gift, for which they shall rather be indebted to God, thē any way bind him vnto them. Secondly, because they offend him as much one way, as they please him another. And thirdly, because there is no equality betweene the good actions of vertue which they performe and do, and the rewards that are laid vp in heauen, neither a total, perpetual, & constant doing of that they do, nor in the maner, quality, and measure thereof, the height of heauen-happinesse incomparably exceeding all our knowledge and desire, according to that of the Apostle q *The eye hath not seene, the eare hath not heard, neither hath it entred into the heart of Man, what things God hath prepared for them that loue him.* But none of these things exclude Christ from meriting in the nature of Man, which he assumed: for he brought the fulnesse of grace with him into the world, and it was Naturall vnto him: He no way offended or displeased God his Father: and there was a perfect equality betweene his actions and the rewardes of Heauen, in that he loued GOD with that kinde, degree, and measure of loue, wherewith men loue him in heauen; ardently

p Iob. 35.7

q 1 Cor. 2. 9.

dently, without defect; entirely, and totally without distraction; perpe-
ually without intermission; and constantly, without possibility of euer
easing so to do.

Wherefore let vs passe from the worth and value of those workes of
ertue that Christ performed, to the consideration of the dignity of his
iuine, and infinite Person performing them. Which dignity and infini-
e of the Person of Christ, to which nothing could be added, made the
hings he did to promerite, and procure good to others, and to infinite
ther. r *Christus* (saith a learned Schoole-man) *meruit omnibus quantum*
it ex sufficientiâ sui, pro eo quod in ipso fuit gratia: non sicut in singulari homi-
e, sed sicut in capite totius Ecclesiæ; propter quòd fructus passionis eius redun-
dare potuit in omnia Ecclesiæ membra; & quia, vt dicit Damascenus, ratio-
e vnitatis Diuinitatis cum humanitate, Christus operatur ea quæ sunt homi-
is, supra hominem, operatio eius extendebat se ad totam naturam, quod non
otest operatio puri hominis. Huius diuersitatis ratio reducenda est non in ha-
itualem aliquam gratiam creatam, sed increatam; quòd pro multis sufficit fini-
a gratia, hæc sufficientia est ex gratiâ infinitâ & increatâ; That is, Christ
erited for all sufficiently on his part, in that grace was found in
im, not as in a particular man, but as in the Head of the whole Church:
or which cause the fruite of his passion might redound to all the
embers of the same Church; and because, (as *Damascene* saith) by
eason of the vnion of the natures of God and Man in his Person,
ee doth the workes of a man in a more excellent sort, then any
eere man can doe, the benefite, and force of his working and o-
eration extended to the whole nature of Man, which the action of
meere man cannot doe. The reason of which difference is not to
e attributed to any habituall, created grace, but to that which is in-
reate; for, that the finite grace that is in Christ, (that is, his vertue, and
orke of vertue) is auaileable for the good of many, it is from his infinite,
nd increate Grace.

r *Paludanus in 3. sent. dist. 18.*

Chap. 21.

Of the Benefites which we receiue from Christ.

HAVING spoken of the Satisfaction, and Merit of Christ, it remaineth, that we speake of the Benefites which we receiue from him: which are almost fully expressed by the name of redemption, which is the freeing of vs from that miserable bondage & captiuity, wherein we were formerly holden by reason of *Adams* sin. This bondage was twofold; first, in respect f sinne: and secondly, in respect of punishment. In respect of sinne, we

were

bondmen to Sathan, whose will we did, according to that of the Apostle,
a Rom. 6, 16. a *His Seruants yee are, to whom yee obey.* In respect of punishment, we were become bondmen to Almighty God the righteous Iudge of the world, who vseth Sathan as an instrument of his wrath, and an Executioner of his dreadfull Iudgements against such as do offend him and prouoke him to wrath.

These being the kindes of captiuity and bondage wherein we were holden, it will not be hard to see how we are freed and redeemed frō the same. There is no redemption, as the Diuines do note, but either by exchange of prisoners, by force and strong hand, or by paying of a price. Redemption by exchange of prisoners is then, when we set free those whom we hold as captiues taken from our Enemies, that they may make free such as they hold of ours: and this kinde of redemption hath no place in the deliuerance of sinfull men from sinne and misery: but their deliuerance is onely wrought by strong hand, and paying of a price. For Christ redeemed vs from the bondage of sin, in that by the *force*, and working of his grace, making vs dislike it, hate it, repent of it, and *leaue* it, he violently tooke vs out of Sathans hands, who tyrannically, and vniustly, had taken possession of vs: but from the bondage of punishmēt, in respect wherof we were become Bondmen vnto Almighty God, he redeemed vs not by force and strong hand, but by paying a price, satisfying his Iustice, and suffering what our sinnes had deserued, thus being pacified towards vs, he might cease to punish vs, & discharge Sathan, who was but the Executioner of his wrath, from afflicting vs any longer. In this sort do we conceiue of the worke of our redemption, wrought for vs by Christ; and therefore it is absurdly and vntruly said by
b Suruey, Booke 3. chap. 2. b *Matthew Kellison*, in his late published Suruey of the supposed new religion, that we make Christ an absurd Redeemer; for we speake no otherwise of Christ the Redeemer, then we haue learned in the Church and House of God.

But for the satisfaction of the Reader, let vs see how he goeth about to conuince vs of such absurdity as he chargeth vs with. The Protestants, saith he, do teach (then which nothing can be more absurd) that Christs passion was our Iustice, Merite, and Satisfaction, that there is no Iustice but Christs, no good works but his works, no merite but his merite, no satisfaction but his satisfaction; that there is no iustice or sanctitie inherent in man, nor none necessary; that no Lawes can binde vs, because Christs death was the ransome that freed vs from all Lawes Diuine and humane: that no sinnes, nor euill workes can hurt vs, because Christs Iustice being ours, no sinnes can make vs sinners: that no Hell or Iudgement remaineth for vs whatsoeuer we do, because Christs Iustice being ours, we can neither be imputed to vs in this life, nor punished in the next, and that herein consisteth Christian liberty.

A more shameleſſe ſlanderer, and trifling ſmatterer, I thinke was neuer eard of. For ſome of theſe aſſertions are vndoubted truths, againſt which o man may oppoſe himſelfe, vnleſſe he will be branded with the marke f impiety and blaſphemy: as that Chriſts paſſion is our Iuſtice, merite, nd ſatisfaction: that there is no merite properly ſo named, but Chriſts erite; no propitiatorie, and expiatorie ſatisfaction but Chriſts ſatisfa-tion: and the other are nothing elſe but ſhameleſſe and helliſh ſlanders, nd meere deuices, and fancies of his idle braine, without all ground of ruth; as that there is no iuſtice nor ſanctitie inherent in Man, nor none eceſſary: that good workes are not neceſſary: that no lawes can bind s: that no ſinnes nor euill workes can hurt vs: & that no hell nor iudge-ent remaineth for vs whatſoeuer we do. For we moſt conſtantly affirme teach, that there is both iuſtice and ſanctity inherent in Man, though not o perfect, as that he may ſafely truſt vnto it, and deſire to be iudged accor-ing to the perfection of it in the day of Tryall. Likewiſe we teach, that ood workes are in ſuch ſort neceſſary to ſaluation, that without Holi-eſſe, & a deſire at the leaſt to performe the workes of ſanctification, no an ſhall euer ſee God. Neither do we ſay, that no lawes can bind vs, as he anderouſly miſreporteth, vs, but we conſtantly teach, that not to do the hings contained and preſcribed in the law of God, is damnable & dam-ing ſinne, if God vpon our repentance forgiue it not. And therfore [c]*Bel-rmine*, though he wrongeth vs in like ſort as *Kelliſon* doth, yet in the end ike an honeſt man, he confeſſeth ingenuouſly that he doth wrong vs, and heweth at large, that *Luther* in his booke *de votis Monaſticis*, defineth the berty of a Christian to conſiſt, not in being freed from the duty of doing he things preſcribed in the law of God, as if at his pleaſure he might do hem, or leaue them vndone; but in that there are no workes forbidden in he law, that may ſtand with Faith; ſo euil, that they can condemne vs; nor one there preſcribed, performed by vs, ſo good, as to cleare, defend, & iu-tifie vs: So making vs free *non ab operibus faciẽdis, ſed defẽdentibus & accuſa-tibus*: that is, not from the neceſſitie of doing the things that are cõmanded s good, but from ſeeking iuſtification in works, or fearing condemnation or ſuch euill workes as we conſent not fully vnto, but diſlike, reſiſt a-gainſt, and ſeeke remiſſion of. Whereunto *Caluin* agreeth, teaching, that Chriſtian liberty freeth not from the duty of doing the things which the Law requireth, but from doing them ſo, as to haue them examined and ried ſtrictly, according to the Law, and rule of iuſtice: God in mercy ac-epting our workes though imperfect, if they proceed from a good con-cience, and faith vnfeined. But, ſaith [d] *Kelliſon*, the Proteſtants teach, hat Chriſt came to be a Redeemer only, and not a Law-giuer: and there-ore it ſeemeth they thinke men free from the duty of following the pre-cription of any Law.

c *Lib. 4 de Iuſtificat. cap. 5.*

d *Booke. 3. chap. 5.*

This ſurely is a very bad and weake inference. Chriſtian men haue no-

thing

thing to do with *Moſes* & his law, & may at their pleaſure either breake it or keepe it, becauſe Chriſt came to be a Redeemer, and not a Law-giuer. For though it be true, that Chriſt came not to giue a new, or more perfect law of morall duties, or to vrge it more ſtrictly then *Moſes* did, as ſome imagine, in which ſenſe our Diuines rightly deny him to haue come as a Lawgiuer, yet he came to fulfill the Law formerly giuen by the miniſtery of *Moſes*: which thing he performed, firſt, by clearing the meaning of it, and making it to bee rightly vnderſtood, where it was miſtaken. Secondly, by meriting remiſſion of the precedent breaches and tranſgreſſions of it. And thirdly, by giuing grace that men may in ſome ſort do the things it requireth. Wherefore if any man aske of vs, whether it may be truly ſaid, that Chriſt was a Law-giuer to his Church, we anſwer, that our Diuines did neuer ſimply deny Chriſt to be a Law-giuer, but onely in ſort before expreſſed. For they confeſſe that he may truly be ſo named; firſt, becauſe he writeth thoſe Lawes in our hearts, which *Moſes* deliuered written in Tables of ſtone; and ſecondly, becauſe hee gaue certaine poſitiue Lawes to Chriſtian men, touching Sacraments, Miniſtery, and outward meanes of ſaluation, that were not of force before.

Wherefore to conclude this point, we do not thinke (as *Kelliſon* ſlanderouſly againſt his owne conſcience reporteth of vs) that no ſinnes can hurt vs, that no Hell nor Iudgement remaineth for vs whatſoeuer we do; but we conſtantly teach, that they, who commit ſin with full conſent, and perſiſt therein, ſhall vndoubtedly periſh euerlaſtingly. So that this is all that we ſay, that no ſins, how grieuous ſoeuer, reſiſted, diſliked, repented of, & forſaken, can hurt vs: & that no Hell, nor Iudgement remaineth for them, whom the working of diuine grace freeth from the dominion of ſinne, and the ſatisfaction of Chriſt from the condemnation of it: Againſt which doctrine, or any part of it, neither *Kelliſon*, nor any Papiſt in the world, is able to take any iuſt exception.

Chap. 22.

Of the Miniſtery of them to whom Chriſt committed the publiſhing of his reconciliation betweene God and Men, procured by him.

THVS haue we ſeene, firſt, the excellencie of Chriſt our Sauiour, whom God ſent into the world, in the fulneſſe of time to bee the great Sheepheard of his Sheepe, the guide of his people, the light of the Gentiles, the glory of Iſrael, and a King to ſit vpon the throne of *Dauid* for euer, hauing all power both in Heauen and in Earth. Secondly, what great things he did and ſuffered for vs to reconcile vs vnto God. Thirdly, what the benefits are which he procured

procured for vs & bestowed on vs. Now it remaineth that we see to whom he cõmitted the publishing of the ioyful reconciliation betweene God & Man, the conuersion of the world vnto himselfe, & the gouernment of such as should by beleeuing, become his people, when hauing finished the great worke he came to performe, he was to returne backe to that God his Father that sent him. The Apostle Saint *Paul* telleth vs, that [a] *Christ hauing triumphed ouer principalities and powers, and made a shew of them openly vpon his Crosse, led captiuity captiue, and gaue gifts, vnto men:* * *that hee gaue some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Euangelists, and some Pastours and Teachers, for the gathering together of the Saints, the worke of the Ministery, & the edifying of the body of Christ, vntill we all meete in the vnitie of Faith, and knowledge of the Sonne of God into a perfect Man, euen into the measure of the age of the fulnesse of Christ.* Amongst all those Messengers of glad tidings, and Ministers of Christ appointed by him for the gathering together of the Saints, the Apostles were chiefe, and principall; Euangelists were assistants, which they vsed for the better settling and perfecting of thinges happily begun by them, & the writing of the Euangelicall historics, concerning Christ: The Prophets were such as foretold future thinges, that knew all secrets, and opened the hidden mysteries of God, speaking to the consciences of Men in a strange and admirable manner; so that, as the Apostle telleth vs, [b] *They that heard them prostrated themselues at their feete, acknowledging that God was in them.* These were temporary, and to cõtinue but for a time In the Apostles, two sorts of things are to be considered, and distinguished by vs: first, such as were proper to them, as belonging to those first beginnings of Christianity; and secondly, such as are of perpetual vse and necessity, and so to be passed ouer to other, and continued to the end of the world.

a Coloss. 2. 15.

* Or in himselfe.

* Ephes. 4. 8. &c.

b 1. Cor. 14. 25.

The Diuines do note, that there were foure things proper & peculiar to the Apostles, & not communicable to any other of the Ministers of Christ appointed by him for the gathering together of his Saints. The first was, immediate vocation; the second, Infallibility of Iudgement: the third, generality of Commission, to do all things pertaining to the ministery of saluation, in all places, and towards all Persons: the fourth, the speaking in all the tongues and languages of the world, the knowledge of all secrets, and power to confirme their Doctrine by signes and miracles, and by the imposition of their hands to giue the like miraculous gifts of the Spirite to others.

1

2

3

4

These iointly were not cõmunicable to any other in those times, neither Euangelists, nor Prophets, as either not being called immediatly, but appointed by the Apostles; or not infallibly led into all truth: Generall commission they had not, but were taken into the fellowship of the Apostles labours to assist their presence, & supply their absence, to build vpon their foundation, and to perfect that they began.

Lastly,

Lastly, though the hauing of miraculous gifts, and the power of working miracles simply, were not proper to the Apostles, yet the hauing of them in such sort, as by the imposition of their hands to giue the Spirit, enabling to worke miracles, and to do miraculous things, was peculiar and proper to them; and therefore we reade, that [c] *Philip* baptized, but that the [d] Apostles went to confirme them by imposition of hands that were baptized by him, that so they might receiue the miraculous gifts of the holy Ghost.

c Acts.8.12.
d ver.17.

And as these things were reserued as proper and peculiar vnto the Apostles, and not communicated to any other in their time, so are they not passed ouer to their after-commers by succession; but in steed of immediate calling we haue now succession; in steed of infallibility of iudgement, the direction of their writings, guiding vs to the finding out of the truth: in steed of Generall commission, particular Assignation of seuerall Churches to rule, and parts of Christs flocke to feede: in steed of miraculous gifts, and the Apostles power to conferre them, a setled course of Schooles and Vniuersities fitting men for the worke of the Ministery: in steed of their Miracles wherwith they confirmed their doctrine, the Faith already receiued, and by so many generations recommended vnto vs, as confirmed by the Apostles Miracles at the first.

Neither was it fit, as [e] Saint *Augustine* noteth, that these miraculous courses should still haue continued: For euen as a man that neuer had seene the seede cast into the earth, and there rotting; and the trees dead in Winter, after reuiuing, and flourishing againe in their appointed time, would wonder no lesse at it, then if he should see a blinde man receiue sight, or a dead man life: but now that these things are ordinary, we little esteeme them: so if those miraculous things appearing in the Apostles, and first Ministers of Christ, which with their newnesse and strangenesse moued much at the first, should haue bene continued still, they would haue growen into contempt, and not haue bene regarded at all. All that which hath bene said touching the dignitie Apostolicall, and the things properly pertaining to it, is so cleare and euident, that wise and iudicious men, make no question of any part thereof. Yet are there some that seeme to doubt, whether the Apostles generally had immediate calling, or vniuersality of commission, supposing that *Peter* onely was immediatly designed by Christ, & the rest by him: that he only had an vnlimited commission, without all restraint, and the rest an inferiour commission to that of *Peter*, bounded and stinted.

e *August. de vtilitate credendi. cap.16.*

Touching the first of these doubts, [f] *Bellarmine* (whose manner is not to conceale the diuisions and differences that are or haue bene amongst the Friends and Louers of the Church of *Rome*, but to write them in the forehead of euery controuersie) sheweth, that there are three opinions amongst the Diuines of the *Romish* Church touching this point. The first, that

f *Bell. de Pontif. lib.4 cap.22.*

that as well the Apoſtles, as ſucceeding Biſhops receiued their power, & Iuriſdiction from *Peter*, and his ſuppoſed ſucceſſour the Biſhop of *Rome*. The ſecond, that both Apoſtles and Biſhops receiued their Eccleſiaſticall power and Iuriſdiction immediatly from Chriſt, and not from *Peter* nor his Succeſſours. The third, that Biſhops receiue their Iuriſdiction from the Pope, but that the Apoſtles receiued all their power and Iuriſdiction immediatly from Chriſt, and not from *Peter*.

The ſecond of theſe opinions is wholly true, and I will in due place confirme the ſame. The third, in part true, and in part falſe, which *Bellarmine* followeth: and the firſt wholly falſe, which he largely and ſubſtantially confuteth; prouing firſt, [g] that the Apoſtles receiued all their Iuriſdiction and power immediatly from Chriſt, and not from *Peter*, as well out of the words of our Sauiour, when he ſaith: [h] *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*: as out of the election of [i] *Matthias*, who was not choſen by *Peter*, or the other Apoſtles, but deſigned immediatly by God himſelfe, ſhewing by direction of the *Lot falling on Matthias*, that it was he whom he would haue to ſucceed into the void roome of *Iudas* the Traytour: adding, that the Apoſtles gaue him no authority; and that *Paul* profeſſeth the ſame touching himſelfe, [k] proteſting that he receiued all his power and Iuriſdiction immediatly from Chriſt, and thereby prouing himſelfe to be an Apoſtle.

g *Ibid. cap. 23.*
h Ioh. 20. 21.
i Acts. 1. 26.
k Gal. 1. & 2.

Secondly, hee proueth that the fulneſſe of all Eccleſiaſticall power was committed to all the Apoſtles in as large & ample ſort, as vnto *Peter*, by the teſtimonies of *Chryſoſtome*, and *Theophylact*; and that Chriſt by thoſe words, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*, made all the Apoſtles his Vicars or Vicegerents, yea, gaue them his owne office and authority; and out of *Cyrill*, that by theſe words he made them Apoſtles and Doctours of the whole world: and that to let them know, that in Apoſtolique power he gaue them all Eccleſiaſticall power, he ſaid vnto them, *As my Father ſent me; ſo ſend I you*: it being certaine that the Father ſent the Sonne withal fulneſſe of power. Farther he addeth out of [l] *Cyprian*, that the ſame fulneſſe of power was giuen vnto the reſt of the Apoſtles by thoſe words, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*, that was promiſed to *Peter* by thoſe, *I will giue thee the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen*; and performed by thoſe other, *Feed my Sheep, feed my Lambs*. Now, ſaith he, it is certain that by thoſe words, *I will giue thee the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen*, and by thoſe other, *Feede my Sheepe, &c.* is vnderſtood all fulneſſe of Iuriſdiction both inward and outward: therefore the fulneſſe of Eccleſiaſticall power and Iuriſdiction, was giuen to euery one of the Apoſtles.

l *Cyprian. de vnit. Eccleſ.*

Thus then the Cardinall confeſſeth, firſt, that all the Apoſtles were immediatly taught of God, without learning any thing of *Peter*, or needing in any thing to be confirmed by him.

Secondly, that their commission was generall; so that there was not any act of Ecclesiastical Ministery to which their commission did not extend, nor any places in which, nor persons towards whom, they might not performe the acts of their Ministery. Thirdly, that they receiued all this authority and power immediatly from Christ, and not from *Peter*, and that therfore they could neither be limited, nor wholly restrained by him in the vse, and exercise of the same.

Thus doth he ouerthrow the whole frame and fabrique of their building, who ground the pretended supremacy of the Pope vpon Christs words spoken to *Peter*: For to what purpose doe they vrge, that to *Peter* onely Christ said, *Feede my Sheepe, &c.* that to him onely *hee gaue the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen*, and vpon him onely promised *to build his Church*? seeing they are forced to confesse, that the commission of feeding Christs sheepe, was giuen in as ample sort to the rest as to *Peter*; that they all receiued the whole power of the keyes; that the Church was builded vpon the rest as well as vpon *Peter*, and equally founded vpon them all.

If the Cardinall shal shrinke from this his confession, we can easily force him to it againe, & make him acknowledge that whatsoeuer Christ promised, intended, or performed by any of his speeches directed vnto *Peter*, he performed to all. Christ said specially to *Peter*, *Feede my sheepe*: yet had the rest (our Aduersaries being iudges) the same commission. He promised to him *the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen*, so that *what he should binde on earth, should be bound in Heauen*; he named him *Peter*, and promised *vpon that Rocke to build his Church*: yet all receiued the same keyes as well as he, the same power of binding and loosing; and the Church was equally builded on them all.

These thinges I will particularly confirme and proue; and first, that all the Apostles had the same commission of feeding the flocke of Christ that *Peter* had, it is euident. For whereas there are but foure kindes of feeding; [m] *Vitâ exemplari, subsidio corporali, doctrinâ salutari, & disciplinâ regulari*; that is, By exemplary cõuersation, by ministring things necessary for the entertainment of this present life, by wholsome doctrine, and by regular discipline and gouernment; all these waies, the rest of the Apostles stood bound to feede the flocke of Christ, as well as *Peter*. For they were all the [n] *Lights of the world*, and their [o] *Light was so to shine before men, that they seeing their good workes, might glorifie their Father in Heauen*: they were all to take care of the poore & needy; they had all power to preach & minister Sacraments by Christs owne warrant, saying vnto them all, [p] *Goe, teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost*; and to gouerne and guide the Church and people of God, as well as *Peter*; Christ sending them as his Father sent him, and assuring them that whose sinnes they

m Ockam. dialog. lib. 5. 1. partis, cap. 15. & lib. 4. 1. tractatus. 3. partis, cap. 10.

n Matth. 5. 14.

o Verse 16.

p Matth. 28. 19.

they remit, they are remitted, and whose sinnes they retaine, they are retained.

Neither can this be doubted of, seeing *Bellarmine* himselfe confesseth in the place before alledged, that in the Apostolique power, all power and Iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, as well inward as outward, was contained: so that, that which *Bellarmine* and other Papists insist vpon, q that Christ cõmended al his sheep vnto *Peters* care & charge, in that he said vnto him, *Feede my Sheepe*, without any limitation or distinction, as if in this respect they would shew vs some singular thing in *Peters* feeding of the flocke of Christ, not found in others, is too silly. For who knoweth not, that euery Apostle had generall commission, and that howsoeuer for the better dispatch of the worke they had in hand, they diuided amongst them the seuerall prouinces of the world; yet this was, as *Bellarmine* himselfe confesseth, r *Prouinciarum, non iurisdictionis diuisio*; that is, a diuision of prouinces, not of Iurisdiction: for there was not any of them, but had power to preach, minister Sacraments, and exercise discipline whersoeuer they would, one of them no way hindering the employment of another, but all with ioynt care seeking to set forward the worke they had in hand. Yea this is so cleare, that the Cardinall ingenuously confesseth it to be so, saying in expresse words, that s *the rest of the Apostles were heads, Rulers, and Pastours of the vniuersall Church.* Touching the *power of the Keyes* promised to *Peter*, & the *power of binding and loosing*, it will easily appeare, that no singular thing was either promised or giuen vnto him, but that which was cõmon to him with the rest. t *Thomas Aquinas* fitly obserueth, that in corporall things the Key is an instrument that openeth the doore, and giueth entrance to him that formerly was excluded: Now the doore of the kingdome of heauen is shut against vs by sin, both in respect of the staine of it, and the guilt of punishment: whence it commeth, as hee aptly noteth, that the power, by which this stoppe and impediment is taken away, is named the Key. This power is in the diuine Trinity principally, & by way of authority, in that God only taketh away sin, *dimittendo, quefacta sunt; adiuuando, ne fiant; & perducendo ad vitam, vbi omnino fieri non possunt*; that is, By forgiuing the sin that is past; by helping the sinner, that he doth not the like againe; and by bringing him to that life, where he can sin no more. And therefore the blessed Trinity is said to haue the Key of Authoritie. Christ had power to remoue this stoppe and hinderance by the merite of his passion, by instituting Sacraments, and making them effectuall instruments of the communication, of his grace, for the taking away of sinne, and therefore he is said to haue the Key of Excellencie. In men there is a ministeriall Power to remoue the impediment of sinne, that hindereth from entring into Heauen, and therefore they are rightly said to haue a key of Ministery, which is twofold; of Science, and of Iurisdiction: Of Science, *remouendo ignorantiam*,

q *Bellarm. de Pont. lib. 1. cap. 14.*

r *Ibid. cap. 16.*

s *Ibid. cap. 11.*

t *In addit. ad 3. part. Summe. quest. 17. art. 1.*

& inducendo ad conuersionem; that is, by remouing the blindnesse of heart that is found in men, and inducing them to conuert and turne to God: Of Iurisdiction, in receiuing men into the society of holy ones, and in admitting those that they thinke meete and worthy to the participation of the holy Sacraments, in which the efficacy of Christs passion communicateth it selfe; as also in reiecting the vnholy and vncleane.

The Iurisdiction of the Church is rightly signified Metaphorically by the name of a Key, because the chiefe command in a house or Citty, is in him to whom the keyes of that house or Citty are committed, and he that hath the keyes, hath thereby power to admit and receiue into the house or Citty whom he will, and to exclude and shut out whom he pleaseth.

And therfore when Princes enter into their Cities and Townes, the Citizens are wont to offer vnto them the keies thereof, thereby acknowledging that the chiefe power & command of those places doth rest in them. Whereupon when the Lord promised to *Eliacim*, sonne of *Hilkiah*, seruant of King *Hezekiah*, chiefe authority in the kings Court, and in the Citty of *Ierusalem*, he said by his Prophet; [u] *I will giue the keye of the house of Dauid vpon his shoulders. He shall open and no man shall shut: he shall shut, and no man shall open.* In which sense also it is said in the *Reuelation* of Christ: that [x] *He hath the key of Dauid, that he openeth and no man shutteth, that he shutteth and no man openeth*; that is, hath all fulnesse of power in his Fathers house and kingdome.

u Esay. 22. 22.

x Reuel. 3. 7.

Thus then the key of Ministery being onely the power of teaching, instructing, admonishing, comforting, gouerning, and yeelding sacramental assurances of Gods mercy and grace by dispensing the Sacraments Christ hath instituted; and this power being the same in *Peter*, and the rest; it is cleare that *the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen* were equally committed vnto them all. The force of these keyes is not only expressed by the acts of opening and shutting, but of *binding and loosing* also, thereby to shew, that they are no materiall keyes, but Metaphorically vnderstood, & spirituall; and that heauen is then opened vnto men that they may enter into it, when they are loosed from their sins that hindered them from entring in thither: and hereupon it is, that Christ hauing promised the keyes of the kingdome of heauen to blessed *Peter*, telleth him likewise, that *what he shall binde on earth, shall bee bound in heauen, and what he shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heauen.* The bonds wherewith men are bound on earth, are of foure sorts. First of Lawes, obliging, and tying them to the performance of certaine duties. Secondly, of sinnes. Thirdly of punishments to be inflicted by Almighty God; and Fourthly, of punishments to be inflicted by men.

The bond of Lawes is of two sorts. For there are diuine lawes, & there are humane

humane Lawes. God bindeth men to the doing of what he pleaſeth; and Men that are in authority, either Ciuill or Eccleſiaſticall, to ſuch things as they thinke fit. Touching theſe bonds, none haue power to looſe, but they that haue power to binde: ſo that what God by precept bindeth vs to do, none but God can free vs from the neceſſity and duty of doing it: and what the Church or Magiſtrate binde vs to, no inferiour power can looſe vs or free vs from. *Looſing* in this ſenſe oppoſed to binding by law and precept, is in two ſorts; By Reuocation, and by Diſpenſation. Reuocation, is an abſolute Abrogation of a Law in reſpect of all places, times, perſons, and conditions, and that either by expreſſe and direct Repeale, or by generall neglect, and long continued diſuſe. Diſpenſation is in reſpect of certaine perſons, times, places and conditions of Men and thinges: ſo that a diſpenſation permitting the Law to retaine her wonted authority, onely freeth ſome particular perſon or perſons, at ſome times, in ſome places, and in ſome condition of thinges, from the neceſſity of doing, or leauing vndone that, which, vnleſſe it be in conſideration of ſuch particular circumſtances, the Law-giuer meant ſhould be obſerued, but in ſuch caſes not ſo.

Heere the queſtion is moued by occaſion of that kinde of looſing, which is by reuerſing Lawes formerly in force, whether God the giuer of the moral Law, may reuoke the ſame, and diſpenſe with men for the not doing of things there preſcribed, or the doing of things there forbidden.

The anſwer is, [y] that theſe Lawes are impoſed vpon men by the very condition of their nature and creation: as the very condition and nature of a man, created by GOD, requireth that he ſhould honour, loue, feare, and reuerence him that made him: and therefore touching the precepts of the firſt Table (that concerning the Sabaoth excepted) it is cleare and euident, that they cannot be altered, nor Man by God himſelfe diſcharged from the duty of honouring, louing, and fearing God ſo long as he hath any being.

y *Paludanus in Sent. lib. 3. diſt. 40. quæſt. 2. & 3.*

Touching the precepts of the ſecond Table, it is reſolued, that GOD cannot diſpenſe with man, or giue him leaue to do the thinges therein forbidden, as to ſteale, murther, or lye. For all theſe imply, and inuolue in them that which is ſimply euill, and to bee diſliked: but by ſome alteration in the doer, or matter of action, hee may make that not to bee euill, that otherwiſe would bee euill: and conſequently not forbidden; as namely, that to bee no theft, or murther, which otherwiſe would be: as when hee commanded the *Iſraelites* to ſpoyle the *Ægyptians*, they did not commit the act of robbery: for robbery is the taking away of a thing from the owner againſt his will: but theſe thinges which the *Iſraelites tooke* away, were the

Ægyptians no longer, after God the supreme Lord, had spoyled them of the title they had thereunto, and assigned the same to the *Israelites*. So likewise for one man to take away the life of another, having no authority so to do, is murther, and no man can be dispensed with lawfully to do any such act; but for a Magistrate to take away the life of an offender, is a lawfull act, and no act of murther; and so, if *Abraham* had slaine his sonne *Isaac*, it had not bene murther, being authorized so to do by God, who hath supreme authority in the world, and may iustly, as a Iudge, for sinne found in men, take away the liues of whom hee pleaseth, and as supreme and absolute Lord, bring all to nothing that for his wils sake he made of nothing, though there were no sinne nor fault at all.

But touching Ceremoniall, Iudiciall, and Positiue Lawes of God concerning Sacraments and obseruations of what kinde soeuer, seeing they are imposed after and vpon the being of nature, we thinke that God may alter them at his pleasure, so that at one time it may be lawfull to doe that was forbidden at another. The Gouernors that God hath set ouer his Church and people by commission from him, may interprete what is doubtfull in these Lawes of God, or in those of the other sort; but yet according to the Law; but they may not abrogate or dispense with any Law of God, either naturall & morall, or positiue established concerning the vse of Sacraments, and things pertaining to Gods worship and seruice. But concerning those lawes that were made by the Apostles and Primitiue Fathers touching matters of outward obseruation, the succeeding Guides of the Church may either dispense with them, or reuerse them vpon the due consideration of the difference of times, Men, and things. And so we see to whom it pertaineth to binde men with their lawes, and to loose them from the bondes thereof. The bond of sinne, which is the second kinde of those bonds I mentioned, is two-fold; for there is [z] *Vinculum captiuitatis*, and *Vinculum seruitutis*; that is, a man that is a sinner, is so bound that he can neither returne to do good, nor leaue off to do euill.: for sinne holdeth him in a bond of captiuity, that he shall not returne to do good; and with a bond of seruitude, that he shall not ceasen do euill. And though God hath so ordered the nature of Man, that hee who will do euill, shall thus be entangled; yet it is man that thus entangleth, wrappeth, and bindeth himselfe, and not God.

[z] Ruh. de S. Victore. tract. de potest. ligandi. & soluendi. cap. 2.

But for the bond of eternall condemnation, & the punishments following euill doers, which is the third kinde of those bondes wherewith I shewed that men are tyed and bound, it is of God. From these bondes of sin, and punishment inflicted by God, none but hee alone can free men by his fauour and the worke of his grace, as the supreme and highest cause; none but Christ, by Merite and Satisfaction.

The Ministers of the Church, by the Ministery of the Word & Sacraments

ments, may conuert Men to God inſtrumentally, making them partakers of his graces, and bringing them into ſuch an eſtate wherein they ſhall be ſure for Chriſts ſake to finde mercy with God, for the remiſſion and taking away of their ſinnes. They may pray for them, and out of the knowledge of their eſtate, aſſure them of remiſſion: But other power to vnlooſe and vntye theſe direfull and horrible bonds of ſinne and puniſhment, they haue none: onely the puniſhments which they haue power to inflict, they haue authority to diminiſh, leſſen, or take away: ſo that whom they binde with the bonds of Eccleſiaſticall cenſures, and puniſhments, thoſe by the ſame authority they may vnlooſe. For as the Guides of Gods Church may preſcribe, enioyne, and impoſe certaine actions of Mortification, and penitentiall conuerſion vnto God; ſo when they ſee cauſe, they may releaſe from the ſame: as by excommunication, they may reſtraine from vſe of Sacraments, ſociety of Beleeuers, and benefite of the Churches praiers; ſo by Abſolution, they may *free from* all theſe bonds againe.

Neither is this kinde of binding and looſing lightly to bee eſteemed of, or little regarded: for hee that for his contempt and diſobedience, is debarred from the vſe of the Sacraments, from enioying the ſociety of the beleeuers, and partaking in the benefite of the Churches prayers, is vndoubtedly excluded from all acceſſe to the Throne of grace in Heauen, and all acceptation there; and ſo conſequently no leſſe bound in Heauen then in Earth: and hee that is vnlooſed from theſe bonds on Earth, is vnlooſed and ſet free in Heauen, that without all reſtraint, hee *may* [a] *goe boldly to the Throne of Grace, to ſeeke helpe in the time of neede:* a Heb. 4. 16.

Thus wee ſee the diuers kindes of binding and looſing, and that the Guides of Gods Church haue power and authority by Lawes and precepts, cenſures, and puniſhments, to binde thoſe that are committed to their care and truſt, and when they ſee cauſe, by reuerſing ſuch Lawes and precepts, wholly or in part, and by diminiſhing, releaſing, and taking away ſuch cenſures, and puniſhments to vnty them, and ſet them free againe.

The bond of Diuine Lawes, they may no otherwiſe meddle with, then by letting them know who are ſo bound, how ſtraightly they are tyed.

The bondes of ſinne, and puniſhments by Diuine iuſtice to be inflicted, they haue no power and authority to vnlooſe, but they concurre as helpers to the vnlooſing of them by the Miniſtery of the Word, winning and perſwading men to conuert vnto God, to caſt their ſinnes from them, and by the Sacraments inſtrumentally communicating vnto them, the grace of repentant conuerſion, and the aſſurance of remiſſion and pardon.

In all these kindes of binding and loosing, the Apostles were equall: seeing (our Aduersaries themselues confessing) they had the same power of Order and Iurisdiction in like extent, within the compasse whereof all these kindes of binding and loosing are confined. Wherefore let vs proceede to speake of the power of remitting and retaining sins, giuen to the Apostles by Christ our Sauiour.

To remit sinne, properly is nothing else but to resolue not to punish sinne, and therefore hee onely may properly be said to remit sinne, that hath power to punish it. Now as sinne is committed against the prescript of God, our Conscience, and Men in authority: so God, the conscience of the Sinner, and the Magistrate, and Minister, haue power to punish sinne: God, with punishments temporall and eternall, of this life, and that which is to come: the Conscience, with remorse: the Magistrate, with death, banishment, Confiscation of goods, imprisonment, and the like: and the guides of the Church, with suspension, excommunication, degradation, and such other censures. Hence it followeth, that GOD onely is said properly to remit the punishments that his iustice doth inflict: that the conscience onely vpon repentance, can take away that bitter and afflictiue punishment of remorse, wherwith she is wont to torment and disquiet the minde of the offendour: and that the Magistrate and Minister onely haue power to take away those punishments that in their seuerall courses, they may and do inflict.

Notwithstanding, the Minister by the Word, perswading men to repentance, procuring remission, and out of his prudent obseruation of the parties conuersion vnto God, assuring him that it will goe well with him, as also by the Sacrament instrumentally communicating to him as well the grace of repentant conuersion, as of free remission (that so he may heare the very sound and voyce of God in mercy, saying to the heart and spirit of the repentant Sinner, *I am thy Saluation*) may bee said in a sort to remitte sinne, euen in that it is an offence against GOD, not by way of authority and power, but by winning and perswading the sinner to that conuersion which obtaineth remission from God, and by the Sacrament instrumentally making him partaker as well of the grace of remission of sinne from God, as of conuersion from sinne to God.

There are but foure thinges in the hand of the Minister, the Word, Prayer, Sacraments, and Discipline. By the word of Doctrine hee frameth, winneth, and perswadeth the sinner to repentant conuersion, seeking, and procuring remission from GOD. By Prayer, hee seeketh and obtaineth it for the Sinner. By Sacraments, hee instrumentally maketh him partaker, as well of the grace of remission, as conuersion: And by the power of Discipline, he doth by

by way of authoritie punish euill doings, and remit or diminish the punishments he inflicteth, according as the condition of the partie may seeme to require.

By that which hath bene said, it appeareth, that to bind and loose, to remit and to retaine Sinnes, are equiualent and the same; saue that to bind and loose, is of more ample and large extent, in that it implieth in it the binding by precepts and lawes, & the loosing which is by reuersing or dispensing with the same. And therefore hauing shewed that the Apostles were equall in the power of binding and loosing, we need adde no farther proofe that they were equall in the power of remitting and retaining Sinnes.

Wherefore let vs proceed to the promise of Christ made to *Peter*, that vpon the *Rocke* mentioned by him, he *would build his Church*, & let vs see, whether anie peculiar thing were promised vnto *Peter* in that behalfe.

The Church of God, we know, is compared in Scripture to a Cittie, an House, and a Temple; and therefore the beginning, proceeding and increasing of the same is rightly compared to building. Now in building there must be a foūdation vpon which al may rest, & stay, that is put into the same building: & the foundatiō must be sure, firme, and immoueable; for otherwise it will faile, and so all other parts of the building, wanting their stay, will fall to the ground. Now nothing is so firme, sure and immoueable, as a Rocke: and consequently no building so strong as that which is raised vpon a rockie foundatiō: whereupō our Sauiour sheweth that a *House builded on the sand is easilie ruinated*, and soone shaken to pieces, but that an *House builded vpon a Rocke standeth firme*, notwithstanding the furie and violence of the flouds, winds, and tempests: and compareth a Man rightly grounded, and established in his perswasion and resolution, to an house so built. By a Rocke therefore in this place is meant a sure foundation, that will not faile, nor be moued or shaken, how great a weight so euer be laid vpon it. In a foundation there are three things required. The first is, that it be the first thing in the building: the second, that it beare vp all the other parts of the building; and the third, that it be firme and immoueable.

b Matth. 7.24. &c.

For as Christ saith; c *If the eye that is the light of the bodie, be darknesse, how great is that Darknesse?* So, if that which is to support and beare vp all, do faile & shrinke, all must needs be shaken, and fall a sunder. These being the things required in a foundation; simply and absolutely, in respect of all times, persons, and things, Christ onely is that foundation, vpon which the spirituall building of the Church is raised, because he onely is that beginning whence all spirituall good originally floweth, and commeth, vpon whom all the perswasion of the truth of things reuealed staieth it selfe, as being the *Angel of the great Couenant*, and that eternall

c Matth. 6.33.

eternall *Word*, that *was with God in the beginning*, vpon whom all our hope, confidence, and expectation of anie good groundeth it selfe: *all the promises of God being in him* [d] *yea and Amen.*

d 2. Cor. 1. 20.

And in this sense the Apostle S. *Paul* saith, [e] *Other Foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid, which is Iesus Christ.* And [f] S. *Augustine*, and other of the Fathers vnderstand by that rocke vpon which our Sauiour promised *Peter* to build his Church, the rocke that *Peter* confessed, which rocke was Christ, vpon which foundation euen *Peter* himselfe was builded; for that *other Foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid, which is Iesus Christ.*

e 1. Cor. 3. 11.

f *Aug. tractat. vii. in Ioannem. Serm. 13. de verb. Dom. Retract. li. 1. cap. 21.*

But in respect of some particular times, persons, and things, and in some particular and speciall considerations there are other things that may rightly be named foundations also in respect of the spirituall building of the Church. So in respect of the frame and fabrique of vertue and weldoing raised in this building, the first vertue, namely Faith, vpon which all other vertues do stay themselues, and from which they take the first direction that anie vertue can giue, is rightly named a foundation. In respect of the forme of Christian doctrine, the first principles of heauenlie knowledge are rightly named a foundation, [g] *Not laying againe*, saith the Apostle, *the foundation of faith, and of repentance from dead workes, of the doctrine of Baptismes, and of the imposition of hands, of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternall iudgement, let vs be lead forward vnto perfection.*

g Hebr. 6. 1.

These first principles of heauenly knowledge are named a foundation, because they are the first things that are knowen, before which nothing can be knowen; and because vpon the knowledge of these things, all others parts of heauenlie knowledge do depend. In respect of the confession of the true faith concerning Christ, the first cleare, expresse, and perfect forme of confession that euer was made concerning the same, may rightly be named a foūdation, and in this sence *Peters* faith and confession is by diuers of the [h] Fathers named the Churches foundation. But they vnderstand not by the faith and confession of *Peter*, either the vertue and qualitie of faith abiding in his heart and mind, or the outward act of confessing, but the forme of confession made by him when he said, [i] *Thou art the Christ, the Sonne of the liuing God:* vpon which forme, as being the rule of all right beleeuing, the Church of God is builded. In respect of the supernaturall knowledge of God in Christ, the first and immediate reuelation made to the Apostles from whom all other were to learne, and by whose Ministerie accompanied with all things that might winne credit they were to be gained vnto God, may verie rightlie and iustly be named a foundation, vpon which the faith of all after-comers is to stay it selfe, and from which in all doubts they must seeke resolution. And in this sort [k] *Bellarmine* saith truelie, that the Apostles may be named *Foundations* of the Church: according to that descriptiō, in the *Reuelation* of S.

h *Leo in anniuers. Assumpt. Serm. 2.*

i Matth. 16. 16.

k *De Pont. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 11.*

of S. *Iohn*, of the wall of the citie of God, that *had*[l] *12. foundation-stones vpon which it was raised, and in them written the names of the Lambes twelue Apostles:* and that of S. *Paul*, that[m] *we are builded vpon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Christ Iesus being the Head corner-stone*: And this in three respects.

l Reuel. 21.14.

m Ephes. 2.20.

First, because the Apostles were the first that founded Churches, and conuerted vnbeleeuers to the faith.

Secondly, because their doctrine, which they receiued immediatly from God by most vndoubted reuelation, without mixture of errour, or danger of being deceiued, is the rule of the faith of all after-commers, and that sure, immoueable and rockie foundation, vpon which the perswasion of all succeeding generations, & posterities, may and doth most securely stay and ground it selfe.

Thirdly, because they were Heads, Guides and Pastors of the whole vniuersall Church, hauing not onely supreme, but prime and originall gouernment of the same, out of whose most large and ample commission all Ecclesiasticall power and authoritie of aftercommers was in an inferiour degree and sort to be deriued, and taken.

In all these respects, all the Apostles were that strong rocke, and those strong rockie foundation-stones on which the Church is builded; though in a peculiar sence Christ alone be the Rocke: and in all these respects, as S. *Hiereme* saith,[n] *Super omnes ex æquo Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur*: that is, the strength and firmenesse of the Church doth equally and indifferently stay it selfe vpon them all: and consequently, no more vpon *Peter* then anie of the rest. Hitherto we find nothing peculiar to *Peter*, and not common to all the Apostles; so that all the allegations of our Aduersaries touching the feeding of the sheepe of Christ committed to *Peter*, the power of the keyes, of binding and loosing, of remitting & retaining sinnes, and the promise that on him as on a rockie foundation-stone elect and precious, Christ would build his Church, are to no purpose, seeing they are forced to confesse, that all these things were likewise either by direct words[o] or by intendment bestowed on all the rest. Wherefore let vs see how notwithstanding this their confessino they can make good, that there was a primacie of power in *Peter*, & how they goe about to confirme the same.

n *Hieron. lib. 1. contra Iouinian.*

o *Cusanus de Concordantiâ Cathol. li. 2. ca. 13*

CHAP.

Chap. 23.

Of the Primacie of Power imagined by our Aduersaries to haue bene in Peter, and their defence of the same.

FOr the auoiding of the cleare euidence of the truth of all that which hath bene sayd touching the equalitie of the Apostles of Christ amongst themselues (which our Aduersaries cannot but see, and acknowledge) they haue two shifts; The first, [a] that the Apostles were equall towards the people, but not amongst themselues. The second, [b] that they were equall in the Apostolique power, but that *Peter* had that amplitude of power (which the rest had as Apostles by speciall fauour, and onely in and for their owne persons) as an ordinary Pastour, and in such sort that he might leaue the same to his Successors

a Sedpleton. Relect couersuer. 3. quæst. 1. art. 1.
b Caietan. Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 1. c. 3.

These their silly shifts and euasions we will examine, that so the truth of that which hath bene sayd may be more fully cleared, and that all men may see and perceiue that nothing can be substantially obiected against it, nor no euasion found to auoide it.

Touching the first thing that they say, it is an Axiome, as I think, that may not be doubted of, that *whatsoeuer things are equall in respect of a third thing, are in the same sort, and so farre forth, equall amongst themselues.* So that if the Apostles were equall in the respect they had to the people, and as gouernours of the same, they were so farre forth, and in that respect, equall amongst themselues.

But they will say perhaps, that the Apostles were indeed equall amongst themselues in the power and office of teaching, directing, guiding, and gouerning the Christian world, but that yet amongst themselues there was an inequality, and one was superiour and had power ouer the rest, not in respect of the acts of their office of teaching and gouerning the world, but in respect of their personall actions.

This surely is one of the strangest paradoxes that euer was heard of. For who can imagine, that God would trust the Apostles, with the managing of the weightiest affaires of his Church, and the gouernement of the whole world, without being any way accountant, in respect thereof, vnto any one amongst them as superiour, and that he would appoint an head and chiefe, and subiect them to his censure in their personall actions? Nay this is impossible, and cannot be. For if in their office of teaching, and gouerning the rest of the Church they were equall, and could not therein be limited or restrained one by another, then was there none amongst them that could put any of the rest from his office, dignitie, and emploiment.

Now

Now it is most cleare and certaine, that he who hath not power to suspend another from the execution of his office in the Church, hath no power to suspend him from the Sacraments, or to excommunicate him, whatsoeuer his personall misdemeanours bee.

For as to be a Minister of the Church presupposeth to be a member of it: so to be put from being a member of the Church, implieth and presupposeth a putting from all office & dignitie in the Church: so that there neither was, nor could be anie amongst the Apostles, that had power to put anie of the rest out of the Church, or to suspend them from the vse of the Sacraments, seeing there was none found amongst them that had authoritie to limit, restraine or debarre anie of the rest from the execution of his office; and therefore all that anie one of them could do in respect of another, was but to admonish him, and vpon his reiecting of such admonitions to refuse to communicate with him; which thing anie one may doe in an absolute equalitie, as well as when one is superiour to another; as we see by the example of *Paul* [c] reprouing *Peter*, and resisting him to his face; and likewise by that of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, [d] parting the one from the other vpon such dislikes and differences as grew betweene them.

c Galat. 2. 11.
d Act. 15. 39.

Wherfore I suppose our Aduersaries will not much insist vpon this their first shift and euasion. Let vs see therefore if their second be anie better. It is true (say they) that all power Ecclesiasticall, and all degrees of the same are included and implied in the Apostolique office and dignitie; that the Apostles, as Apostles, were all equall; and cõsequently, that there was no one amongst the Apostles, but in his time had as much to doe in the gouerning of the Church as *Peter*, without receiuing anie thing from him, or being anie way subiect to his controule, and to be restrained, limited, or directed by him: But this amplitude of power which all the Apostles had in common, the rest had onelie for themselues, and as a personall priuiledge that was to end with them, but *Peter* had the same in such sort, that he might leaue it to his Successours. So that that power which in the rest was Apostolique and tẽporarie, and to end with them, was ordinarie, Pastorall and perpetuall in *Peter*, and to be deriued from him to his Successours and after-commers.

Surely this second euasion will be found much worse then the first: for it is absurd to say, that *Peter* left all the dignitie and Ecclesiasticall power he had in common with the rest of the Apostles, to his Successours: for then all Popes should be immediately chosen by God, not by the Cardinals; then should they all be consecrated and ordained immediatly by Christ not by Bishops: then should they all see Christ in the flesh: then should they all haue power to write bookes of Canonicall Scripture, and be free from danger of erring whẽsoeuer they either preach or write: for so the Apostles were: yea then should they confirme their doctrine by miracles, and giue the Holie Ghost by imposition of their Hands.

Whereas

Whereas yet no Pope dareth challenge anie one of these preëminences. If they say, that all the dignitie and power that was in the Apostles was not ordinarie, Pastorall, and perpetuall in *Peter*, and so to be passed ouer to his Successours, but some part of it onely, it is iust nothing they say. For then this is all they affirme, that some part of that dignitie and power that was in *Peter*, is in *Peters* Successours, and so there is in the blind Priest in the world.

But they will say, immediate vocation, the seeing of Christ in the flesh, infallibilitie of iudgment, power to write Canonicall bookes of Scripture, and the confirmation of doctrine by miracles, togither with the giuing of the holie Ghost by imposition of hands, were fitting to the first beginnings of Christianitie, and not of perpetuall necessitie and vse, and therefore to cease after things were established; but that vniuersalitie of Iurisdiction, and a kind of Infallibilitie of iudgment, are perpetually necessarie, and therefore these were to passe from *Peter* to others, though the rest of the Apostolique preëminences were not.

Thus then first they amplifie the excellent dignities of *Peter*, as if the rest had not had the like; but being conuinced, that he had nothing the rest had not, they make shew as if they would proue, that the Apostle S. *Peter* had all those things in such sort that he might leaue them to his Successours, which the rest had as personall priuiledges onely; because he is described to be a Pastour of the Church, in that Christ saith vnto him, [e] *Feed my sheepe*, and the office of a Pastour is of perpetuall necessitie. But being vrged, that there are manie excellent dignities found in *Peter* and the rest, that are not communicable to anie other, as immediate vocation, seeing of Christ in the flesh, absolute infallibilitie in word and writing, speaking in diuers tongues, power to worke miracles, and power to giue the visible giftes of the holie Ghost by the imposition of hands, they cõfesse, that precisely *Peters* being a Pastour of the Christiã Church, will not proue, that anie dignitie of his mentioned in the Scripture is perpetuall, pastorall, and to continue for euer, vnlesse the necessitie of the perpetuitie of it be made to appeare otherwise.

e Ioh. 21. 16.

Whence it will follow, that they cannot proue that anie speciall preëminences in *Peter* which he had in common with the rest, as namely, infallibilitie of iudgment, and vniuersalitie of Iurisdiction, were Pastorall and perpetuall in him, and to be passed from him to his after-commers, and thereby entitle the Pope vnto them. For *Peters* being a Pastor, which is the onelie thing they can alleage to proue, that what he had was pastorall and perpetuall, proueth it not: and the proofe of the necessitie of the continuance of anie preëminence found in *Peter* and the rest of the Apostles, sheweth that such a preeminence must continue, but not in what person or persons it must continue.

But let vs see whether infallibilitie of iudgment, and vniuersalitie of Iurisdiction

risdiction, be amongst the things that were proper to the beginnings f Christianitie, or amongst those that are perpetually necessarie.

Surely, touching the first, [f] *Bellarmine* seemeth to confesse, that the eing taught immediately of God, & the being absolutely free from rour, so that their writings and sayings were Canonicall, were tempo- rie in the Apostles, as necessarie onely in those first beginnings of Chri- anitie; and whether he confesse it or not, it is most vndoubtedly true, at that absolute infallibilitie that was in *Peter*, for whose faith Christ raied that it might not fayle, was temporarie, and not to be communi- ted to anie after-commers: for he was so lead into all trueth, that he uld not erre in anie of his writings and preachings; whereas all con- sse, that euen Popes may erre in both these, and that they are free from rour onely when they determine those things, wherein the whole hurch seeketh their resolution.

[f] *De Pont. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 12.*

Touching the second, which is vniuersalitie of Iurisdiction, the same ardinall hath these words. [g] *Fuit in illis Ecclesiæ primordijs necessarium ad lem in toto orbe terrarum disseminandam, vt primis prædicatoribus & Eccle- rum fundatoribus summa potestas & libertas concederetur*: That is, in those st beginnings of the Church it was necessarie for the quicke dispersing f the Faith throughout the whole world, that the first Preachers, and unders of Churches should haue a most ample power, and free com- ission, without that streightning and limitation of the same that is in eir after-commers, that so euerie one of them might truely vse those ords of the Apostle, [h] *Instantia mea quotidiana sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*, at is, my dayly instance is the carefulnesse of all Churches: or as some her trãslate it: I am cumbred dayly, and haue the care of all Churches.

[g] *De Pont. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 9.*

[h] *2. Cor. 11. 28.*

And therefore howsoeuer the Apostles diuided amongst themselues e seuerall parts of the world, to which each one of them should more eciallie preach the word of the Lord; yet did they not shut vp and in- ose their cares within the bounds and compasse of anie one prouince, ut euerie one of them did so take care of the whole Church, as if that are had perrained vnto him alone. Thus farre *Bellarmine*, clearely con- ssing, that the illimited commission of the Apostles was fitted to those rst beginnings of Christianitie, & the condition of those first times: that the same reason that excludeth the other dignities and preemi- ences of the Apostles, as namely their being fitted to the first begin- ings, excludeth both these from being perpetuall likewise. But let s let this aduantage goe, and take a view of those prooses which they ring of the power of *Peters* Successours aboue other Bishops, where- *Peter* himselfe had no power more then anie of the rest. It is ue (say they) that *Peter* had no power which the rest had not, but e had that amplitude of Eccleſiasticall power as an ordinarie Pa- our, which they had onelie as Apostles and Delegates by speciall

fauour

fauour, and personall priuiledge.

Against this distinction few of our Diuines say anie thing, manie of them confessing they vnderstand it not; so deepe is the learning of our Aduersaries, that euerie Man cannot be so happie as to vnderstand what they write. Which is the lesse to be meruailed at, seeing manie of them scarce vnderstand themselues, and yet contemne vs, as if we were silly Idiots. But if without offence we may coniecture what the meaning of this their riddle is, surely vnder correction I thinke this it is.

The rest of the Apostles had as great authoritie and power, and as large a commission as *Peter* had: but they had it onely for terme of life, and could leaue none to succed them in the same: He had it for himself, and such as he would leaue it vnto. Besides, he was first inuested with all the plenitude of Ecclesiasticall power and iurisdiction, so that none could haue anie thing to doe in this businesse, but such as should receiue commission from him, saue onely that Christ reserued power to himself to giue commission to such as by speciall fauour he should be pleased to honour, as were the Apostles separated to the worke of the Ministerie by his owne immediate designemēt without receiuing anie thing from Peter, but afterwards all were either to receiue of him, or of them to whom he should leaue his office and charge.

This their conceipt they illustrate by a similitude. A Bishop, say they, hath authoritie to preach in his Diocese, as Pastour of the place; and whosoeuer succeedeth him in his Bishoplie office, succeedeth in the same power likewise. A Fryer by speciall fauour from the Pope may preach in the same Diocese whersoeuer the Bishop may, and cannot be silenced or restrained by him, because he receiued nothing from him, but his superiour the Pope; but another desiring to succeed the Frier, not so fauoured and priuiledged by the Pope, must fetch his commission and allowance from the Bishop, and be subiect to him in the performance and execution thereof.

So heere, *Peter* was first constituted Pastor of all the world; the Apostles were by speciall fauour authorized immediately by Christ to preach in *Peters* charge, and to gouerne the Church whereof he was Bishop as well as he; but yet so, that all they that were to follow after, were to deriue their commission from *Peter* or his Successour, if they would meddle in the Church which was his charge. Manie things are said by *Caietan*, *Bellarmine*, *Stapleton*, and others to this purpose; but this is the substance of all: Wherefore let vs see how they proue that they say.

Touching the first of these two points, thus they proue it. *Peter* was a Pastour, and had that amplitude of illimited commission before described, as a Pastour: but the office of a Pastour is of perpetuall necessitie, and vse: therefore this his illimited power and commission was to be perpetually continued. That *Peter* was a Pastour they proue, because Christ said

ayd vnto him expreſſely, *Feede my Sheepe: Feede my Lambes*. This is he frame of their whole building, which may very eaſily be throwne to he ground, if any man will put his hand vnto it. Firſt, becauſe it is cer-ane the other Apoſtles were Paſtours alſo: ſo that if *Peters* being a Pa-or proue the neceſſitie of the continuance of thoſe ample preëminences e had, and that he might leaue them to whom he pleaſed, it would fol-ow, that the reſt of the Apoſtles alſo had their preëminences, which ere equall with thoſe of *Peter*, not as things temporarie, but perpetuall, nd ſuch as they might leaue to whom they pleaſed.

That the other Apoſtles were Paſtors, [i] firſt the Hymne of the Church herein they are expreſſely ſayd to haue bene conſtituted Paſtours by Chriſt, proueth. Secondly, the confeſſion of [k] *Bellarmine* acknowledging hat what was giuen vnto *Peter* by thoſe words, *feede my ſheepe*, was giuen nto all by thoſe other words, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*, confir-eth the ſame. And thirdly, the enumeration of the ſeuerall kinds of fee-ing, euery of which the Diuines do ſhew to agree to the reſt as well as to *eter*, demonſtrateth that they were all Paſtors. Secondly, whereas they y, that the office of a Paſtour is a thing of perpetuall vſe and neceſſitie, nd conſequently perpetuall, and that the amplitude of power which as in *Peter* agreed vnto him in that he was a Paſtor, and as a Paſtor, they ewray notable ignorance and folly. For it is true indeed that the office f a Paſtor is of perpetuall vſe and neceſſitie, and ſo to continue for euer: ut the amplitude of power and iuriſdiction, and the great preëminen-es, that were in *Peter* did not agree vnto him as to a Paſtor, or in that he as a Paſtor: For if they had, then muſt they agree to euery Paſtor, and o euerie Biſhop muſt haue the ſame, and not the Pope onely.

i *Ockam. Dial. lib. 4. primi tract. 3. partis, ca. 3.*
k *Bellar. de Pont. lib. 4. cap. 23.*

For as whatſoeuer agreeth to a man in that he is a man, agreeth to eue-y man; ſo whatſoeuer agreeth to a Paſtor in that he is a Paſtour, agreeth o euery one that is a Paſtor. If they ſhall ſay, that the great and ample reëminences that were in *Peter*, did not agree vnto him as a Paſtor, but n ſome other reſpect, then his being a Paſtor, which is an office of perpe-uall neceſſitie, vſe, and continuance, will not proue the ſame perpetuall, o more then other things which this Paſtour had in that he was an poſtle.

If they ſhall ſay, theſe things agreed vnto him, not in that he was a aſtor, but in that he was ſuch a Paſtor as was to feed the flocke of Chriſt nd people of God, by deliuering vnto them the doctrine of truth with-ut all mixture of any the leaſt errour, to confirme the ſame by miracles llowing, and to giue the viſible gifts of the holy Spirit by the onely im-oſition of his hands; it is true that they ſay; but ſuch a Paſtour they con-eſſe is neceſſary onely in the beginnings of the Chriſtian Church, and or afterwards; and therefore from hence it cannot be concluded that he ample preëminences, that were in *Peter*, as his infallibilitie of

iudgement, and illimited Commission, were to be passed ouer from him to his Successors and after-commers. Their second conceipt is more fond then the first: For if *Peter* were by Christ constituted sole supreme Pastour and Bishop of the whole vniuersall world, and yet his meaning was, that others should likewise receiue immediatly from himselfe power to do as much in the gouerning of the Church as *Peter*; he meant to giue him something, and presently to take it from him againe. For as if the Pope shall make a man Bishop of such a city, or countrey, and thereby giue vnto him that supreme direction that nothing shall be done within that compasse without his authoritie and consent; and shall presently send another with full authoritie to do any thing that the former may do, and no way to be subiect to his controule or restraint in the performance thereof, or accomptant for it; he reuoketh, and maketh voyd his first graunt: so here, if Christ make *Peter* supreme Bishop, and Pastour of the whole Christian world, and presently constitute eleuen other Apostles with power and commission to do any thing that *Peter* may do in all parts of the world, and towards all persons (which as they have not from him so he cannot take it from them, or limit them in the vse of it) he absolutely voideth his first graunt made to *Peter*.

But they will say perhaps, that Christ meant little fauour to *Peter* more then to one of the rest of the Apostles, but that all his care was for the good of the Pope, whom he meant to make a great man in the world: and that therefore he constituted the other Apostles immediatly as well as *Peter*, put them into equall commission with him, and would not haue them beholding to him for any honor or power they had, but appointed that all other Bishops should receiue their mission, calling, commission, and authoritie from *Peter* during the short time of his life, and after his departure in all succeeding ages to the end of the world, from his Successours the Bishops of Rome.

This truly is well sayd in fauour of the Pope, if it were as truly sayd as it is kindly meant; but we shall find, that there is no truth in that they say. For it is cleare and euident, that each Apostle by his commission he had from Christ without being any way beholding to *Peter* for it, had authoritie to preach the Gospell to such as neuer heard of it before, to plant Churches, and ordaine and constitute in them Pastours and Bishops, and out of his more large and ample commission to make other, though somewhat more restrained and limited; whence it will follow that they whom any of the other Apostles ordained and constituted Pastours and Bishops, which were innumerable in all parts of the world, receiued nothing from *Peter* nor his pretended Successour.

Now they whom the Apostles thus constituted, and ordained might constitute and ordaine other by vertue of their office and calling they had from the Apostles, & those other, other againe to succeed them, so that none

one of these to the end of the world, one succeeding another, should euer receiue any thing from *Peter* or his pretended Successor.

And therefore it is absurd that [l] *Bellarmine* saith, that the Apostles receiued all their Iurisdiction immediately from Christ, and that yet notwithstanding all Bishops receiue the same from the Pope. And those Papists are better aduised that say, that the Bishops of other churches receiue not their iurisdiction from the Pope, but from Christ by those Apostles that constituted their churches, and planted their predecessours in the same, setting them the bounds of their Bishop-like charge: whence it will follow (as *Bellarmine* wisely foresaw, and therefore declined this opinion) that the Pope cannot either take away or diminish their authoritie, vnlesse any man can shew where Christ gaue him power to limite, restraine, or take away that power from men which they haue from himselfe by the hands of the other Apostles, and their after-commers, without being any way beholding to *Peter* for the same.

l *De Pont. Rom. lib. 4. cap. 23. 24. & 25.*

Wherefore they haue yet one more strange conceipt behind to helpe the matter, then any of those we haue hitherto heard; which is, that *Peter* being not onely an Apostle, but supreme Pastour and Bishop of the whole world constituted by Christ, made the other Apostles Bishops and Pastours; and that they ordained Bishops not by vertue of their Apostolique power (which they receiued immediatly from Christ without being beholding to *Peter* for it, or inferiour to him in it) but by vertue of their Bishoply authoritie and office which they receiued from *Peter*. [m] *Alioqui enim*, saith *Bellarmine*, *cum omnes Apostoli plurimos Episcopos in variis locis constituerint, si Apostoli ipsi non sint facti Episcopi à Petro, ratè maxima pars Episcoporum, non deducit originem suam à Petro*; that is, for otherwise, seeing all the Apostles constituted exceeding many Bishops in diuerse places, if the Apostles themselues were not made Bishops by *Peter*, certainely the greatest part of Bishops will not fetch their originall from *Peter*. This his fancie of *Peters* making the other Apostles Bishops, immediatly after, as his maner is, like an honest man he contradicteth, confessing, that the Apostles were all Bishops, and the first Bishops of the church in that they were Apostles, without any such ordination. [n] *Omnes Apostoli*, saith he, *fuerunt Episcopi, immo etiam primi Episcopi Ecclesiæ, tametsi non sunt ordinati*; that is, All the Apostles were Bishops, nay, which more is, the first Bishops of the Church, without any other or new ordination besides their Apostolique mission & calling. And in [o] another place he pronounceth peremptorily, that by vertue of these words, [p] *As my Father sent me, so send I you*, the Apostles were made Vicars of Christ, nay that they receiued the very office, and authoritie of Christ, and that in the Apostolique power all Ecclesiastical power is contained: and though in the former place he said expressely, *Non eo ipso quod aliquis est Apostolus, est Episcopus*; that is, A man is not therfore a Bishop, because an Apostle:

m *De Pont. Rom. lib. 1. c. 23.*

n *Ibidem.*

o *Lib. 4. cap. 23.*

p *Iohn 20. 21.*

for the twelue were Apostles before they were either Bishops or Priests: yet in the later place he saith, it is not to be maruailed at, that they were Apostles before the passion of Christ, and yet neither Priests nor Bishops: for that the Lord at diuerse times gaue the Apostles diuerse kinds and degrees of power: but especially in the 20 of *Iohn*, perfected that he began before his passion. So that an Apostle perfectly constituted and authorised, hath both priestly and Episcopall dignitie and power, though in the beginning, when the Apostles were rather designed then fully constituted, not hauing receiued their full Commission, they were neither Priests nor Bishops. But to leaue *Bellarmine* lost in these mists, it is most easie demonstratiuely to proue, that the Apostles in that they were Apostles perfectly and fully constituted, had both Priestly and Bishoply dignitie and power in most eminent sort.

For did not Christ giue the Apostles power to do any Ecclesiastical act that a Bishop can do? Did he not giue them power to preach and baptize, when he sayd vnto them, [q] *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them, &c.* to minister the holy Eucharist, when he sayd, [r] *Do this, as oft as ye shall do it, in remembrance of me?* Did he not giue them the power of the Keyes, of binding and loosing, of remitting and retaining sinnes, and consequently all that commeth within the compasse of Ecclesiastical office and Ministerie? doubtlesse he did: Neither is there any that dareth to denie any part of that which hath bene sayd. And therefore it is an idle fansie that *Peter* made the rest of his fellowes Bishops, the Apostolique power implying in it eminently the Episcopall, as the greater the lesser.

q Matth. 28. 19.
r Luke 22. 19.

But they will say, *Peter* made *Iames* the lesser Bishop of *Hierusalem*. Indeed [f] *Baronius* falsifieth *Chrysostome*, and maketh him say, that the Doctor of the world made *Iames* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, whereas he saith no such thing; but asking the question why *Peter*, whom Christ so much fauored, was not preferred to be Bishop of *Hierusalem*, answereth, that Christ made him Doctor of the world, which was a greater honor then to haue bin confined to the Church of *Hierusalem*, and to haue bene set in the Episcopall throne there. But it is cleare by the testimonies of Antiquity, that *Peter*, *Iames* the greater, and *Iohn* ordained *Iames* Bishop of *Hierusalem*. So saith *Anacletus* in his second Epistle, if any credit bee to be giuen vnto it, where he hath these words: A Bishop must bee ordained of three Bishops, as *Peter*, *Iames* the greater, and *Iohn*, ordained *Iames* the lesser Bishop of *Hierusalem*. [t] *Clemens Alexandrinus* also, as we reade in *Eusebius*, saith the very same; and [u] *Hierome de viris illustribus*, attributeth the ordaining of *Iames* not to *Peter* alone, but to the Apostles.

f Baronius Annal. anno Christi. 34. 292. Chrysost. in Ioan. homilia 87.

t Clem. Alexand. apud Eusebium, lib. 2. cap. 1.
u Hierony. de viris illustrib. in Iacobo.

His words are: *Iacobus, statim post passionem Domini, ab Apostolis Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatur*; that is, *Iames* presently after the passion of the Lord, is ordained Bishop of *Hierusalem* by the Apostles. If any

man aske how the Apoſtles did ordaine or make *Iames* being an Apoſtle a Biſhop, if the Apoſtolique office implie in it the office and dignitie of a Biſhop, as the greater the leſſer: we anſwere, that a Biſhop differing from an Apoſtle, as in other things, ſo in this, that he is fixed to ſome certaine place whereof ſpecially he taketh the care, whereas the care and employment of an Apoſtle is more at large; When the Apoſtles after the conuerſion of Nations and people began to retire themſelues to certaine places there to reſt, and ſpecially to take care thereof, they were in that reſpect rather Biſhops then Apoſtles; and in this ſort *Iames* the leſſer being appointed by the Apoſtles to make his principal abode at Hieruſalem a chiefe cittie of the world, whence the faith ſpred it ſelfe into all other parts, and more ſpecially to take care thereof, is rightly ſaid to haue bene conſtituted Biſhop of that place by them, not as if they had giuen him anie new power and authoritie, that he had not before, or not in ſo perfect ſort, but that they limited, and reſtrained him more ſpecially to one certaine place where he ſhould vſe the ſame.

The place in the x Acts maketh nothing for the confirmation of the Popiſh errour: for *Paul* and *Barnabas* formerly deſigned by Chriſt to be Apoſtles, were againe by the miniſterie of Prophets reuealing the will and pleaſure of Almightie God, ſeparated more ſpecially to be Apoſtles of the Gentiles, and put forth into that employment with faſting, praier, and impoſition of hands: not thereby receiuing anie new power, but a ſpeciall limitation and aſſignation of thoſe parts of the world wherein principally they ſhould be employed. Beſides, theſe were not Apoſtles but Prophets, ſuch as *Agabus* was, that are mentioned in this place, inferiour in degree to Apoſtles, and ſuch as might not make an Apoſtle to be a Biſhop; but did onely ſignifie and reueale what the will of God was, and whither he meant to ſend theſe worthie Apoſtles, and ſo with prayer and faſting commended them to the grace of God; and therefore this place maketh nothing for proofe of *Peters* ordaining and appointing the reſt of the Apoſtles to be Biſhops. x Act 13.2.3.

CHAP. 24.

Of the preeminence that Peter *had amongſt the Apoſtles, & the reaſon why Chriſt directed his ſpeeches ſpecially to him.*

THAT there was no more power and authoritie in *Peter* then in anie of the reſt, I hope it appeareth by that which hath bene ſaid: and therefore it remaineth that now we examine what was the reaſon why ſo manie things were ſpecially ſpoken to him, why ſo manie waies he may ſeeme to haue bene preferred before the reſt, and what in trueth and in deed

his preeminence, and primacie was. Touching the speeches of Christ for the most part specially directed to *Peter*, it is most certaine by that which hath bene sayd, that they did giue no singular and speciall power to *Peter* that was not giuen to euerie of the rest.

a *Ockam Dialo. lib. 4. primi tractat. 3. part. cap. 3.*

And therefore [a] the Diuines do obserue the difference of the speeches of Christ, and note that Christ sometimes directed his speech to particular men precisely in their owne persons, as in the remission of sinnes, healing the sicke, and raising the dead: sometimes in the person of all, or many other, as when he saith, [b] *Go and sinne no more*, which he is inuited to haue done so often as there is the same reason of speaking a thing to one and to others; as when a man is induced to do or not to do a thing, to beleeue or not to beleeue a thing, which other in like sort are bound to do or not to do, to beleeue or not to beleeue as well as he.

b *Ioh. 5. 14.*

c *Mark. 13. 37.*

So it being as necessary for one to watch as another, Christ saith, [c] *That I say vnto you I say vnto all, Watch.* And so here, seeing it is confessed and proued by our Aduersaries themselues, that there was nothing promised or performed to *Peter* that was not in like sort intended vnto, and bestowed on euerie of the rest, it must be graunted, that what he spake to him, he meant to all, and would haue his words so vnderstood and taken.

d *Ockam. vbi supra.*

[d] The reason why more specially, notwithstanding this his generall intendment, he directed his speech to *Peter*, then to any of the rest, was either because he was more ancient, and more ardent in charitie then the rest, thereby to signifie what manner of men they should be that should be chosen Pastours of the Church, namely men of ripe age and confirmed iudgement, and full of charitie; or lest he might seeme to be despised for his deniall of Christ, which the Glosse seemeth to import when he saith, *Trinæ negationi redditur trina confessio, ne minus amoris laboriosa seruiat, quàm timori*, that is, Therefore he was induced by Christ thrice solemnly to protest and professe his loue vnto him, as he had thrice denied him, that his tongue might shew it selfe no lesse seruiceable vnto loue that rested in him, then it had done vnto feare: or else because he first confessed Christ to be the Sonne of the liuing God consubstantial with his Father, because he was much conuersant with Christ, and acquainted with his secrets and counsels; or lastly, because Christ meant there should be a certaine order amongst the guides of his Church, and some to whom the rest in all places should resort in all matters of importance, as to such as are more honorable then other of the same ranke and degree who are first to be consulted, from whom all actions must take their beginning, therfore he so specially spake to *Peter*, whom he meant in this sort to set before the rest. Thus then, there is a primacie of power when one hath power to do that act of ministerie another hath not, or not without his consent, and when one may by himselfe limite, restraine or hinder another in the performance of the acts of ministerie; and such primacie we haue shewed not to haue bene in *Peter*. But there is another order

order and honor, which he had, whereby he had the first place, the first & best employment, the calling together of the rest in cases where a concurrence of many was required (as for the better sorting out of the worke they had in hand, the ioynt decreeing of things to be euery where alike beleeued, and practised) and in these assemblies thus called, the sitting & speaking first, the moderation and direction of each mans speaking, and the publishing and pronouncing of the conclusion agreed vpon, if so he pleased. In this sense *Cyprian* saith, [e] *Erant vtque & cæteri Apostoli quod fuit & Petrus, pari consortio præditi & honoris & potestatis, sed exordium ab vnitate proficiscitur*; that is, The other Apostles doubtlesse were that which *Peter* was, hauing the same fellowship both of power & honor, but the beginning proceedeth from vnitie, that the Church may be shewed to be one. And in the same sense *Hierome* saith against *Iouinian*, [f] Thou wilt say, the Church is founded vpon *Peter*: it is true it is so, & yet in another place the same frame of the Church is raised vpon all the Apostles: and all receiue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and the firmenesse of the Church stayeth it selfe equally vpon them all: but therfore doth Christ more specially promise to build his Church vpon *Peter*, that he being constituted & appounted head & chiefe amongst them, all occasion of Schisme might be taken away. To the same purpose it is that *Leo* writeth to *Anastasius*, where he saith, [g] *Inter beatissimos Apostolos in similitudine honoris fuit quædam discretio potestatis, & cum omnium par esset electio, vni tamen datum est, vt cæteris præemineret*, that is, Amongst the most blessed Apostles like in honor, there was a certain difference of power; & when all were equally elected, yet it was giuē to one to haue a preēminēce amōg the rest: In which saying of *Leo*, that it be not cōtrary to that of *Cyprian*, who saith, that the Apostles were cōpanions, & cōsorts equal both in honor & power, we must not vnderstād that one Apostle had more power thē another, or that power another had not; but that in the same power one was so before the rest, that he was the partie to whom they were to resort, & without consulting whom first & before all other, they might attempt nothing generally concerning the state of the whole Church, by vertue of this power. In which sense he saith in another place: [h] *Petro præ cæteris soluendi & ligandi tradita est potestas*; that is, The power of binding & loosing was so giuen to *Peter*, that therein he was before the rest; and againe, [i] *Siquid cum eo commune cæteris Christus voluit esse principibus, nunquam nisi per ipsum Petrum dedit quicquid aliis non negauit*: that is: If Christ would haue any thing to be common to the rest of the Princes, that is, Apostles, with *Peter*, he neuer gaue that which he vouchsafed vnto thē any otherwise then as by *Peter*; which words must not so be vnderstood, as if *Peter*, had first receiued the fulnes of power, & others frō him; for all the Apostles receiued their power & cōmission immediatly frō Christ & not frō *Peter*, as I haue largely proued, & al cōfesse; but that what he gaue to others, it did so passe vnto thē, as that in the first place it was giuē to *Peter*, & he therby set in order & honor before the rest

e *Cyprian. de vnitate Ecclesiæ.*

f *Hieron. lib. 1. contra Iouinian.*

g *Leo. epist. 84.*

h *Leo. epist. 89.*

i *Leo in anniuers. assumpt. Serm. 3.*

put in the same commission with him; so that *Peter* receiued not a different or more large commission from Christ then the other Apostles, but onely a kind of honourable precedence, preëminence, and prioritie, such as the Duke of *Venice* hath amongst the great Lords of that state, to whō all Embassies and messages are directed from forreine Princes, and in whose name all letters, warrants, and mandates are sent out, as representing the whole State: yet can he do nothing without the rest, nor crosse the consenting resolution of those noble Senators.

k *Aug. tract. 1. in Ioannem.*

And in this sense it is that k *Augustine* saith of *Peter*, that he was by nature one particular man, by grace a christian man, by more ample and abundant grace a chiefe Apostle; but that when hee receiued the Keyes, he represented the whole vniuersall Church, not as a legate that representeth the person of his Prince, and receiueth honours, dignities and titles for him and not for himselfe, but as chiefe of the companie of the Apostles receiuing for himselfe in the first place that which in him and together with him was intended to them all. l This primacie of honor and order found in blessed *Peter*; who is thereupon named by the Fathers Prince and head of the Apostles, is the originall of all that superioritie that Metropolitanes haue ouer the Bishops of their prouinces; and Primates and Patriarches ouer Metropolitanes, and in a word of all that order that is in the Church, and amongst her guides whereby vnitie is preserued.

l *Leo epist. 84.*

Chap. 25.

Of the distinction of them to whom the Apostles dying left the managing of Church affaires: and particularly of them that are to performe the meaner seruices in the Church.

HAVING spoken of the Apostles power and office, & the largenesse of that cōmission, it remaineth that we come to speake of them to whom they recommended the managing of Church affaires, and the ministerie of holie things when they left the world. They to whom they recommended the care of these things, when hauing finished their course they were called hence to receiue the crowne laid vp for thē in heauen, were of two sorts: first such as they trusted with the ministerie of the word & sacraments, & gouernment of Gods people; & secondly, such others as they appointed to be assistant to them, & to performe the meaner seruices, though necessarie also.

The former sort are all comprehended vnder one common name of Presbyters, that is, fatherlie guides of Gods Church and people; the later are Deacons, and such other inferiour Ministers, as attend the necessities of the Saints, and assist the principall guides of the Church. In the ordination of a Presbyter, saith a *Durandus*, there is a certaine power conferred on him

a *In 4. Sent. dist. 24. qu. 2.*

him, and assigning of him to an employment whereby after his ordination hee may do something which hee could not haue done before, *tam quoad genus facti*, no not in the kinde and nature of the thing it selfe; as he that is ordained a Presbyter, may consecrate the Lords body, and absolue in the Court of Penitencie; neither of which thinges without such ordination can be done: but to them that are in the inferiour orders there is no power giuen, neither haue they any assignement to do any thing which they could not do before, & without such ordination, but to do such things as they could not lawfully do; nay in many of them there is no designement of them that are so ordained to the performance of any thing, but that which according to the vse of the vniuersall Church, men without such ordination may lawfully do. So that the ordination of men to the performance of such things, and the execution of such offices seemeth to haue proceeded from the institution of the Church, for the greater solemnitie of Diuine worship and seruice: and therefore such inferiour orders are neither simply orders (order being a sacred signe or character, by vertue whereof a power is giuen to the ordained, not only to do that he could not otherwise lawfully do, but to do that which otherwise he could not doe at all) neither are they Sacraments, or Sacramental solemnities onely, seeing the Church can institute no Sacraments. Hitherto *Durandus*. These being the sorts of them to whom the Apostles recommended the managing of Church affaires, & this the difference of their orders, I will first speake of the diuers orders and degrees of them that performe the meaner seruices in the Church, and then come to speake of them that haue the gouernment of the Church.

[b] The *maister of Sentences* saith, that the order of Subdeacons, and other minor orders below the degree of Deacons, as Acoluthes, Exorcists, Lectors, and Ostiaries, were brought in by the Church, and that they were not in the Apostles times; and [*] *Thomas Aquinas*, and other, are of the same minde. Notwithstanding there is no question but these minor orders and degrees were very ancient. For [c] *Cyprian* maketh mention of one *Mettius* a Subdeacon, & *Nicephorus* an Acoluthe. In another place he writeth, that he had ordained [d] *Aurelius* and *Celerinus* Lectors: and in a third place hee mentioneth [e] Exorcists and Lectors. *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* in his Epistle recorded by [f] *Eusebius*, describing the Clergie of the *Romane* Church in his time, sheweth that there were in the same 46. Presbyters, 7. Deacons, 7. Subdeacons, 42. Acoluthes. 52. Exorcists; Lectors & Ostiaries, Widowes with distressed people, more then 1500. *Ignatius* in his Epistle to the *Antiochians*, omitting Acoluthes, reckoneth the rest, as Subdeacons, Lectors, Ostiaries, and Exorcists, adding to them *Cantores*, and *Laborantes*, or *Copiatæ*, whose employment was to bury the dead; of whom also [g] *Epiphanius* speaketh. Whereupon Bishop [h] *Lindan* saith, that howsoeuer in these times they make or account

b *Lib. 4. dist. 24.*

* *Addit. ad 3. part. Summæ, quæst. 37. art. 2.*

c *Cyprian. lib. 2. Epist. 10.*

d *Idem lib. 2. Epist. 5. & li. 4. Epist 5.*

e *Lib. 5. ep. 14.*

f *Euseb. hist. Eccles. lib. 6. cap. 42.*

g *Epiphan. in epitome doctr. Catholicæ.*

h *Lindan. Panopl. lib. 4. cap. 77.*

account but seuen orders, yet in the primitiue Church there were more now scarce knowen. But let vs see what the office, employment and manner of the admissiō of these men was in former times. Touching Ostiaries, the Councel of *Carthage* ordaineth thus: [i] *Let the Ostiary after he hath been instructed by the Arch-deacon how to behaue himselfe in the house of God, at the suggestion of the Arch-deacon be ordained, and let the Bishop take the Keyes from the altar, and giue them to him saying: So demeane thy selfe as being to giue an account to God for the things that these Keyes locke vp.*

i Concil. Carthag. 4.

The Lectors were to reade in the Church whatsoeuer was to be read out of the old or new Testament; whereupon *Cyprian* hauing ordained *Aurelius* the confessour, a Lector, giueth a reason why he had so done: [k] *Quia nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum glorioſa prædicatione confeſſa eſt, quàm celebrandis diuinis Lectionibus perſonare:* that is, Because nothing doth more fit or better beseeme the voice that by a glorious publique testimony hath confessed the Lord, then to giue a sound in the Church in readiug the diuine Scriptures of the Lord.

k Cyprian. lib. 2. Epist. 5.

The Exorcists were such as tooke care of the *Energumeni*, or men vexed with the Diuell, who in ancient times came to the Churches in great companies, and were there prouided for, and kept vnder rules and disciplinary gouernment. These Exorcists receiued of the hands of the Bishop the booke wherein the Exorcismes were written, which they were to commit to memory, that so by earnest inuocation of the name of Christ, who is to returne to iudge the quicke and the dead, and to iudge the world in fire, they might obtaine of him the repressing of Sathans furies, and the ease, and deliuerance of such as were disquieted and vexed by him.

These had power to impose hands on them that were disquieted with Diuels, whether baptized or not; and in solemne manner to commend them vnto God, who only hath power to rebuke Sathan. Acoluthes were so named for that they were to follow and attend the Bishop whithersoeuer hee went, that so they might not onely be witnesses of his blamelesse conuersation, but do vnto him such seruice as he should require and stand in neede of; whereupon in later times, for that they were to go before the Bishop in the Churches, bearing waxe lights in the night watches, and other meetings for diuine seruice in the night time, they were named *Ceroferarij*, that is, *Taper-bearers*. Subdeacons were to assist the Deacons in all things pertaining to them.

The order of Subdeacons in ancient time was not accounted a sacred order, [l] so that they might not touch the sacred vessels, nor none might be chosen a Bishop out of their ranke: but the later Bishops of Rome decreed, that the order of Subdeacons should be reputed a sacred order.

l Concil. Laodic. can 21. Decret. part. 1 dist 23. c. 26. & dist. 60. ca. 4.

* Cōcil. carthag. 4. can. 12.

These were the inferiour orders of ministery in the Church in ancient times, to which were added * Widowes, or holy women, which being

eing aged and destitute of friendes, were maintained by the Church; d being of good report, were chosen and appointed to minister to the omen that were to be baptized, to teach and direct them how to an- er the Baptizer, and how to liue afterwards, as also to take care of them at were sicke.

All these, as well Ostiaries, Lectors, Exorcists, and Acoluthes, Subdeacons, in ancient times serued for a certaine space in these de- ees: and therefore the solemne designing of them thereunto was ot to be disliked; but now, when they execute the office of Ostiaries ho are no Ostiaries, of Lectors who are no Lectors, of Psalmists, who e worthy to bee driuen not onely out of the Quire, but out of the hurch also, as Bishop [m] *Lindan* rightly noteth; when none of these erforme the duties their names import, and euery man almost is made a esbyter the first day, as if none might be made the next, it is but for ew and fashion onely that men are ordained to the performance of ese offices, and in truth and indeede, nothing else but a meere moc- ery, as the same Bishop *Lindan* ingenuously confesseth, with whom *uarenus* agreeth. His words are: [n] *Hodie nec Diaconis nec alijs inferiori- Clericis vllus locus est in Ecclesiâ, villumue ministerium aut munus quod ex- uantur; sed quia priscis canonibus statutum est vt nemo Presbyter ordinetur, si per omnes gradus inferiores ascenderit, ideo dicis causa, vt ita dicam, gradas ordinari soleut, idque certo quodam sollenniqueritu, vt ad honorem Presby- ij aut quemuis alium sublimiorem capescendum idonei reddantur, potestque di- imaginaria hæc ordinatio*: that is, At this day neither is there any place Deacons, nor other inferiour Clergie-men in the Church, nor a- y ministery or function for them to execute; but because it is ordai- d in the ancient Canons, that no man be ordained a Presbyter, vn- sse hee ascend and climbe vp, by all inferiour degrees: therefore for mes sake they are wont to bee ordained to euery of these degrees order, and that with a certaine solemne rite, that they may be made pable of Priestly honour, or any other higher dignitie. And this rdination may rightly bee tearmed an Imaginarie ordination, or in magination onely. And therefore our Aduersaries cannot iustly blame , who omitting the other inferiour ordinations giue no lower order en that of a Deacon.

m *Lindan. Panoplia. lib. 4. cap. 78. & 79.*

n *Durand. de sacr. Eccles. minist. & Benef. lib. 1. cap. 16.*

All these both Ostiaries, Lectors, Acoluthes and Subdeacons, in former mes, were sanctified and set apart to serue God in these meaner employ- ents, that they might bee trained vp thereby to performe the duties higher orders: For in those times, men were not promoted to the ghest roomes but by degrees, being found to haue demeaned them- lues well in the lower: and therefore they were vnder a stricter kinde gouernmēt then they of the Laity: & both in their conuersation, habite, d all things beseeming modesty and grauity, they were more precisely

tyed

eyed to the keeping of order then other men.

4 Concil. Laodicen. 4. can. 44. Hereupon they were not suffered to weare their haire long like wantons, vncivill men, or men of warre; but were commanded to pollet their whole heads, leauing onely a circular crowne in the lower parts thereof. And here truly we cannot but condemne the absurd custome of the Romane Church, violating old Canons, degenerating from ancient vse, and exposing her Priests and Leuites to the skorne and contempt of the world by those triabolar shauen crownes, which dayly sheweth before our eies.

o Concil. Toletan. 4. can. 40. For first, whereas the o Councell of *Toledo* in *Spaine* prouideth, that all cleargie men, Lectors, Deacons, and Priests, polling the whole head aboue, shall leaue onely a circular crowne below, and not as the Lectors hitherto had done in the parts of *Galicia* (who wearing their haire long as Lay-men, were polled in a little round compasse in the top of their heads onely) for that this had bene the custome of certaine Heretiques in *Spaine*, the Church of *Rome* abandoneth the forme of polling prescribed by the Councell, and alloweth the obseruation of those ancient Heretiques the Councell condemned:

p Panoplie. lib. 4. cap. 77. Here we see, saith Bishop p *Lindan*, whence these triabolar crownes in the toppes of cleargie mens heads did come, namely from certaine ancient Heretiques in *Spaine*. But these lesser things might easily be ouerlooked, if the vnspeakable scandals, shames, and dishonours of the Church, were first remoued and taken away. This is the censure of that learned Bishop.

Secondly, whereas rasure was not vsed in ancient times, but condemned by the Fathers, as most vnseemely; they of the Church of *Rome* haue left tonsure, and brought in rasure in steed thereof. That rasure was not

q Lib. 1. Paedag. cap. 12. vsed in ancient times, it appeareth by q *Clemens Alexandrinus*, where he saith, that the haires are to be cut off not with the rasour, but with the Barbours sheares; and by

r Lib. 2. contra Parmenian. r *Optatus* Bishop of *Milenis*, where he reprehendeth the *Donatists*, that tooke certaine Catholike Priests, and by force did shaue their heads. Shew vs (saith he) where you are commanded to shaue the heads of Priests, when as on the contrary side, there are so many examples proposed that it ought not so to be done. With *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Optatus*, *Hierome* agreeth, who vpon the 44. of *Ezekiel* saith in expresse words, that Priests must neither nourish their haire nor be shaued, but so polled, that their skinne may still remaine hid and

s Bell. lib. 2. de Monach. cap. 40. couered; and s *Bellarmine* himselfe confesseth, that *Dionysius*, *Epiphanius*, *Hierome*, *Athanasius*, *Palladius*, *Augustine*, *Isidore*, *Bede*, and the Councels of *Carthage* and *Toledo*, do speake of tonsure onely, and neuer mention rasure, and that the Epistle of *Anicetus* the Pope alledged for rasure, is not indubitate.

What then will the Cardinall bring for defence of the contrary custome now preuailing in the Church of *Rome*? and what will hee answer to

o theſe authorities of the ancient? We reprehend not, ſaith hee, the cuſtomes of thoſe times, neither do they of thoſe times condemne our obſeruation. For howſoeuer tonſure, and not raſure, was anciently vſed, yet were not they of the Clergie forbidden to vſe raſure, or to ſhaue their heads.

A ſtrange anſwer of ſo great a *Rabbi*, and contrary to that he knoweth to be vndoubtedly true. For *Optatus* directly condemneth raſure, as we haue heard: and *Hierome* writing vpon the 44. of *Ezekiel*, hath theſe words: *Quod autem ſequitur, Caput autem ſuum non radent, neq; comam nutrient, ſed tondentes attondebũt capita ſua, perſpicuè demonſtratur, nec raſis capitibus, ſicut Sacerdotes cultorẽſq; Iſidis atq; Serapis nos eſſe debere, nec rurſum comam dimittere, quod proprie luxurioſorum eſt barbarorumq; & militantium, &c.* That is, that which followeth, They ſhall not ſhaue their heads, nor let their haire grow long, but polling they ſhall polle their heads, doth clearely demonſtrate, that we ſhould neither ſhaue our heads like the Prieſts and worſhippers of *Iſis* and *Serapis*, nor on the other ſide let our haire grow long, as wantons, barbarous men, & Souldiers are wont to do; that that which is fitting, honeſt, & ſeemely, may appeare in the faces of the Prieſts. The *Septuagints* reade the words of the Prophet ſomewhat otherwiſe in this ſort: *They ſhall not ſhaue their heads, nor cut their haire too neere, ſed operientes operient capita ſua*; that is, but hiding they ſhal hide their heads: whereby we learne, that we muſt neither make our ſelues bald by ſhauing, nor cut the haire of our heads ſo neere as if we were ſhauen, but let our haire grow ſo that the skinne may be hid and couered.

Theſe are the words of *Hierome*, whereby it appeareth, that the abſurd and ridiculous ceremonie of the *Romaniſts*, in ſhauing the heads of thoſe of their Clergie, is condemned by the Fathers, and that *Bellarmine* ſpeaketh againſt his owne conſcience, when he ſaith the contrary.

Wherefore ceaſing any longer to inſiſt vpon the refutation of the abſurditie of ſo ridiculous a ceremonie, and leauing thoſe inferiour orders and degrees of miniſterie in the Church of God, wherein men in ancient times were trained vp vnder the rules of ſtrict and ſeuere gouernement and diſcipline, and fitted for higher and greater employments, let vs come to the office of the Deacons.

The office of Biſhops and Presbyters, was from Chriſts owne immediate inſtitution: but the inſtitution of Deacons was from the Apoſtles, as *Cyprian* deliuereth. Theſe the Biſhop alone may ordaine, neither is it neceſſary that other impoſe their hands with him, as in the ordination of Presbyters, ſeeing they are conſecrated onely to bee aſſiſtants to the Biſhop and Presbyters, and not admitted into the fellowſhip of the ſame power and order with them. t *Cyprian. lib. 3. Epiſt. 9.*

The Deacons according to the intendment of their firſt inſtitution, were to take care of the poore, and the treaſure of the Church, and there-

upon

upon *Chrysostome*, & after him the Fathers of the [a] sixth generall Councel do thinke they were not the same we now haue; ours being busied in other affaires of the Church. But I am of opinion that they were the same; and that (the end of their first institution being principally to ease the Apostles of the care of prouiding for the poore, and to take the charge of the Church-treasure) when the treasure of the Church increasing was committed to certaine Stewards, and the poore otherwise prouided for, they were more specially vsed for the assisting of the Bishop and Presbyters in things pertaining to Gods seruice and worship. Whereupon we shall finde that in some cases they might baptize, reconcile penitents, preach, and do sundry other things pertaining to the office of the Bishop and Presbyters.

[a] Canon. 16.

That in some cases they might baptize, [x] *Tertullian* witnesseth. That they might reconcile penitents, we haue the authority of Saint [y] *Cyprian*. That they might preach, we haue the testimony of Saint [z] *Gregory*. And that they assisted the Bishops and Presbyters in ministring the Sacrament of the Lords body and blood, and ministred the cuppe, it appeareth by [a] *Cyprian*. And hereupon *Hierome* amplifieth the dignity of them exceedingly, shewing that for auoyding presumption, the Presbyters may not take the cuppe of the Lord from the holy Table, vnlesse it be deliuered vnto them by the Deacons.

x *Tertullian. lib. de Baptismo.*
y *Cyprian. lib. 3. Epist. 17.*
z *Greg. Epist. lib. 4. cap. 88.*
a *Cyprian. Serm. 6. de Lapsis.*

These are they, saith he, of whom we reade in the *Reuelation*, [b] *Septem Angeli Ecclesiarum, hi sunt septem Candelabra aurea, hi sunt voces tonitruorum, virtutum operatione præclari, humilitate præditi, quieti, Euangelizantes pacem, annuntiantes bona, dissentiones, & rixas & scandala resecare docentes, soli Deo colloquentes in templo, nihil penitus de mundo cogitantes, dicentes Patri & Matri, non noui vos, filios suos non agnoscentes. Sine his Sanctus nomen non habet, ortum non habet, officium non habet*: that is, These are the seuen Angels of the Churches; these are the seuen golden Candlesticks; these are the voices of the thunders; these are renowned for the operation of vertues, humble, quiet, preaching peace, publishing good things, teaching how to cut away dissentions, brawles and scandals, communing with God alone in his holy temple, hauing no thought of the world, saying to Father & Mother, I know you not, & not acknowledging their owne sonnes: without these the Priest hath not the name, not the beginning, nor the office of a Priest. And a little after he addeth, *Sacerdotibus etiam propter præsumptionẽ non licet de mensa Domini calicem tollere, nisi eis traditus fuerit a Diaconis: Leuitæ componunt mensam Domini: Leuitæ Sacerdotibus cum Sacrificium benedicũt, assistunt: Leuitæ ante Sacerdotes orant, vt aures habeant ad Dominũ Diaconus acclamat*: that is, Euen the Priests themselues for the auoyding of presũption, must not take the holy cup from off the Table of the Lord, vnlesse it be deliuered vnto them by the Deacõs. The Deacons or Leuites prepare the Table of the Lord, and make all things ready on the same.

b *Hierony. tom. 4. de septem ordinib. Ecclesiæ.*

The

The Leuites assist the Priests when they bless & sanctifie the Sacramen-
all elements. The Leuites pray before the Priests. The Deacon crieth out
loud vnto vs to open our eares, and to listen and heare what the Lord
will speake vnto vs. Great and glorious are these dignities of the Deacons;
yet the Councell of *Carthage* maketh them [c] Ministers not of the Bishop
lone, but of the Presbyters also: so that they might not sit in the presence
of the Bishop or Presbyters. And when some went about to preferre them
before Presbyters, *Hierome* with great violence opposed himselfe against
the same, saying: [d] *Quid patitur mensarum & viduarum minister, vt supra*
se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur?
that is, What passion is this, that thus transporteth the Minister of the Ta-
bles and Widowes, that swelling in pride he should lift vp himselfe a-
boue them, at whose praiers the body and bloud of Christ is consecra-
ted? And obiecting to himselfe the custome of the *Romane* Church, where
a Presbyter is ordained vpon the testimony of a Deacon, hee passionate-
ly breaketh out into these words: *Quid mihi profers vnius vrbis consuetu-*
dinem? Diaconos paucitas honorabiles, Presbyteros turba contemptibiles facit.
Alterum etiam in Ecclesia Romæ Presbyteri sedent, & stant Diaconi, licet pau-
latim increbescentibus vitijs, inter Presbyteros, absente Episcopo, sedere Diaco-
num viderim: that is, Why doest thou vrge me with the custome of one
Citie? the fewnesse of Deacons maketh them honourable, and the num-
ber of Presbyters maketh them to be lesse esteemed. Yet euen in the Church
of *Rome* Presbyters do sit, and Deacons stand; although things (growing
worse and worse by degrees, and many things growing out of order)
haue seene a Deacon in the absence of the Bishop, sit amongst the Pres-
byters.

Out of the society and company of the Deacons in each Church,
there was one chosen who not onely was to performe the thinges per-
taining to the Deacons office, but also to prescribe vnto others what
they should do.

The institution of these is not new, but very ancient, as it appeareth
by [e] *Hierome*, who vrging the necessity of order and gouernement,
sheweth, that the heardes of cattell haue their leaders which they fol-
low; that Bees haue their King; that the Cranes flye after one that
leadeth them the way; that there is one Emperour, and one Iudge of
each prouince; that *Rome* could not haue two brethren to reigne in her
Kings, but was dedicated in parricide; that *Esau* and *Iacob* were
warre in the wombe of *Rebeccah*; that euery Church hath her Bi-
shop; euery company of Presbyters and Deacons, their Arch-presbyter,
and Arch-deacon.

These chiefe Deacons, or Arch-deacons were in processe of time (not-
withstading al Canons to the cõtrary, & the violent oppositiõ of *Hierome*,
and

Concil. Carth. 4. can. 37. & 39.

d *Hieronym. ad Euagrium.*

e *Hier. ad Rusticum monachum.*

* This maketh nothing against them who with vs are named Arch-deacons, and vnder that name exercise Iurisdiction. For by the Canons of our Church they are Presbyters chosen to assist the Bishop in his gouernment, and not meere Deacons as sometime they were.

and other Worthies of those times) lifted vp not onely above the Presbyters, but the Arch-presbyters also.

The reason of which their aduancement was first, because the number of Presbyters made them little esteemed, and the paucitie and worth of Deacons made them honourable, as I noted before out of Hierome. Secondly, because they were busied about money-matters, & had the charge of the treasure of the Church, which kinde of employments are very much set by. Thirdly, because being Ministers vnto the Bishop, they were vsed by him for the viewing of such parts of his Diocese, as he could not conueniently come vnto himselfe, the dispatch of things for him, and in the end for the reformation of the lesser and smaller faults which vpon such view they should finde: Whereupon at the last they obtained a kinde of Iurisdiction and power of correction by prescription and custome, whereof I shall haue occasion to speake more hereafter. Thus haue we spoken of the inferiour degrees of Ministery, by which men were wont to ascend to the higher, being trained vp for a certaine space in the lower, that they might thereby be fitted for the higher, according to that of *Hierome* touching *Nepotian*, [f] *Fit Clericus, & per solitos gradus Presbyter ordinatur*; that is, He is made a Clergie-man, and passing through the ordinary degrees, he is ordained a Presbyter.

[f] *Hieron. in Epitaph. Nepotiani ad Heliodorum.*

Chap. 26.

Of the orders, and degrees of them that are trusted with the Ministery of the Word, and Sacraments, and the gouernment of Gods people; and particularly of Lay-Elders, falsly by some supposed to be Gouernors of the Church.

NOW it remaineth that we speake of them that are trusted with the ministery of the Word and Sacraments, and the gouernment of Gods people, comprehended vnder one common name of Presbyters, that is, Fatherly Guides of Gods Church and people. Touching these Presbyters, or fatherly Guides of Gods Church, some in our time haue a new and strange conceipt, making them to be of two sorts: whereof some haue charge of gouernment onely, and some together therewith the ministery of the Word and Sacraments; the one sort Lay-men, and the other Clergie-men; the one sort gouerning onely, and the other sort preaching, teaching, ministring Sacraments, and gouerning also.

Touching these newly supposed gouerning Elders, that are not Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, I will first set downe the reasons that moue vs to thinke there neuer were any such in the Church; and secondly, I will shew the weakenesse of their reasons that are induced to thinke there were.

The

The first reason that moueth vs to thinke, there neuer were any such, is, because Bishops, Presbyters, that preach and minister Sacraments, and Deacons that assist them, howsoeuer they much degenerated in later times, yet all still remained in all Christian Churches throughout the world (though in many thinges exceedingly different, as *Greeke*, *Latine*, *Æthiopian* and *Armenian*) in their names and offices also in some some sort: But of these Lay-elders, there are no foote-steps to be found in any Christian Church in the world, nor were not for many hundred yeares, whereas there would haue bene some remaines of these, as well as of the other, had they euer had any institution from Christ and his Apostles, as the other had.

Our second reason is, for that Saint *Paul* [a] prescribing *Timothie* how he should establish the Church and appoint her Pastours, and shewing who should be Bishops and Ministers, who Deacons, yea who Widowes, passeth immediatly from describing the quality of such as were to be Bishops and Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, to the Deacons, omitting these Lay-elders that are supposed to lye in the midst betweene them, no way describing vnto vs of what quality they must be, which in reason hee neither might nor would haue omitted, if there had bene any such. [a] 1. Tim. 3.

Our third reason is, for that neither Scripture, nor practise of the Church, bounding the gouernment of such Gouernours, nor giuing any direction how farre they may go in the same, and where they must stay, lest they meddle with that they haue nothing to do with, men should be left to a most dangerous vncertaintie in an office and employment of so great consequence, either of not doing that their office and place requireth, or presuming beyond that they should: which is not to be conceiued, seeing Christ our gracious Sauiour by himselfe or his Apostles, left certaine direction for farre lesser things then these mens gouernment is supposed to be.

That the gouernment of these supposed Lay-elders is not bounded in Scripture, or Fathers, it is most euident, neither can any man liuing shew vs any such bounding of the same in either of them. The gouernement of the Church is in respect of two sorts of men; the Clergie, and the Laitie: Touching the former, they are to bee tryed, and approued for their life and learning, they are to bee ordained with solemne imposition of hands, and if they deserue it, they are to be suspended from the execution of their office, or vtterly depriued, and degraded. Shall Lay-elders haue as much to doe in all these actions, as they to whom the ministery of the Word and Sacraments is commited? are they competent Iudges of mens learning and aptnesse to teach, that neither are Teachers nor learned? Can they giue the sacred power of holy ministery to others, that haue it not themselues? Or is it not a certaine

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taine Axiome on the contrary side, that the lesser is blessed of the greater? Surely they that in *England* sought to bring in the gouernment of the Church by Lay-elders, were of opinion, that they ought to haue interest in all these thinges, as well as the Pastours of the Church. And indeed admit them to the gouernement of the Church by force of certaine doubtfull words of Scripture, mentioning gouernement without any distinction or limitation; and there is no reason to straighten them, but that they should haue their sway in all parts of it. But they of *Geneua, France*, and other parts, exclude these Elders from intermedling in ordination, and leaue the power to trye, examine, approue and ordaine to the Pastours onely. Likewise as I thinke, they referre the deciding of doubts in matters of Faith and Religion to the Pastours onely, and not to the suffrages of Lay-men by multitude of voices ouer-ruling them.

See *Bezaes* Epistles, and *Calu.* Institut. *l.4.ca.3.Sect.16*

Touching the other sort of them of whom the Church consisteth, which are Lay-men, who are to bee admonished, corrected, put from the Sacraments, yea from the communion of the Church for impietie, disobedience, and wickednesse, and vpon repentance and submission to bee receiued againe; doth not the ordering of these men in this sort come within the compasse of the power of the Keyes, and of binding and loosing? Did Christ leaue these to his Apostles as speciall fauours, and are they now transferred from their Successours, the Bishops and Pastours of the Church to Lay-men, that haue neither part nor fellowship in the worke of the Ministerie? Hath GOD committed the dispensation of his Sacraments to the Pastours of the Church? Is it on the perill of their soules, that they duely giue them or with-hold them, as cause shall require? And shall there bee in others that are not trusted with them, as great a power to direct the vse of this Ministeriall authoritie as in them? nay greater, the other being more in number, and their voices more to carry any thing that shall bee brought into deliberation? Besides all this which hath bene said, there are many more doubts touching the authoritie of these men, wherein I feare there will be none found amongst the friendes and fauourers of these Lay-elders that will be able to giue vs any satisfaction.

For first, I would gladly know, whether these ruling Elders must bee in euery congregation with power of ordination, and depriuation, suspension, excommunication, and absolution? or whether this power bee onely in the Ministers and Elders of diuers Churches concurring?

Surely in *Geneua* there are Elders in the congregations that are abroad *in agro*, that is, in the Country, but these haue no power of excommunication, much lesse of ordination or deprivation: They may onely complaine to the Consistorie of the Citie; Nay they that are in the congregations within the Citie, haue no separate power with their

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owne Ministers, but a ioynt proceeding with the rest of the Ministers and Elders of the other Churches and congregations; all which concurring make but one Consistory.

Secondly, let them tell vs, whether these offices bee perpetuall, as the offices of Bishops and Pastours, or annuall, and but for a certaine time.

But to leaue them in these vncertainties, the fourth reason that moueth vs to reiect the conceipt of these Lay-elders, is, because the founders of this new gouernment, fetch the patterne of it from the *Sanedrim* of the Iewes, the platforme whereof they suppose Christ meant to bring into his Church when hee said, [b] *Tell the Church.* Whereas it is most cleare, that that Court was a ciuill court, and had power to banish, to imprison, yea and to take away life, till by the *Romanes* the *Iewes* were restrained: which made them say in the case of Christ, that [c] *it was not lawfull for them to put any man to death.* b Mat 18.17. c Ioh.18.31.

Our fift and last reason is, for that all Fathers and Councels mentioning elders or Presbyters, place them betweene Bishops and Deacons, and make them to bee Clergy-men: and that in the *Acts*, where the Apostles are sayd to haue constituted Elders in euery Church, Pastours and Ministers are meant, and not Lay-men, is strongly confirmed by that in the twentieth of *Acts*, where the Elders of the Church of *Ephesus* conuented before *Paul*, are commanded *to feede the flocke of Christ, ouer which they were appointed ouerseers*; whence it followeth inuitably, that they were Pastours.

The places of Scripture brought to proue this kinde of gouernment by Lay-elders are specially three. The first is that to *Timothie*, [e] *Let the Elders that rule well, be esteemed worthy of double honour, especially they that labour in the word and doctrine.* The second is that in the Epistle to the *Romanes*: [f] *He that ruleth, let him doe it with diligence.* The third is that to the *Corinthians*, where [g] *Gouernours*, or *Gouernments* are mentioned. The two later allegations are too too weake to proue the thing in question. For will any man that knoweth what it is to reason, reason *a genere ad speciem affirmatiue*, that is, from the generall to the particular and special affirmatiuely? Or will euer any man of common sense bee perswaded that this consequence is good; There were gouernors in the Primitiue Church mentioned by the Apostles, and required by them to rule with diligence; therefore they were Lay-gouernours? Surely I thinke not. Wherefore let vs see if the first place alledged by them yeelde any better proofe. Touching this place, some interprete it in this sort. The Guides of the Church are worthy of double honour, both in respect of gouerning and teaching, but specially for their paines in teaching; so noting two parts or duties of Presbyteriall offices, not two sorts of Presbyters. Some in this sort: Amongst the Elders and Guides of Gods Church & e 1.Tim.5.17. f Rom.12.8. g 1.Cor.12.28.

people, some laboured principally in gouerning and ministring the Sacraments, some in preaching, and teaching: So *Paul* sheweth, that he preached and [h] laboured more then all the Apostles, but [i] baptized few or none, leauing that to be performed by others; and when *Paul* and *Barnabas* were companions, and their trauels were equall, yet [k] *Paul* is noted to haue bene the chiefe speaker: so that though both were worthy of double honour, yet *Paul* especially.

h 1. Cor. 15. 10.
i 1. Cor. 1. 14.
k Acts 14. 12.

Some interprete the words in this sort. There were some that remained in some certaine places for the guiding and gouerning of such as were already wonne by the preaching of the Gospell; other that trauailed with great labour and paines from place to place, to spread the knowledge of God into all parts, and to preach Christ crucified to such as had neuer heard of him before. Both these were worthy of double honor, but the later that builded not vpon another mans foundation, most especially then the former that did but keepe that which others had gotten, and gouerne those that others had gained.

Thus we see that these words may haue a very good and true sense without pressing of them to confirme the late conceipt of some fewe men touching Lay-elders. Which construction we haue no reason to admit, seeing the circumstances of the place doe not enforce it, nor no Ecclesiasticall writer did euer so interprete the words before our age. So that to conclude this point, the name of Presbyter, (one place onely in the first of *Timothie* and the fifth excepted, where it is a name of age and not of office) in the writings of the Apostles doth euer note out vnto vs a Minister of the Word and Sacraments. The reason why the Apostles chose this word rather then the name of *Sacerdos*, which we commonly translate Priest (though the English word Priest come of Presbyter) was, lest there should be a confusion of the Ministers of the old Testament, who were to offer sacrifices vnto God, figuring the comming of Christ, with those of the new: and to shew that none should be appointed Ministers, but men of ripe age and confirmed iudgement. But some man will say: the ancient Writers mention Seniours, without whose aduice nothing was done; an Ecclesiasticall Senate and a Presbytery, or company of Presbyters, which gouerned the Church together with the Bishop: therefore the matter is not so cleare against Lay-elders, as some would make it.

We deny not but that there were Presbyters in the primitiue Church constituted and ordained by the Apostles and their Successours, not onely to preach and minister Sacraments, but to gouerne, direct, and guide the people of God also; but that they were Lay-men it cannot be proued.

The Bishops in the greater Churches, & in Cities had a great number of Clergy-men seruing in diuers sorts, as it appeareth by *Cyprian*, and the whole

whole Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, but out of the whole Clergie at large the Presbytery, or company of Presbyters was called forth to the weightieſt deliberations, and to aſſiſt the Biſhop for the preſeruation of diſcipline; [l] *Admonitos nos & inſtructos ſciatis dignatione diuinâ*, ſaith *Cyprian*, *vt Numidicus Presbyter aſcribatur Presbyterorum Carthaginenſium numero, & nobiſcum ſedeat in Clero*: that is, Know yee, that we haue bene admoniſhed and directed by God himſelfe, to chooſe *Numidicus*, and to make him one of the company of the Presbyters of *Carthage*, that hee may ſit together with vs as a Clergy-man: By which words it appeareth, that there was in *Cyprians* time a colledge of Presbyters or Elders in the Church of *Carthage*, which ſate together with the Biſhop for the hearing and determining of the cauſes of the Church; but that theſe Elders were Clergie-men, and not ſuch Lay-Seniours as ſome would haue. [m] *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, writeth to *Cyprian*, *ſe totum Presbyterium contraxiſſe*, that is, that he drew together the whole Presbytery, or companie of Presbyters, for the reconciling of certaine Schiſmatiques to the Church, and that he called together fiue Biſhops alſo, and by common conſent ended the whole matter.

l *Cyprian. lib. 4. epiſt. 10.*

m *Apud Cyprian. lib. 3. epiſt. 11.*

Of this Senate and company of Presbyters, *Tertullian* ſpeaketh in his Apologie, when he ſaith: [n] *With vs the moſt approued Seniours doe ſit as preſidents to cenſure offendours, and to exerciſe diſcipline.* And of theſe likewiſe is it that *Hierome* ſaith, writing vpon *Eſay*: [o] *We alſo in the Church haue our Senate, the company of Presbyters*: And vpon *Titus*: [p] *The Churches were gouerned by the common aduice and counſell of the Presbyters.* For to put it out of doubt that he meaneth not Lay-elders, he ſaith in the ſame place, *Idem eſt ergo Presbyter qui Epiſcopus*; that is, Therfore a Presbyter and Biſhop are all one.

n *Tertul. in Apolog. cap. 39.*

o *Hieron. in 3. Iſaiæ.*

p *In 1. ad Titum.*

There is onely one place in *Ambroſe* that hath ſome ſhew of proofe for Lay-elders. His words are; [q] *The Iewiſh Synagogue, and after, the Church, had Seniors or Elders, without whoſe counſell nothing was done in the Church; which, by what negligence it grew out I know not, vnleſſe it were by the ſloth or pride of the Teachers, whileſt they alone would ſeeme to be ſomthing.* Here is mention of Elders, without whoſe aduice nothing was done; but it is not ſaid, they were Lay-men. But ſome man perhaps will reply, that the Elders which *Ambroſe* ſpeaketh of, ceaſed before his time, which cannot be vnderſtood of Clergie-men, therefore they were Lay-men.

q *Ambroſ. com. in. 1. ad Tim. 5.*

To this we ſay, that *Ambroſe* doth not ſay, the Elders without whoſe counſell nothing was wont to bee done, ceaſed before his time, and were no more, but that the aduiſing and conſulting with them ceaſed, whileſt ſome would do all themſelues. If it be ſaid, that they who thus aſſumed more then was fit, and excluded thoſe Seniors without whoſe counſell anciently nothing was done, are not ſaid to haue bene Biſhops, but Doctours,

ctours, and that therefore *Ambrose* speaketh, not of Bishops excluding other Ministers of the Word and Sacraments frō their consultations, but of Clergi-men refusing the aduice of Lay seniours; we answer, that *Ambrose* by the name of Teachers, whose sloath or pride he condemneth in this place, might fitly vnderstand the Bishops, seeing none but Bishops haue power to preach in their owne right, and other but onely by permission from them.

r *Cap.* 5.

Heerupon it is, that *Possidius* in r the life of *Augustine* saith, that *Valerius* Bishop of *Hippo*, gaue Saint *Augustine* his Presbyter leaue to preach, because being a *Grecian*, hee could not very well expresse himselfe in *Latine*. In the f Councel of *Vase* leaue is giuen by the councell of Bishops to Presbyters for to preach. But because this question touching Lay-elders is excellently handled by sundry of our Diuines, I will not trouble the Reader with any farther discourse of this matter.

f *Canone* 4.

Chap. 27.

Of the distinction of the Power of Order and Iurisdiction, and the preeminence of one amongst the Presbyters of each Church, who is named a Bishop.

CEASING to speake of supposed Lay-elders, which the Church of God knoweth not, let vs come to the other that were appointed to teach and gouerne the people of God. Where first we are to speake of the diuers degrees of honour and preeminence found amongst them. Secondly, of their calling and appointing to the same. And thirdly, of their maintenance. For the clearing of the former of these three things, the Schoole-men note, that there is a two-fold power found in the Ministers of the Church of God. the one of Order, the other of Iurisdiction. The power of Order is that, whereby they are sanctified and enabled to the performance of such sacred acts as other men neither may nor can doe, as is the preaching of the Word, and ministration of the holy Sacraments. This power is to be exercised orderly, and the acts of it to be performed in such sort that one disturbe not another. Whereupon the Apostles, the first Ministers of Christ Iesus, though equall in the power of Order & Iurisdiction, yet for the better and more orderly dispatch of the great worke of conuerting the world, which they had in hand, and that they might not hinder one another, diuided amongst themselues the parts and prouinces of the world; but when for the assisting of them while they liued, and succeeding them dying, they were to passe ouer part of their power to other, they so gaue authority to such as they made choyce of for this worke, to preach, baptize, and do other acts of sacred Ministery (which are to bee performed by vertue of the

power

power of order) that before they inuested them with this power, they diuided the parts of the world conuerted to Christianity into seueral Churches, and when they ordained them, assigned each of them to that particular Church wherein hee should preach and minister Sacraments. So that these successours of the Apostles had not an illimited commission, but were confined within certaine boundes; that they were not to preach, nor minister Sacraments, but only within the limits and compasse of those places which were assigned vnto them, vnlesse it were with the consent, desire and liking of other willing to draw them at sometimes for speciall causes to performe such sacred acts within the limits and bounds of their charge.

This assigning to men hauing the power of order the persons to whom they were to minister holy things, and of whom they were to take the care, and the subiecting of such persons vnto them, gaue them the power of Iurisdiction which they had not before.

And thus was the vse of the power of order which is not included within any certaine bounds, limited in those the Apostles ordained, and their power of Iurisdiction included within certaine boundes: so that the one of these kindes of power they haue not at all without the extent of their owne limits, nor the lawfull vse of the other. Hence is that resolution of the Diuines, that if a Bishop aduenture to doe any act of Iurisdiction out of his owne Diocese, as to excommunicate, absolue, or the like, all such actes are vtterly voyd, and of no force; but if hee shall doe any act of the power of order in another mans charge, as preach, or minister Sacramenrs; though he cannot be excused as not offending, if he do these things without his consent, yet are the sacraments thus ministred truly sacraments and of force.

When the Apostles first founded Churches, and assigned to such as they ordained to the worke of the ministery the seuerall parts of the flocke of Christ, and people of GOD, of which they appointed them to take care and charge, they so sorted and diuided out particular Churches, that a Cittie, and the places neere adioyning made but one Church: Whereupon we shall finde in the holy Scriptures, that to ordaine Presbyters [a] κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, and [b] κατὰ πόλιν, that is in euery Church, and in euery Citty, are all one. Now because Churches of so large extent required many Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, and yet of one Church there must bee but one Pastour, the Apostles in setling the state of these Churches did so constitute in them many Presbyters with power to teach, instruct and direct the people of God, that yet they appointed one onely to bee chiefe Pastour of the place, ordaining that the rest should bee but his assistants, not presuming to doe any thing without him; so that though they were all equall in the power of order, yet were the rest inferior vnto him in the gouernement

a Acts 14.23.
b Titus. 1.5.

of that Church whereof hee was Pastour, and they but his assistants onely.

As another of my ranke cannot haue that Iurisdiction within my Church as I haue, but if hee will haue any thing to do there, he must be inferiour in degree vnto me. So we reade in the *Reuelation* of Saint *Iohn*, of the [c] Angell of the Church of *Ephesus*, to whom the Spirit of God directeth letters from heauen, as to the Pastour of that Church. It is not to be doubted but that there were many Presbyters, that is, Ministers of the Word and Sacraments in so large a Church as that of *Ephesus* was; nay we reade expressely in the *Acts*, that there were many in that Church, [d] that *fed the flocke of Christ*, and consequently were admitted into some part of pastorall office and employment; yet was there one amongst the rest to whom onely the Lord did write from heauen, to whom an eminent power was giuen, who was trusted with the gouernement of that Church and people in more speciall sort then any of the rest, and therefore challenged by name by Almighty God for the things there found to be amisse, the rest being passed ouer in silence.

c Reuel. 2. 1.

d Acts 20. 28.

The like we reade of the rest of the seuen[e] Churches of *Asia*, compared to seuen golden candlestickes, in the midst whereof the Sonne of God did walke, hauing in his hand seuen starres, interpreted to haue bene the seuen Angels of those seuen Churches. Neither was this orderly superiority of one amongst the Presbyters of the Church, found onely in the seuen Churches of *Asia*, but in other Churches also. For Saint [f] *Hierome* testifieth, that in the Church of *Alexandria*, from the time of *Marke* the Euangelist, there was euer one whom the Presbyters of that Church chose out of themselues to be ouer the rest. Neither was this proper to the Church of *Alexandria*, but we can shew the successions of Bishops in all the famous Churches of the world, euen from the Apostles times: and therefore all admit and allow a kinde of preëminence of one aboue the rest in each Church. [g] Heresies haue sprung, saith *Cyprian*, and schismes risen from no other fountaine then this, that Gods Priest is not obeyed, nor one Priest in the Church acknowledged for the time to bee Iudge in Christs steed.

e Reuel. 1. 20.

f Hierony. ad Eugrium.

g Cyprian. lib. 1. Epist. 3.

[h] If one, saith *Hierome*, in each Church be not aboue and before the rest of the Presbyters, there will be as many Schismes as Priests; and the [i] best learned in our age that affect presbyteriall gouernment, ingenuously confesse it to be an essentiall, and perpetuall part of Gods ordinance, for each Presbytery to haue a chiefe amongst them, the necessity whereof, we may learne from all Societies, both of men endued with reason, and of other thinges also to which God hath denied the light of vnderstanding, [k] The dumbe beasts, saith *Hierome*, and wilde Hares haue their leaders which they follow; the Bees haue their King; the Cranes fly after one in order like an Alphabet of letters: there is but one Emperour, one

h Hierony. aduersus Luciferian.

i Beza. in resp. ad tract. de minist. Euang. gradib.

e Hier. ad Rusticum monachum.

one Iudge of a Prouince; *Rome* newly built could not endure two brethren to be Kings together; and therfore was dedicated in parricide; *Esau* and *Iacob* were at warre in the wombe of *Rebeccah*: euerie Church hath her owne Bishop, her owne Arch-presbyter, her owne chiefe Deacon, and all Ecclesiasticall order consisteth herein, that some do rule and direct the rest.

In a ship there is but one that directeth the helme. In a house or family there is but one maister. And to conclude, in an armie, it it be neuer so great, yet the direction of one Generall is expected. Thus then all confesse, that there alwayes hath bene, and must be in each Church a preëminence of one aboue the rest of the Presbyters of the same; but some thinke this preëminence should be onely a prioritie of order, in sitting before, in propounding things to be thought of, and in moderating the whole action of deliberation, and that all things should be swayed by voyces, the President or Bishop hauing no voyce negatiue or affirmatiue, but as the maior part shall direct him.

Likewise this presidencie they thinke should be but annuall, or to end with the action about which they meete, whether it be to determine a doubt, to ordaine a Minister, or to do any other such like thing.

This new conceipt we cannot approue of, becausе we find no patterne of any such Bishop or President in all Antiquitie: But the Fathers describe vnto vs such a Bishop, as hath eminent and peereleſſe power, without whose consent the Presbyters can do nothing. [l] *Hence haue heresies sprung and schismes arisen*, sayth *Cyprian*, *because one Priest in the Church is not acknowledged for the time to be Iudge in Christs steed, to whom if all the brethren would be subiect according to the diuine directions, no man would, after the diuine iudgements, after the suffrages of the people, after the consent of other Bishops, make himselfe Iudge not of the Bishop, but of God.* [m] *Let the Presbyter*, saith *Ignatius*, *do nothing without the Bishop*; [n] *The Bishop* (saith *Hierome*) *must haue an eminent and peereleſſe power, or else there will be as many schismes in the Church, as there are Priests*. And [o] *Tertullian* sheweth, that without the Bishops leaue and consent no Presbyter may baptize, minister any Sacrament, or do any ministeriall act. So that it is most cleare and euident, that the Bishop in each Church is aboue and before the rest of the Presbyters of the same, not in order onely, but in degree also and power of Iurisdiction.

l *Cyprian. lib. 1. epist. 3.*

m *Ignat. ad Magnesian. Epist. 3.*

n *Hier. aduersus Lucifer ianos.*

o *Tertull. de Baptismo.*

Yet on the other side, we make not the power of Bishops to be Princely, as *Bellarmine* doth, but Fatherly: so that as the Presbyters may do nothing without the Bishop, so he may do nothing in matters of greatest moment and consequence without their presence and aduice. Whereupon the Councell of *Carthage* [p] voideth all sentences of Bishops which the presence of their Clergie confirmeth not; and euen vnto this day they haue no power to alienate lands, and to do some such like things without the

p *Concil. Carthag. 4. can. 23.*

the concurrence and consent of the Presbyters of the Cathedrall, and great Church.

q *Bellar. lib. 1. de Clericis, ca. 14.*

It is therefore most false that q *Bellarmine* hath, that Presbyters haue no power of Iurisdiction, and the proofe he bringeth of this his assertion most weake, when he alledgeth, that all Councels both generall and prouinciall wherein Iurisdiction is most properly exercised, were celebrated and holden by Bishops, as if Presbyters had had nothing to do therein. For it is most cleare and euident, that in all prouinciall Synodes Presbyters did sit, giue voyce, and subscribe as well as Bishops. And howsoeuer in generall councels none did giue voyce but Bishops alone, yet those Bishops that were present bringing the resolution and consent of the prouinciall Synodes of those churches from whence they came, in which Synodes Presbyters had their voyces, they had a kind of consent to the decrees of generall Councels also: and nothing was passed in them without their concurrence.

Thus were things moderated in the Primitiue ages of the Church; and though Bishops had power ouer Presbyters, yet was it so limited, that there was nothing bitter or grieuous in it, nothing but that which was full of sweetnesse, and content. For if any difference grew betweene the Bishop and his Presbyters, the Presbyters might not iudge their Bishop, whom they were to acknowledge to be a Iudge in Christs stead, but an appeale lay vnto a prouinciall Synode, to which not onely the Bishops of the prouinces were to come, but a certaine number of Presbyters also out of each church to sit as Iudges of such differences. Neither might the Bishop of himselfe alone depriue, degrade, or put from their office and dignitie the Presbyters and Deacons of his church; but r if there were any matter concerning a Presbyter, he was to ioyne vnto him fiue other Bishops of the prouince; and if any matter concerning a Deacon, two other Bishops, before he might proceede to giue sentence against Presbyter or Deacon. The causes of other inferiour cleargie men the Bishop might heare and determine himselfe alone, without the concurrence, and presence of other Bishops, but not without the concurrence of his owne Clergie, without whose presence no sentence of the Bishop was of force, but iudged, and pronounced voide by the canon.

r *Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 8.*

Touching the preeminence of Bishops aboue Presbyters, there is some difference among the Schoole Diuines: For the best learned amongst them are of opinion, that Bishops are not greater then Presbyters in the power of consecration or order, but onely in the exercise of it, and in the power of Iurisdiction; seeing Presbyters may preach, and minister the greatest of all Sacraments by vertue of their consecration & order, as well as Bishops.

s *Durand. in 4. Sentent. dist. 24. quæst 5.*

Touching the power of consecration or order, saith s *Durandus*, it is much doubted of among Diuines, whether any be greater therein then an ordinarie

ordinarie presbyter: For *Hierome* seemeth to haue bene of opinion, that the highest power of consecration or order is the power of a priest or elder; so that euerie priest in respect of his priestly power, may minister all sacraments, confirme the baptized, giue all orders, all blessings and consecrations; but that for the auoiding of the peril of schisme, it was ordained that one should be chosen, who should be named a Byshop, to whom the rest should obey, & to whom it was reserued to giue orders, & to do some such other things, as none but Bishops do. And afterwards he saith, that *Hierome* is clearly of this opinion; not making the distinction of Bishops from presbyters, a meere humane inuention, or a thing not necessarie, as *Aerius* did; but thinking that amongst them who are equall in the power of order, and equally enabled to do any sacred act, the Apostles (for the auoiding of schisme and confusion, and the preseruation of vnitie, peace, and order) ordained, that in each church one should be before and aboue the rest, without whom the rest should do nothing, and to whom some things should be peculiarly reserued, as the dedicating of churches, reconciling of penitents, confirming of the baptized, and the ordination of such as are to serue in the worke of the Ministerie; Of which the three former were reserued to the Bishop alone, *Potius ad honorem Sacerdotij, quam ad legis necessitatem*; that is, rather to honour his priestly and Bishoply place, then for that these things at all may not be done by any other. And therefore we reade, that at some times, and in some cases of necessitie t Presbyters did reconcile penitents, & by imposition of hands confirme the baptized: But the ordaining of men to serue in the worke of the Ministerie, is more properly reserued to them. For seeing none are to be ordained at randome, but to serue in some church, and none haue churches but Bishops; all other being but assistants to them in their churches: none may ordaine but they onely, vnlesse it be in cases of extreme necessitie, as when all Bishops are extinguished by death, or fallen into heresie, obstinately refuse to ordaine men to preach the Gospell of Christ sincerely. And then as the care and charge of the church is deuolued to the Presbyters remaining catholique; so likewise the ordaining of men to assist them, and succeed them in the worke of the Ministerie.

t *Ambros. in 4. ad Ephes.*

But hereof I haue spoken at large elsewhere. Wherefore to conclude this point, we see that the best learned amongst the Schoolemen are of opinion, that Bishops are not greater then Presbyters in the power of consecration or order, but onely in the exercise of it, and in the power of iurisdiction; with whom u *Stapleton* seemeth to agree, saying expressely, that *Quoad ordinem Sacerdotalem, & ea quæ sunt ordinis*; that is, In respect of Sacerdotall order, and the things that pertaine to order, they are equall, and that therefore in all administration of Sacraments which depend of order, they are all equall *potestate*, though not *exercitio*; that is, in power, though not in the execution of things to be done by

u *Relect. contro. 2. quæst. 3. art. 3.*

by vertue of that power: whence it will follow, that ordination being a kind of Sacrament, and so depending of the power of order, in the iudgement of our Aduersaries might be ministred by Presbyters, but that for the auoiding of such horrible confusions, scandals, and schismes, as would follow vpon such promiscuous ordinations, they are restrained by the decree of the Apostles; and none permitted to do any such thing, except it be in case of extreme necessitie, but Bishops, who haue the power of order in common together with Presbyters, but yet so, as that they excell them in the execution of things to be done by vertue of that power, and in the power of Iurisdiction also.

x *Lib. 1. de Clericis, cap. 14.*

But x *Bellarmine* saith, the Catholique Church acknowledgeth, and teacheth, that the degree of Bishops is greater then that of Presbyters by Gods Law, as well in the power of order as Iurisdiction: and addeth, that the Schoolemen vpon the fourth of the *Sentences* defend the same, and *Thomas* in his *Summe*; which yet y elsewhere he confesseth to be vntrue.

y *De Sacram. Ord. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

This his opinion he endeauoreth to confirme, because none but Bishops do ordaine; and if they do, their ordinations are iudged voide, which they could not be by the Churches prohibition, or decree of the Apostles, if they were equall in the power of order to Bishops.

z Booke 3. Chap. 39.

Hereunto I haue answered z elsewhere, shewing that ordinations at large, or *sine titulo*, and ordinations in another mans charge by Bishops, who by the character of their order may ordaine, are likewise pronounced to be voide by the ancient canons; and that therefore the prohibition of the church and decree of the Apostles for the auoiding of confusion and schisme, reseruing the honour of ordaining to Bishops onely (vnlesse it were in the case of extreme necessitie) might make the ordinations of all other to be voide, though equall with them in the power of order.

Chap. 28.

Of the diuision of the lesser Titles, and smaller Congregations of Churches, out of those Churches of so large extent founded, and constituted by the Apostles.

Hitherto we haue seene how the Apostles deuiding the Churches in such sort that a whole citie and the places adioyning made but one Church, set ouer the same one Bishop, as Pastour of the place, and diuerse Presbyters, as assistants vnto him: But in processe of time, we shall find certaine portions of these greater flockes of Christ, and Churches of God to haue bene deuided out and distinctly assigned to seuerall Presbyters, that were to take the care and charge thereof, yet with limitations and reseruations of sundrie preemi-

preeminences to the Bishop as remaining still Pastour of those smaller particular congregations, though in a sort deuided and distinguished from that greater church, wherein he specially made his abode. [a] Two words we find in Antiquitie vsed to expresse the flockes of Christ, and churches of God thus deuided for more conuenience, and yet still depending on the care of one Pastour or Bishop, παροικία, and διοίκησις, that is, parish and Diocese; The former contained the citizens, and all such borderers, as dwelt neare and repaired to any chiefe church or citie, though now we vse the word Parish to signifie another thing; namely, some particular, smaller and lesse congregation deuided out from the Mother-church; the later which is Diocese, both then and now importeth the villages and churches dispersed in diuerse places vnder the regiment of one Bishop.

a See D Bilson perpet. gouern. Chap. 11. Euseb. lib 4. ca. 4. 5. 15. 19. & 23.

The first that began thus to deuide out smaller churches and congregations out of those great ones first founded, and to assigne Presbyters distinctly to take care of them, was [b] *Euaristus* Bishop of *Rome*, whose example others did follow in all parts of the world. These parts of Gods church thus deuided, and assigned to the care of seuerall Presbyters, were called *Tituli*, that is, Titles, because God was entituled vnto them, and did specially claime them as the lot of his inheritance. These Titles, or smaller churches and congregations were of diuerse sorts; for some were more principall, wherein baptisme might be ministred, and the like things performed, which were thereupon named Baptismall churches; and in respect of meaner in time growing out of them and depending of them, Mother churches also: Other there were not hauing so great liberties.

b *Platina de vitis Pontif. in Euaristo.*

[c] To such of these Churches as he pleased, the Bishop himselfe went and preached, one day in one of them, and another in another, carrying great companies with him, and drawing great multitudes to him; which solemne assemblies and meetings were named stations, from their standing at prayers vsed in those times; and were like the mightie armies of God keeping their watches, and standing readie to encounter their furious and dangerous enemies.

c *Onuphr. in libello de stationibus Romæ.*

In this sort *Gregorie* the Great went and preached in such churches in *Rome*, as he thought fit, whose Homilies and Sermons then preached are yet extant, with the names of the particular churches or places where they were preached, which were thereupon named churches of station; though now in another sense they call those churches of station, whither men out of deuotion resorting to visite Reliques and Monuments, are made partakers of ample Indulgences and pardons, for dayes, yeares, nay hundreds, and thousands of yeares.

In those times when the auncient Bishops of *Rome* were wont to go to the churches of station, because all churches had not their Quire and Ministers

nisters fit to performe the seruice of God with that solemnitie that was wished, there were some specially appointed for this purpose, that they might attend the Bishop, and go with him in the dayes of station, that so nothing might be wanting to all ioyfull solemnitie and diuine exultation.

d Bella. de Clericis lib. 1. cap. 16.

d Those principall titles or parish churches, as now we vse to speake, that enioyed the greatest liberties and priuiledges, were called Cardinall Titles, or churches; and those Presbyters that attended the seruice of God in those principall or Cardinall churches, were called Cardinall Presbyters; and in processe of time some amongst the Deacons also, Cardinall Deacons; and amongst the Bishops of *Italie*, certaine Bishops were named Cardinall Bishops.

e De Sacris Eccles. minist. lib. 1. cap. 13.
f Canone 54.
g In vita Greg. lib. 3. cap. 18.
h Onuphr. lib. de Episc. tit & Diaconijs Cardinal.

Neither were these Cardinall Presbyters onely in the church of *Rome*, but in other churches also, as e *Duarenus* sheweth; whence it is that we reade in the councell of f *Melden*, that the Bishop must canonically order the Cardinall Titles in the cities or suburbes; and that we reade in g *Ioannes Diaconus*, that *Gregorie* called backe the Cardinals violently ordained in the parishes abroad, into their auncient title againe. h *Onuphrius* a great Antiquarie, giueth another reason of the name of Cardinall, supposing that they were called Cardinall priests and deacons in each church, which were ouer all the other priests and deacons of the same; for that they were chiefe priests and deacons, and of more principall esteeme then the rest.

i Bella. vbi supra.

But this conceipt of his, i *Bellarmine* refuteth, for that there were sometimes many Cardinals in the same title, as appeareth by Saint *Gregorie* in his Epistles. So that it seemeth more probable, that Cardinals are so named from the titles and churches which are Cardinall & chiefe churches, enioying greater liberties and priuiledges then others, then for that they are Cardinall or chiefe amongst the Priests of those their churches and titles.

But whatsoeuer was the reason that they were named Cardinals, which perhaps cannot now certainely be knowne; it is strange to see from how meane beginnings they haue growne so great in state and dignitie, & therein to match and equall the greatest Princes of the world. That at first they were but parish priests of *Rome* (besides that it is confessed by all) it is most euident, for that yet still in this their greatnesse, they are stiled but Cardinall priests of such a title or parish church in *Rome*; and that for a long time there was no more respect had to one Presbyter then another, but all equally interessed in the gouernment of the church were indifferently called to the election of the Bishop, and his consultations, it is most cleare and euident. Whereupon k *Cyprian* writing to the clergie of *Rome*, writeth not to the Cardinals onely, but to all the priests and deacons of the church of *Rome*.

k Cyprian lib. 3. Epist. 5. & 11.

In the time of *Gregorie* the Great, it may seeme that all the Presbyters were

were not called to the consultations of the Bishop, but Cardinall Presbyters onely: For [l] onely foure and thirtie were present at the Synode holden by him, and mentioned in his epistles; whereas no doubt in his time there were many more Presbyters of that great and large church, seeing there were sixe and fortie in the dayes of *Cornelius* in the time of persecution, when the greatest part of the citie remained yet still in infidelitie, and heathenish superstition.

l *Greg. lib. 1. Regist. cap. 88.*

But whether all the Presbyters of the church of *Rome*, or onely some certaine were called to the consultations of the Bishop in *Gregories* time, it is certaine that all the clergie had interest in the choice, and election of the Bishop.

But afterwards in processe of time, the Cardinals onely had interest in the election of their Bishop, and they and no other were admitted to sit in councell with the Bishop, all other Presbyters being excluded. By which meanes the dignitie of these Cardinals was greatly encreased. So that whereas before, all Bishops were preferred before those Cardinals that were not Bishops, and to be a Cardinall was but a step to the degree of a Bishop, as *Onuphrius* in his booke of Cardinals sheweth, and is collected out of the first booke and seuenth chapter of the life of *Gregorie*; afterwards, this order was chaunged, and the dignitie of a Bishop was made but a step to the degree and honour of a Cardinall.

Neither did they onely exclude the rest of the clergie of the church of *Rome* from the election of their Bishop, and from sitting in councell with him; but whereas from the yeare three hundreth, to the yeare eight hundreth after Christ, for the determining of all weightie matters concerning the Church, the Bishops of *Italie* were conuocated to nationall Synodes, as it appeareth by the Tomes of the councels, they excluded them also: so that the managing of the weightie affaires of the church was wholly referred to these Cardinals, the other being no longer called according to the old manner; though yet still they take an oath yearely to visite the Apostolicall thresholds, and to present themselues vnto the *Romane* Bishop their Metropolitane, as they were wont to do, when being called by him to nationall Synodes they were bound to make their repaire to *Rome*.

Of this change [m] Cardinall *Cusanus* speaketh, shewing that in his opinion the first step to the due reformation of the church were the chusing of these Cardinals out of those seuerall churches, which were heretofore interessed in the deliberations of the *Romane* Bishop, and the making of them to be but agents and procurators for them, and in their names, till such time as the Bishops might bee conuocated againe to nationall Synodes, as in former times they were wont to be. From hence, saith [n] *Duarenus*, we may easily gather the same that the Interpreter of the decrees somewhere writeth, that howsoeuer in time, and by

m *De concordan. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 18. citat. dist. 93. cap. 4.*

n *De sacris Eccles. ministeriis lib. 1. cap. 13.*

by spoiling other of their right, the Cardinals of the Church of *Rome* are growne exceeding great, yet in truth and indeed euery Bishop of what citie soeuer, is of greater dignitie then any Cardinall, Priest, or Deacon of the *Romish* Church: which thing, saith *Duarenus*, if any man should doubt of, might easily be confirmed by the authoritie of S. *Augustine*, in a certaine epistle to Saint *Hierome* priest of the *Romane* church, where he saith expressely: *Quanquam secundùm vocabula, quæ vsus obtinuit, Episcopatus sit Presbyterio maior; Augustinus tamen Hieronymo minor est*; that is, Although according to the titles which now are in vse, it is a more honorable thing to be a Bishop, then a Presbyter; yet *Augustine* is lesse then *Hierome*. His meaning is, in merite, and personall worth: for otherwise, that there is no other reason of Priests, and Deacons of the church of *Rome*, then of any other citie, in respect whereof *Hierome* as Priest of *Rome*, might be greater then *Augustine* being Bishop of little *Hippo* in *Africa*, *Hierome* himselfe demonstrateth at large in his Epistle to *Euagrius*. But this proofe of *Duarenus* perhaps will be found too weake, because it is greatly doubted by some of excellent learning, whether *Hierome* were a Priest of the church of *Rome* or not.

Surely in his [n] Epistle against *Iohn* of *Hierusalem*, he tearmeth himselfe a Priest of the church of *Antioche*, and not of *Rome*: So that it may be probably thought, that howsoeuer for a time he were in *Rome*, and did [o] helpe *Damasus* the Bishop in certaine writings, matters of learning, and resolution of doubts, yet he neuer had any title or charge in the *Romane* church. [p] *Bellarmine* taketh great exception to *Caluine*, for saying that *Hierome* was Priest of the *Romish* church; which if he had beene well aduised, he should not haue done (howsoeuer perhaps *Caluine* were deceiued in that point) not onely because many of his owne friends haue erred with *Caluine* in this point, if it be an errour, but because they haue for a long time in their churches and all other places, painted him in his scarlet robes, and [*] red hat, like a Cardinall.

And howsoeuer *Bellarmine* perhaps wil not be much moued with their paintings, yet *Campian* a great champion of the *Romane* church bringeth the painted glasse windowes of their churches as pregnant witnesses against vs, which we may not except against; and *testes fenestræ* are not the meanest of those witnesses, which in his *Omne genus testium* (wherein he maketh a search in heauen, and raketh hell, to see who will speake for him, and depose against vs) he produceth, and bringeth to the barre.

But to leaue this proofe of the dignitie of Bishops brought by *Duarenus* as vncertaine, it is most certaine, which the same *Duarenus* hath, that Cardinals of the church of *Rome* in auncient time were not matchable in honour and dignitie with the meanest Bishop in the world; that they were but parish Priests and Deacons of the church of *Rome*, and bound by all canons to be resident in their parishes and titles, as all other Priests, and

n *Epist. 61. ad Pammachium de errorib. Ioannis Hierosolymitani.*

o *Hierony. Epist. ad Gerontiam de Monogamiâ.*

p *De Clericis lib. 1. cap. 16*

* *Innocent. 4. in Concilio Lugduni habito plures Cardinales creauit, Primusq; fuit qui Cardinalitiâ dignitatem rubeo pileo adauxit, ea intentione vt admonerẽtur, teste Martino Polono, se semper paratos esse debere sanguinẽ pro Christiana religione profundere, præsertim eo tempore quo Romana Ecclesia à Friderico 2. quondam Imperatore vehementer oppugnabatur. Bin. Conc. tom. 3. part. 2. pag. 1481. in vita Innocentij. 4.*

deacons are; & that they can no way iustify their possessing of Bishopricks, being no Bishops, but Presbyters, and Deacons onely. What hauocke and spoile these parish Priests haue made throughout the whole Christian world, since they came to that greatnesse they are at now, by seazing into their hands the richest Abbeys, Bishopricks, and Arch-bishoprickes by vertue of the Popes prouisions, not contenting themselues with one or two, but getting vnto themselues so great a number of the greatest dignities and Church-liuings, as is incredible, q all stories report, and the woefull experience of all Christendome, doth sufficiently testifie. If any man desire to see how the Pope as a wilde Boare hath laid wast the Vineyard of the Lord in former times, spoiling the Church and people of God for the enriching of these his Cardinals, that so they might be equall in state and magnificence to the Princes & Potentates of the world, let him reade that which r Doctor *Reynolds* in his most learned and worthy Conference hath collected & gathered out of most authentical records, touching these *Romish* practises, to the euerlasting shame and ignominie of the Court of *Rome*; which long since for the intollerable and insatiable couetousnesse thereof, s *Grostead* the renowned Bishp of *Lincolne* fitly compared vnto that *Behemoth*, that thinketh he can drinke vp the whole riuer of *Iordan*, & saith, that among other the praises of the *Romish* Court, these two are not the least, that *Eius auaritiæ totus non sufficit orbis, Eius luxuriæ meretrix non sufficit omnis:* that is; That the Courtiers of the Court of *Rome* are so insatiable in couetousnesse that a whole world of wealth is not sufficient to satisfie their greedy desires; and so impure in their filthy lusts, that all the stews in the world are not able to giue them content.

q *Nicholas Clemangis de corrupto Ecclesiæ statu.*

r Confer. with Hart. Chap. 7. diuision 6. pag. 384. 385. &c.

s *Math. Parisien. in Henrico 3.* pag. 8, 8.

CHAP. 29.

Of Chorepiscopi, *or Rurall Bishops, forbidden by old Canons, to encroach vpon the Episcopall office, and of the institution and necessary vse of Arch-presbyters, or Deanes.*

FOR the more easie gouerning of their churches in number many, and in place farre distant one from another, some of the Bishops in ancient times communicated part of their authority to some principall men, which in places farre remote from them supplied their absence, & performed some things pertaining to them. These were called *Chorepiscopi*, either for that they were χωρεπισκοποι, ἐν ἐλαττονι; that is, rurall Bishops; or else for that they were in steed of the Bishops, and in many things supplied their places, and did their duties. The first institution of these, as it appeareth by the Councell of a *Neocæsaria*, and b *Damasus* in his Epistle written concerning these Rurall Bishops, was specially that they might be assistant to the Bishop in receiuing

a *Concil.* 13.
b *Damas. Epist.* 5

ning such contributions, oblations, and set rents, as were for the maintenance of the Bishop, and his Clergie, the relief of the poore and needy, and the entertainement of strangers; as also in taking care of the poore, & prouiding for them out of the cõmon treasury, the Bishop himselfe being farre off. Afterwards, in processe of time there were some Bishops, that put ouer vnto these the care, execution, and performance of such things as properly pertained to themselues, that they might take their ease, and attend their owne priuate affaires, like harlots, that put out their children to be noursed by others, that themselues in the meane while may satisfie their lusts, as a great Bishop not without some bitternesse, speaketh: whence it came, that these *Chorepiscopi* waxed proud and insolent, and in the end being but Presbyters, presumed to ordaine Priests & Deacons, and to do such things, as none but Bishops ought to do: whereupon they were cõtrolled by the learned Bishops that liued in those times, and the Councels holden by them. *Damasus* so farre disliketh their presumption in ordaining Priests and Deacons, that he will not haue them to ordaine Sub-deacons, or inferiour clearkes. The Councels of [d] *Aurasi*, and [e] *Hispalis*, [f] *Leo* the Great, and [g] *Iohn* the third, forbid them the ordayning of Priests and Deacons, mentioning not the other inferiour clearkes. The Councell of [h] *Antioche* saith, the rurall Bishops that haue receiued imposition of hands of Bishops, and haue bene ordained as Bishops, may ordaine Sub-deacons, and other inferiour clearkes, but Priests or Deacons without the Bishop of the citie, or as some reade it, without the priuitie of the Bishop of the citie, they may not: thereby insinuating that with his consent they may. Out of which Councell [i] *Bellarmine* collecteth two things: The first, that in the primitiue Church there were two sorts of *Chorepiscopi* or rurall Bishops, whereof the former had Episcopall ordinatiõ, that is, were ordained of three Bishops like the Suffragan Bishops of our time: the later were but Presbyters: The second, that the Councell appointing the rurall Bishop to be ordained by the Bishop of the city, meant to forbid that there should be any more such rurall Bishops as haue Episcopall ordination, wherunto the concurrence of three Bishops at the least is required: and thereupon he thinketh, the Councell of *Antioch* permitting rurall Bishops to ordaine Subdeacons, and the Decretall of *Damasus* forbidding them so to do, may be reconciled; for that the Councell permitting the ordination of Sub-deacons to rurall Bishops, speaketh of such as were ordained of three Bishops; and the Decretall of *Damasus* forbidding them to meddle in such ordination, of such as were but meere Presbyters. But whosoeuer shall take a view of the [k] Decretall epistle of *Damasus*, shall find that he condemneth the intermedling of any rurall Bishops whatsoeuer in ordination, and shutteth them out of the church, as men that neither haue, nor can haue any place in the same. What is *Chorepiscopus*, saith *Damasus*, but a country Bishop? & if he be a country Bishop,

c *Damasus ibid.*

d *Canone 12.*
e *Hispalens. 2. Canone 7.*
f *Epist. 86. & 88.*
g *In epist. ad Episcop. Germaniæ & Galliæ.*
h *Canone 10.*
i *De Clericis, lib. 1. cap. 14.*
k *Epist. supra c. 1.*

what

what doth he in the city? the canon altogether forbidding, that there shold be two Bishops in one city. If he be not in the city, but in some countrey village, and in such place where there neuer was any Bishop before (the canō forbidding Bishops to be ordained in meane cities, villages or forts, or in any places whatsoeuer where Bishops haue not bin placed in former times, lest the authority, & name of Bishops grow into contempt) what I pray you shall he be? For behold, neither doth the place agree with his ordination, nor his ordination with the place; because, if such rurall Bishops haue receiued the imposition of the hands of many Bishops, & haue bene ordained as Bishops, they should not haue bene consecrated in a country village, such as the Greek word χωρα importeth, the canon forbidding Bishops to be placed in villages, small forts, or little cities. Giue me therfore a reason, saith he, I pray you, of the constituting of these men; or if you cannot, as I know you cannot, lay your hand on your mouth, & assure your selues, that they haue no place nor authority in the church of God, diuerse things making void their ordination, & whatsoeuer thing they attempt to do by vertue of such ordination: Whereof the first is, for that they are wont to be ordained by one Bishop, wherein their ordination is against the canons concerning Bishops, which wil haue Bishops ordained by the impositiō of the hands of three Bishops at the least. The second, for that if they be ordained by many Bishops, yet they are placed in some village, litle fort, or small city; or at least in some such place where lawfully Bishops may not be ordained, or formerly haue not bin, & where the authority, & name of a Bishop wil grow into contempt; or if they be placed in a city, they are placed there with another Bishop, whereas the canons permit not two Bishops in one city. The third is, for that if they haue bene ordained large, & neither placed in city, nor coūtry village, as it hath bin reported vnto vs of some, their ordination is void, because the canons do voide all ordinations at large: so that which way soeuer we turne vs, we shal find that these men neither haue, nor can haue any Episcopal authority or place. This is the resolution of this great *Romane* Bishop, who wholly reiecteth this kind of rural Bishops, & wil not haue them at all to intermeddle in any thing peculiarly pertaining to the Episcopal office. But some man wil say, May not a Bishop when he is growne aged, infirme, & vnable to sustaine & beare the weight of that great office, haue a *Coadiutor* or assistant? Surely, there is no doubt but he may haue one ioyned vnto him to beare part of his burthen; but that that other should haue Episcopal ordination, the Canons permit not: wherupon S. *Augustine* now aged, & distracted with multiplicity of manifold businesses concerning the state of the whole Church, desirous with the consent of his Clergy & people to haue *Eradius* a Presbyter of his church ioined vnto him as a *Coadiutor* while he liued, & designed to succeed him after his death, wold by no means haue him ordained a Bishop, but to cōtinue a Presbyter stil, though himselfe had bin ordained a

Bishop, while *Valerius* yet liued. His words are these, l *Adhuc in corpore posito beatæ memoriæ Patre & Episcopo meo Valerio, Episcopus ordinatus sum, & sedi cum illo; quod Concilio Nicæno prohibitum fuisse nescieram, nec ipse sciebat. Quod ergo reprehensum est in me, nolo reprehendi in filio meo: erit Presbyter, vt est, quando Deus voluerit, futurus Episcopus. Obsecro vos & obstringo per Christum, vt huic Iuueni, huic Presbytero Eradio, quem hodie in Christi nomine designo Episcopum successorum mihi, patiamini refundere onera occupationum mearum, &c.* that is, While my Father and Bishop *Valerius* of happie memorie yet liued, I was ordained a Bishop, and sate together with him, which I knew not to haue bene forbidden in the *Nicene* Councell, neither did he know it. What therefore was disliked in me, I will not haue to be blamed in my sonne. He shall continue a Presbyter as he is, and when God will, shall be a Bishop. I beseech you, and earnestly entreate you for Christs sake, that you will giue me leaue, in some sort to ease my selfe, and to cast the burthen of my employments vpon the shoulders of this yong man, this Presbyter *Eradius*, whom this day in the name of Christ, I appoint and designe the Bishop that shall succeede me. My counsell shall not be wanting to him, neither will I faile to supplie what shall be any way defective or wanting in him.

l *August. epist. 110.*

Thus we see, a *Coadiutor* was allowed, but yet such a one as should be but a Presbyter; and therfore long after the time of *Augustine*, when m *Zacharias* Bishop of *Rome* associated another Bishop, as a *Coadiutor*, to *Bonifacius* the Bishop of *Mentz*, he confessed it to be a thing that was forbidden, and worthie reprehension; but that vpon his importunitie, of speciall fauour, he had yeelded so much vnto him, that he might haue such a *Coadiutor*, whom with the aduice of his brethren, he might appoint to succeed him when he should die.

m *Naucler. vol. 2. generat. 36. pag. 667. Decreti part. 2. causa. 7. quest. 1. cap. Petysti.*

But notwithstanding the canons forbidding any such thing to be done, and the dislike of many the greatest Bishops of the world; yet in the later ages of the Church, the Bishops giuing themselues to ease, or attending secular businesses, and greatly neglecting their Episcopall function, againe reduced into the Church these rurall Bishops, whom they named Suffraganes. To these they committed the doing of such things, as are most proper vnto Bishops, as ordination and confirmation, but kept the power of Iurisdiction to themselues, or gaue it to some other, and not to these: contrarie to the example of S. *Augustine*, that put ouer to *Eradius* the hearing of causes, and the performing of things pertaining to Iurisdiction, himselfe onely directing and ouerseeing him, but held still himselfe that which is most properly Episcopall. Such Bishops n *Melchior Canus* entreating of Councels, and the persons whereof Councels consist, saith, they are so farre from hauing anie place or voyce in Councels, that they neither haue, nor ought to haue anie place in the Church at all.

n *Loc. Theolog. lib. 5. cap. 2.*

¶ The Bishops he speaketh of, he calleth annular Bishops, haply for that whereas full Bishops had both staffe and ring, expressing their Iurisdiction as well as their espousing to the Church, these had the ring onely.

But whatsoeuer we thinke of these, the Bishops in former times for the better gouerning of their churches, chose out certaine of their Presbyters to assist them in the superuision and direction of the rest, whom they first named Arch-presbyters, and afterwards Deanes. The name of *Decanus* or Deane being first vsed, to note out such a Prefect or Gouernour of Monkes, as had the rule of ten Monkes liuing together in common: And in this sence the name of a Deane is found in [o] Saint *Augustine*. The Arch-presbyters, which Bishops anciently appointed to assist them, were of two sorts, [p] *Vrbani* and *Vicani*, that is, such as liued in the great Church in the Citty, and such as liued abroad in the country, and were thereupon named Rurall Arch-presbyters, or Rurall Deanes.

o *August. de moribus Eccles. cathol.* 1.

p *Duarenus de sacris Eccles. minist. libr.* 1. *cap.* 8.

Touching the former, who liued in the great church in the citie, because the Bishop alone either in respect of absence, or employments, could not execute all things that pertained to the seruice belonging to his place, nor giue particular direction to euery other what he should doe, they were chosen out of the whole number of Presbyters, partly to execute and performe what the Bishop in his owne person should haue done, and partly to prescribe to others what they should doe. The Rurall Arch-presbyters had the ouersight and direction of the Presbyters, that were placed in the lesser Titles, or meaner churches, abroad in the country.

Concerning these we find it thus decreed, [q] *Vt singulæ plebes Archipresbyterum habeant, qui non solùm imperiti vulgi sollicitudinem gerat, sed etiam Presbyterorum qui per minores Titulos habitant, vitam iugi circumspectione custodiant, quâ quisq; industriâ diuinum opus exerceat, Episcopo enunciet: nec emendat Episcopus nonegere plebem Archipresbytero, quasi ipse eam gubernare valeat; quia etsi valde idoneus sit, decet tamen vt sua onera partiatur, vt sicut ipse matri Ecclesiæ præest, ita Archipresbyteri præsint plebibus, vt in nullo tiubet Ecclesiastica ollicitudo; cuncta tamen referant ad Episcopum, nec aliquid contra eius decretum ordinare præsumant*; that is. That each diuision of the people of God in their seuerall limits haue their Arch-presbyter, who may not onely take care of the rude and ignorant multitude, but may also with continual circumspection obserue & looke vnto the life & conuersation of the Presbyters, which dwell in the lesser Titles, and shew vnto the Bishop with what diligence each of them performeth the worke of God. Neither let the Bishop contend and say, that the people committed to his charge need no Arch-presbyter, as if he himselfe were able sufficiently to gouerne the same, because, though he be exceeding worthy, yet it is fit he should deuide his burthens, that as he is ouer the Mother church, so the Arch-presbyters may be ouer the people abroad, that the Ecclesiasticall care stagger not, or be not too weake in any thing. Yet notwithstanding let them referre all things to the Bishop, neither let them presume to order any thing against his liking and decree.

q Decret. Greg. 9. ex Synod. habit. Rauenne, lib. 1. Tit. 25.

These rurall Arch-presbyters were to be chosen by the clergie, and confirmed by the Bishop, and being so placed, might not be remoued without the consent of the clergie.[r] *Archipresbyterum*, saith the second Councell of *Turone*, *sine omnium Presbyterorum consensu de loco deijcere Episcopus non presumat: quem autem negligentia eijcit, cum omnium Presbyterorum consilio reputetur*: that is, Let not the Bishop presume to remoue or put an Arch-presbyter from his place, without the consent of all the Presbyters: but when the negligence of any one of these maketh him worthy to be ejected and put out, let him be reiected with the counsell and aduice of all the Presbyters. Touching the power and authoritie of these Arch-presbyters, first they were to admonish such as they saw to liue scandalously, or any way to offend, as well Lay-men as clergie-men; and the Councell of [s] *Antisiodorum* decreeth, that if any lay or secular man shall contemne and despise the information and admonition of the Arch-presbyter, he shall be kept from entring or setting his feete within the thresholds of the holy church, till he shall submit himselfe to the wholesome information and admonition: Secondly, [t] they were twise in the yeare to visite all the churches within the limits subiect to them, to see what was there amisse, defectiue, or weake, that so they might either reforme, supplie, or strengthen & confirme the same: Thirdly, [u] they were to receiue warrants from the Bishop or his substitute, and by vertue thereof to cite all such to make their appearance before the chiefe Pastour or Bishop, as were vpon any occasion to be conuented before him: and this their citation of such parties to be conuented, vnder the seale of their office they were to certifie the Bishop of. Fourthly, [x] they were to hold Chapiters in a set course foure times in the yeare, and at other times as often as vrgent occasions should require; and all [y] parish Ministers within a yeare after their being possessed of their liuings were to sweare to the Deane, and so to be admitted as brethren to sit in Chapiter with him, and to be bound to come to the yearely Chapiters, and otherwise also when as vpon vrgent cause the Deane should call a Chapiter; and to beare part of the charge. This oath which the Ministers were to take before they were admitted to sit in Chapiter, was not simple, but with this limitation, *Salvis iuribus Capituli*; that is, No way to preiudice the rights of the Chapiter. In these Chapiters the Arch-presbyters, were to publish the decrees of prouinciall, & Episcopall Synodes, excluding lay-men at such times as they published things precisely concerning the clergie, which otherwise might be present at the publication of things generally concerning all. Neither were they only to publish such decrees in their Chapiter, but to vrge the execution of the same, to take notice of all places of ministery void, vpon what occasion, and by whose fault they continued void; of all intrusion into places of ministery, & of the inuestiture of all such as newly entred into the charge of ministery, & the authoritie by which substitutes supply

[r] Concil. Turonense 2. Canone 7.

[s] Canone 44.

[t] Synod. August.

[u] Lindwood. lib. 2. de Iudicijs, fol. 45

[x] Idem lib. 1. de Constitutionib.

[y] Synod Trebirens. de Decanis Christianitatis.

supply the places of other men. And besides they were to admonish such as either by their visitation or other information they found to be faultie: And if by other good meanes they could not win them, to [z] suspend laymen frō the sacraments, & clergy-men from the execution of their offices, but farther they might not go. But in case of obstinat cōtinuance of disordred persons in their misdemeanors notwithstanding these proceedings, they were to cōplain to the bishop if the matter required hast, or otherwise to the next Episcopall Synode. For the Bishop in each diocese hauing certaine thus appointed to assist and helpe him in the superuision of the rest, as wel of the clergie as the people, was once in the yeare to hold a Synode with the chiefe of his Prelates, Deanes rurall, and other worthy men. [a] *Annis singulis* (saith *Gratian*) *Episcopus in sua Dioceſi Synodum faciat de ſuis Clericis & Abbatibus, & diſcutiat alteros Clericos, & Monachos*; that is, Let the Bishop euery yeare hold a Synode in his Dioceſe of his clerkes & abbots; and let him therein discusse and examine the learning, conuersation, and behauiour of other clerkes and monkes. The Synode of *Coleine* vnder *Adolphus* confirmed by *Charles* the fifth, appointed this Dioceſane Synode to be holden twise euerie yeare, according to the old manner & custome. And the Synode of *Coleine* vnder *Hermannus* ordaineth, that the Bishop or his Officiall generall with the Prelates of the Metropoliticall, Cathedrall, and Collegiate churches, especially the Arch-deacons, and Deanes rurall, who in some part are taken into the fellowship of the Bishops cares, shal enquire into things out of order; and what he shall find by their iudgement to need reformation, he shall with their aduice amend and reforme. The like doth [b] *Laurentius* the Popes Legate decree and ordaine. Yea the Councell of [c] *Trent* confirmeth the same also; and the Councell of *Coleine* vnder *Adolphus* taketh order, that Deanes of colledges comming to the Episcopal Synode in the name of their colledges, and rurall Deanes in the name of the parish ministers within their diuisions, shall haue their charges borne by such their colledges and ministers, according to the number of dayes the Synode endureth, seeing they goe on warfare for God. The forme of holding a Dioceſane Synode *Iouerius* out of *Burchardus* describeth in this sort. [d] At a conuenient hower when it seemeth good to the Bishop or his vicegerent, all other dores being locked, let the Ostiaries stand at that, by which the Presbyters are to enter, & coming together let them go in & sit according to their ordination: after these the approued Deacons, which order shall require to be present; let some lay-men also of good conuersation be brought in, & then let the Bishop or his substitute enter; who entring into the Synode, is first to salute the clergy & people; & thē turning towards the East to say a certain praier; & the Deacon to read the Gospel, *Whē it was late, the first day of the Sabaoth, and the dores were shut*, &c. after which reading & praiers all are to go out saue the Presbyters and clearks only; & after such departure of the rest, another praier being made,

z *Statu. Synodi. Epiſc. Hildemenſ.*

a Decret. part. 1. diſt. 18. cap. *Annis. Conc. Tarracon. can.* 8.

b *Reformat. Cleri Germaniæ per Laurent. Legat. Clement.* 7. *apud Iouerium. Claſſe* 2. *ſect.* 3.

c *Seſſ.* 24. *cap.* 2.

d *Iouer. Claſſ.* 2. *ſect.* 2.

the Bishop shall will the Presbyters to propose their doubts, and either to learne or teach, and to make knowne their complaints, that so they may receiue satisfaction. This is all that is done the first day.

The second day, if the clergie haue no matter of complaint or doubt, let the Laitie be let in to propose their doubts, and make knowne their grieuances, or otherwise let their comming in be deferred till some other day. Besides this Synode, which euery Bishop was to hold once euerie yeare, he was to go from church to church, and see all the churches in his Diocese.

e *Canone* 1. The second councell of e *Braccar* appointeth, that the Bishop shall go through all his churches, enforming both presbyters and people; and the

f *Canone* 17. third councell of f *Arles* prescribeth, that he shall enquire and take notice of the wrongs offered to those of meane and poore estate by them that are great and in authoritie, and first seeke to reforme such euils by Episcopall admonition and counsell; but if he cannot so preuaile, he shall acquaint the King with it.

g *Canone* 35. The Bishop, saith the fourth Councell of g *Toledo*, must go euery yeare through his Diocese, and see all his churches and parishes, that he may enquire what reparations the churches do neede, and what other things be amisse. But if he be either detained by sickneſſe, or so intangled with businesse that he cannot go, let him send some approued Presbyters or Deacons, which may not onely consider of the ruines of each church, and the needfull reparations thereof, but enquire also into the life and conuersation of the clergie, and ministers. According to the decree and direction of this Councel we shall find, that Bishops hindered by other employments, sickneſſe, weakneſſe, or age, so that they could not go in person to visite their churches, sent some of their chiefe Presbyters or Deacons, but especially the chiefe Deacons, to performe the worke of visitation for them; because they being the chiefe among the Deacons, which are but church-seruants, were more attendant about them for dispatch of all publicke businesses, then Presbyters.

These chiefe deacons, or Arch-deacons at first, they sent onely to visite, and to make report, but not to sententiate any mans cause, or to meddle with the correcting or reforming of any thing; but afterwards, in processe of time they were authorised to heare and determine the smaller matters, and to reforme the lighter and lesser offences; and therefore in the Councell of h *Laterane* vnder *Alexander* the third, it is ordered, that the Arch-deacon shall not giue sentence against any one; But in the i Councel of *Rhoane* it is appointed, that the Arch-deacon and Arch-presbyter shall be forerunners to the Bishop, and shall reforme the lighter and smaller things they find to be amisse.

h *Conc. Lateran. de Sent. & Interlocut.* 4.

i *Concil. Rhotomag. apud Iouarium* 2. *Class. sec.* 2. *ex Burchard. lib.* 3. *cap.* 90.

Hence in time it came, that Arch-deacons much vsed by Bishops, as most attendant on them in the visitation of their churches, and reforming

some

some smaller disorders, at length by prescription claimed the correction of greater things; as hauing of long time put themselues into the exercise of such authoritie.

And thus the Deacons, or at least the chiefe of them, the Arch-deacons (which at first might not sit in the presẽce of a Presbyter, but being willed by him so to do) in the end became, by reason of this their employment by the Bishop, to be greater, not only then the ordinarie Presbyters, but then the Arch-presbyters themselues. And therefore it is confessed by all, that the Arch-deacon hath no authoritie or power of Iurisdiction by vertue of his degree and order, but by prescription onely: neither can he claime more then he can prescribe for; which his prescription is thought reasonable, because the Bishop is supposed to haue consented to his intermedling in such parts of gouernment, as by prescription he may claime.

Yet lest it might seeme absurd for him that is onely a Deacon, to exercise Iurisdiction ouer Presbyters, the canon of our church prouideth, that *no* man shall possesse the place of an Arch-deacon, vnlesse he haue the ordination of a Presbyter.

Besides the Deanes or Arch-presbyters, which the Bishops vsed for the gouerning and ouer-seeing of certaine parts of their diocese allotted to them, with such limitations as they pleased, and for counsell and aduice in managing of their weightiest affaires; and the Arch-deacons, which they vsed as spies in all places, and trusted with the dispatch of what they thought fit; they had for their direction in cases of doubt, and for their ease in the multiplicitie of their emploiments, [k] certaine of their clergie, skilfull in the canons, and lawes of the church, whom they vsed as Officials to heare all manner of causes, and matters of instance betweene partie and partie, but suffered them not to meddle in the censuring or punishing of criminall things, or in any matter of office; but in case of absence, or sickenesse, they had Vicars generall, that might do any thing almost that pertaineth to the Bishops iurisdiction.

k *Annot. in 2. lib. Linwoodi. de sequestrationib.*

The former are not onely named Officials, but Chauncellours, though the name of Chauncellour be not in this sense so auncient as the former. [l] *Cancellarius* originally, and properly signifieth a Notarie or Secretary, because these for the preseruing of their writings and notes of remembrance, were wont to sit and write *Intra cancellos*; that is, Within certaine places inclosing them, made in the manner of Chequer-worke: But from hence in time it came to be vsed for any one that is employed for the giuing of answer vnto suters, for keeping of Records and notes of remembrance, and generally for the performance of some principall duties pertaining to him, whose Chauncellour he is sayd to be.

l *Onuphrius in interp. vocum Ecclesiasticarum*

Chap. 30.

Of the forme of the gouernment of the Church, and the institution and authority of Metropolitanes and Patriarches.

THis being the forme of gouernment of each Dioceſe & particular Church, let vs conſider what dependance or ſubordination ſuch particular Churches haue. For it cannot, nor may not be imagined, that each Dioceſe, or particular church is abſolutely ſupreme, and ſubiect to no higher authority. The Papiſts are of opinion, that Chriſt conſtituted and appointed one chiefe Paſtour, with vniuerſality of power, as his Vicegerent generall vpon earth, placed him in the chiefe City of the world, and ſet him ouer all the other both Biſhops and Churches. But the ancient Fathers are of another opinion. For [a] *Hierome* pronounceth, that all Biſhops are equall in order, office and miniſtery, whether of *Rome*, *Eugubium*, *Tanais*, or *Conſtantinople*, howſoeuer riches and magnificence of Churches and cities may make one ſeeme to be greater then another: and *Cyprian* ſpeaketh to the ſame purpoſe, ſaying: [b] Let no Biſhop make himſelfe a Iudge of other, euery one hauing receiued his authority from Chriſt, and therefore being accountant to him onely. And this he ſpeaketh vpon occaſion of a difference betweene him and the *Romane* Biſhops of that time about rebaptization.

a *Hierō. ad Euagrium.*

b *Cyprian. lib. 2. epiſt. 1. & in Concilio Carthaginenſi.*

Wherefore let vs examine theſe contrary opinions, and ſee which of them is moſt agreeable vnto truth and reaſon. For the confirmation of the former of theſe two opinions, the *Romaniſts* alledge many things, to proue, that the beſt forme of Regiment and gouernement is a Monarchie, and conſequently that Chriſt who vndoubtedly eſtabliſhed the beſt forme, appointed one ſupreme Monarch in his Church.

c *Ockam. Dialog. l. 2. tract. 1. part. 3. cap. 30.*

To this allegation [c] *Ockam* moſt excellently and learnedly anſwereth in his *Dialogues*, ſhewing and prouing at large, that though the gouernment of one, or a Monarchie be the beſt forme of Regiment in one city or country, as *Ariſtotle* rightly teacheth, yet it is not the beſt forme of policie and gouernement in reſpect of the whole world and all the parts of it, ſo farre diſtant and remote one from another; becauſe the whole world, and the infinite different countreyes and regions of it regularly may bee better gouerned by many, whereof no one is ſuperiour to other, then by one alone: neither is the ſame forme of gouernment alwaies moſt expedient for the whole, & for each part; for greater circuits, and for ſtraighter or narrower bounds: ſeeing one man may ſuſteine the burthen of hearing, determining, and diſpatching the greater cauſes and more important matters in one kingdome or country, but no one can ſo manage the weightieſt buſineſſe of the whole world.

And

And that in like sort, though it be expedient that there should be one Bishop ouer some part of the Church & people of God, yet there is not the same reason that there shold be one ouer the whole, seeing no one can dispatch the greater businesses, and manage the weightier affaires of the whole Christian world. Besides, he saith, it would bee most dangerous, that there should be any such one supreme ruler of the whole Church; for that, if hee should fall into errour or heresie, all the whole world would be in great danger to be seduced, the members, for the most part, conforming themselues to their head, and the inferiors to their rulers and superiours.

That which *Ockam* saith, may be confirmed by the authority of Saint *Augustine*, who thinketh a Monarchie or the gouernment of one supreme ruler, most fit for the seuerall countries and parts of the world, but not for the whole. His words are: [d] *Feliciores essent res humanæ, si omnia Regna essent parua, & concordi vicinitate lætantia*; that is, The state of worldly things would be much more happy, if the whole world were diuided out into small kingdomes, ioyfully conspiring together in a friendly neighbourhood, then if all should be swayed by one supreme commander.

d Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. lib. 4. ca 15.

Thus then we deny not, but that amongst al the simple & single formes of gouernment, a Monarchie is the best for each country and people; neither doth *Caluin* contradict vs herein, as [e] *Bellarmine* seemeth to report; for he doth not simply say, that amongst all the simple formes of gouernment *Aristocratie* is best & to be preferred, but only in the respect of ordinarie declinings & swaruings of absolute Kings, hardly moderating themselues so in so free & absolute a liberty of commanding all, as that their wils should neuer swerue from that which is right and good.

e De Pont. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 1. Caluin. Instit. lib. 4. cap. 6.

[f] But *Bellarmine* himselfe thinketh, that the mixt formes of gouernment are to be preferred before any of those simple formes of Monarchy, Aristocratie, and Democratie, as hauing in them the best that is found in euery of those single and simple formes. And such is the gouernment of the Church of God (Christ vndoubtedly establishing the best forme of gouernment in the same.) For the gouernment of each Diocese, & particular Church resteth principally in one, who hath an eminent & peereles se power, without whom nothing may be attempted or done: yet are there others ioyned with him as assistants, [g] without whose counsell, aduice, and consent he may do nothing of moment & consequence; whom he cannot at his pleasure displace and remoue from their standings, or deprine them of their honour, or any way hardly censure them of himselfe alone; but in [h] the case of a Deacon, he must haue two other Bishops to cōcurre with him, and in the case of a Presbyter, fiue, without which concurrence he may not proceed against either of them.

f De Pont. Romano. l. 1. cap. 3.

g Concil. Car. ib. 4

h Concil. Carth. 3

The gouernment of a prouince is principally Aristocraticall, resting in the Bishops of the prouince and their assistants, but it hath a kinde of chiefty

chiefty of one hauing a primacie of order and honour amongst the rest, who being placed in the *Metropolis* or Mother cittie is named a *Metropolitane*; This gouernment is so mixed, that the Bishops may do nothing concerning the state of the whole Prouince, or out of the limits of their owne Churches without consulting the Bishop of the mother citty, nor i he without them; and k if they differ in iudgement and opinion, he is bound to follow the maior part of voices for the ending and determining of all controuersies that may or do arise concerning matters of faith, or of fact.

i Lucius Epist. in Epist. ad Episc. Hisp. & Gallic.
Concil. Antioch. 1. Canone. 9.
Concil. Nicen. canone. 4.
k Concil. Antioch. 1. canone. 19.

Neither is this the forme of gouernment of one prouince onely, but the gouernment of larger circuits is altogether like vnto it, and in proportion the same. For looke what the Metropolitane is in respect of the Bishops of the prouince, that & no more is the primate or Patriarch in respect of the Metropolitans, and Bishops of diuers prouinces; so that as the Metropolitan can doe nothing out of his owne Diocese without the concurrence of the maior part of the Bishops of the prouince, though he be in order and honour the first and greatest amongst them, who must be consulted before they can do any thing; so in like sort, the Primate or Patriarch may do nothing without the aduice and consent of the Metropolitanes and Bishops subiect vnto him. So that we see the forme of Church gouernment is mixt in such sort, that in respect of a Diocese or particular Church, there is a speciall authoritie resting in one, though not excluding nor neglecting the assistance and concurrence of more; but the gouernment of many particular Churches and prouinces is principally Aristocraticall, all thinges being swayed by the maior part of the voyces of the Bishops and Metropolitanes, yet admitting a primacie of order and honour of one amongst the rest, who must bee first consulted, from whom all deliberations must take beginning, and who sitteth in all their meetings as a president and moderatour.

This l *Bellarmine* endeuoureth to improue, and therefore laboureth to shew, that the supreme power of the Church is not in the company of Bishops.

l De Pont. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 8.

His first reason is, because Christ, as he supposeth, gaue no authoritie to his Apostles and Disciples, but that which he gaue to euery one of them apart, as to preach, baptize, binde and loose, remit, and retaine sinne.

But this silly argument is easily answered, and the absurditie of *Bellarmines* confident affirmation is too too apparant. For to ordaine Bishops, to depose Bishops or Presbyters, and to determine the differences, and controuersies that arise amongst them, is, as I thinke, a great part of Ecclesiasticall power and iurisdiction: yet may no one Bishop doe any of these things, but the company of Bishops onely.

m To the ordination of a Bishop, the presence of the Metropolitane, &

m Concil. Carth. 2. can. 12.

of

of three other Bishops at the least, with the consent of the rest that are absent, signified in writing, is by the old Canons required: neither did the Church euer admit lesse then three Bishops to ordaine, vnlesse in certaine cases of necessity: And touching the depriuing or degrading of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, the ancient Canon requireth the concurrence and consent of three Bishops for the censuring and depriuing of a Deacon; of sixe for the depriuing of a Presbyter; and of twelue for the censuring, iudging, and deposing of a Bishop. Wherefore let vs see, if the Cardinall haue any better reason behinde.

His second reason is, that it cannot be imagined that Christ committed the gouernment of the Church to the company of Bishops; for that then the Church should oftentimes lacke gouernours, for that the Bishops are seldome assembled by ioynt consent to decree and determine things.

Surely this reason hath farre lesse strength then the former; for in the beginning, all the Bishops of each prouince met to the ordination of euery Bishop newly elected; and twice in the yeare besides there was a Synode holden consisting of all the Bishops of the prouince, the Metropolitane not onely hauing power, but also being straightly bound to conuocate his brethren; and they as surely tyed and obliged to come when he called them.

His third reason, which he bringeth to proue, that the gouernment of the Church was not by Christ committed to the company of Bishops, but to some one chiefe and supreme amongst them, is, for that the whole multitude of right beleeuing Christians is one Church, and therefore must haue one chiefe ruler.

For answer hereunto we say, that a Church may be named one either in respect of the same faith, hope, profession, meanes of saluation & communion or fellowship of Saints; & so the whole multitude of right beleeuers throughout the world is but one Church; or in respect of the same immediate communicating together in Sacraments, & in the actions and exercises of Gods worship and seruice. The vnitie of the Church of God in this later sort implieth & requireth a necessitie of the vnitie of one chiefe Pastour; but the vnitie of the Church in the former sort may stand without the vnitie of one Pastour.

[n] Christian men, saith *Ockam*, in Scripture are compared to sheepe, and the Church of God to a fold. Now though it bee expedient that these sheepe so many as belong to the same particular fold, that go out to the same pastures to feede, to the same riuers of water to drinke, and do remaine and abide together, should bee fed, directed and guided by the same Pastour; yet the sheepe of diuers folds led out to diuers pastures to feede in, and riuers of water to drinke, may haue their diuersitie of Pastours vnder the same chiefe Shepheard Christ Iesus; neither is there any vnitie implyed in the whole Church, or in the Churches of diuers prouinces,

n *Ockam. Dialog. lib. 2. tract. 1. part. 3. ca. 3.*

uinces which may not be preserued as wel by the multitude and diuersitie of Pastors bound and knit together in the bond of conspiring consent and agreement, as by the vnitie of one chiefe Pastour. And in this sort wee shall finde the Church of God to haue stood in perfect vnitie in the first and best ages thereof, without finding any want of the helpe of one chiefe Pastour. For how could there be a more perfect vnitie in the whole Church, then when the Pastour of each particular Church chosen by the Clergie, and people of the same, was approued by the Metropolitane, and all the rest of the Bishops of the prouince for his sincerity in profession, and godlinesse of conuersation, and ordained to the worke of the ministery by the ioynt imposition of all their handes? when the [n] Metropolitanes of seuerall prouinces were confirmed by the Primate or Patriarch, but ordained by the Bishop of their prouinces? when the [o] Patriarches elected by the Clergie and people, and ordained by their Metropolitanes, sent their Synodall letters one to another, testifying and expressing their faith and profession before they were receiued and allowed one of another, and before they were accounted and reputed for lawfull Patriarches?

n *Vide Decret. Damasi ex Decr. Iuonis Carnotens. lib. 1. in Tom. 1. Concil. apud Binnium. p. 505.*

o *Greg. lib. 1. Epist. 24. Vide exemplar literarum Tharasii ad summos Sacerdotes & Episcopos Antiochiæ, Alexandriæ & sanctæ Vrbis. in 3. Action. Synodi 7. apud Binnium.*

Wherefore presupposing that the gouernement of the Church is not Monarchicall in respect of any one supreme Pastour on earth, but mixt; and hauing seene how, notwithstanding the diuersitie of many Pastours, the church may be preserued in peace and vnitie, let vs more exactly and distinctly consider what the ancient forme of Church policie and gouernment was.

If we looke into the monuments of Antiquitie, we shall finde, that there were anciently three Subordinations in the Church. For the actions of the Bishop of each particular Church of a cittie, and places adioyning, were subiect to the censure and iudgement of the rest of the Bishops of the same prouince; amongst whom for order sake there was one chiefe to whom it pertained to call them together, to sit as moderator in the midst of them being assembled, and to execute what by ioynt consent they resolued on. The actions of the Bishops of a prouince, and a prouinciall Synode consisting of those Bishops, were subiect to a Synode consisting of the Metropolitanes, and other Bishops of diuers prouinces.

This Synode was of two sorts: For either it consisted of the Metropolitanes and Bishops of one kingdome and nation onely, as did the Councels of *Africa*: or of the Metropolitanes, and Bishops of many kingdomes. If of the Metropolitanes and Bishops of one kingdome and state onely, the chiefe Primate was moderator: If of many, one of the Patriarches, and chiefe Bishops of the whole world, euery Church being subordinate to some one of the Patriarchicall churches, and incorporate into the vnity of it.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, the actions of the Biſhops of a whole kingdome and Patri-
archſhip were ſubiect to an Oecumenicall Synode conſiſting of all
the Patriarches, and the Metropolitanes and Biſhops ſubiect to
them. Touching prouinciall Councels, to the cenſures whereof the acti-
ons of particular churches are ſubiect, they were by the ancient Ca-
ons of the church to be holden in euery prouince twice euery yeare. p *It*
very neceſſary, ſay the Fathers of the Councell of *Nice*, *that there*
ould bee a Synode twice euery yeare in euery prouince; that all the Bi-
hops of the prouince meeting together may in common thinke vpon thoſe
hinges that are doubtfull and queſtionable. For the diſpatch of Eccleſi-
aſticall buſineſſes, and the determining of matters in controuerſie, q *We thinke*
e were fit, ſay the Fathers in the Councell of *Antioche*, *that in eue-*
ry prouince Synodes of Biſhops ſhould bee aſſembled twice euery yeare. The
firſt Councell of r *Conſtantinople* decreeth the ſame: and the Fathers
aſſembled in the Councell of ſ *Chalcedon* complaine, that in ſome pro-
uinces the Synodes of Biſhops are not holden, and that thereby many
Eccleſiaſticall matters needing reformation are neglected: and there-
fore they appoint, *that the Biſhops of euery prouince ſhall aſſemble*
euery yeare twice at that place, which the Biſhop of the mother Cittie ſhall
thinke fit, to amend all thinges that ſhall bee found to bee amiſſe in the pro-
uince.

p *Concil. Nicen. Canone. 5.*

q *Concil. Antioch. Canone. 20.*

r *Canone. 2.*

ſ *Canone. 19.*

Heere we ſee the neceſſitie of holding theſe Synodes, and by whom
they were to be called and moderated. Wherefore let vs now proceede
to ſee of whom they conſiſted, what cauſes they examined and deter-
mined, what the power of the Metropolitane originally was, and what
in proceſſe of time, by poſitiue conſtitution, vpon due and iuſt conſide-
rations it grew to be.

Touching the perſons that prouinciall Synodes conſiſted of, it is
cleare and euident, that not onely Biſhops, but Presbyters alſo were
preſent in theſe Aſſemblies, and had deciſiue voices: whereupon
the Councell of *Antiſiodorum* ſaith; t *Let all the Presbyters being*
called come to the Synode in the Cittie. The Councell of *Tarracon*, u *Let*
letters bee ſent by the Metropolitane to his brethren, that they bring
with them to the Synode not onely ſome of the Presbyters of the Cathe-
drall Church, but alſo of each Dioceſe. And the fourth Councell of
Toledo, deſcribing the forme of celebrating prouinciall Synodes, hath
theſe words: x *Let the Biſhops aſſembled goe to the Church, and ſit ac-*
cording to the time of their ordination; and after all the Biſhops are entred
and ſet, let the Presbyters be called, and the Biſhops ſitting in compaſſe, let
the Presbyters ſit behinde them, and the Deacons ſtand before them. In the firſt
Councell of *Toledo*, we finde theſe words, y *Conſidentibus Presbyteris,*
ſtantibus Diaconis, & cæteris qui intererant Concilio congregato, Patronus E-
piſcopus dixit, &c. that is, the Presbyters ſitting together with the Biſhops,
the

t *Concil. Antiſiod. canone. 7.*

u *Conc. Tarracon. canone. 13.*

x *Conc. Toletan. 4. can. 3.*

y *Initio. Cõcilij Toletan. 1.*

the Deacons standing before them, and the rest, which were present in the Councell assembled, *Patronus* the Bishop said, &c.

The like we reade of a Synode holden by *Gregory* the Pope. The words are these: [z] *Gregorius Papa coram sacratissimo corpore Beati Petri Apostoli, cum Episcopis omnibus Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & Presbyteris residens, consistentibus Diaconis, & cuncto Clero, dixit &c.* that is, *Gregory* the Pope sitting before the most sacred body of blessed *Peter*, with all the Bishops of the *Romane* Church and the Presbyters also, the Deacons standing before them, and all the Clergie, said, &c. And that Presbyters were not onely present in Prouinciall Synodes, but had decisiue voices as wel as Bishops, it appeareth by their [a] subscribing to the Decrees of such Synodes in the very same forme and manner that Bishops did. So that it will be found most false and vntrue that [b] *Bellarmine* hath, that Presbyters haue no voyces in Synodes: and the ancient forme of our Conuocation here in England, wherein not onely the Arch-bishops, and Bishops, but sundry Presbyters also also, as well out of Cathedrall Churches as Dioceses at large, are present, and haue decisiue voices, will clearely refute the same.

z *Greg. lib. 4. Epistolarum. cap. 88.*

a *Vide Subscript. Concil. Eleberti n. & Synod. sub. Gregorio.*

b *Bell. de Clericis lib. 1. cap. 14.*

The causes that were wont to be examined and determined in the meeting of the Bishops of the prouince, were the [c] ordinations of Bishops when any Churches were voyd, and the depriuing and reiecting of all such as were found vnworthy of their honour and place: and in a word any complaint of wrong done in any Church was there to bee heard. [d] *Let the prouinciall Synodes be holden twice euery yeare*, saith the Councel of *Antioch*, *and let the Presbyters and Deacons be present, and as many as think they haue bene any way hurt or wronged, there expect the determination of the Synode.* The power of the Metropolitane, was in calling the rest of the Bishops to the Synode, in appointing the place of their meeting, and in sitting as President in the midst of them: and so were things moderated, that [e] neither the rest might proceede to doe any thing without consulting him, nor hee to do any thing without them, but was tyed in all matters of difference to follow the maior part; and if he neglected his dutie in conuocating his brethren, that so things might bee determined by common consent, he was by the Canons subiect to censure and punishment.

c *Conc. Antioch. Canone. 19.*

d *Ibid. can. 20.*

e *Ibid. can. 9.*

Thus at first all matters were to be heard, determined, and ended by Synodes, and they holden twice euery yeare: But in processe of time when the gouernours of the Church could not conueniently assemble a Synode twice a yeare, the Fathers of the sixth [f] generall Councel decreed, that yet in any case there should be a Synode of Bishops once euery yeare for Ecclesiasticall questions. Likewise the [g] seuenth generall Councell decreeth in this sort. *Whereas the Canon willeth iudicial inquisition to be made twice euery yeare by the assembly of Bishops in euery prouince, and yet for the misery and pouerty of such as should trauell to Synodes, the Fathers*

f *Canone. 8.*

g *Canone. 6.*

he sixth Councel decreed, it should be once in the yeare, and then thinges amisse be redressed, we renew this later Canon. So that, whereas at the first here was a Synode of Bishops in euery prouince twice in the yeare, now it was sufficient if the Bishops met once. But afterwards, many things falling out to hinder their happy meetings, we shall finde that they met not so often, and therefore the Councell of [h] *Basil* appoin- h Canone 8.
eth Episcopall Synodes to be holden once euery yeare, and Prouinciall at the least once in three yeares: And so in time, causes growing many, and the difficulties intollerable in comming together, and in staying to heare these causes thus multiplyed and encreased, it was thought better to referre the hearing of complaints and Appeales to Metropolitanes, and such like Ecclesiasticall Iudges, limited and directed by Canons and Imperiall lawes, then to trouble the Pastours of whole prouinces, and to wrong the people by the absence of their Pastours and Guides.

Thus hauing spoken of the authority of the Metropolitane and his Councell in euery prouince, it remaineth that we come to Synodes of a larger extent. These, besides Oecumenicall, whereof we will not yet speake, were of two sorts: Patriarchicall, wherein one of the Patriarches and chiefe Bishops of the world sate as president; or Nationall, consisting of the Bishops of many prouinces, within one country or kingdome, wherein the Primate sate as President: of which sort the Councels of *Africa* were; concerning which Councels it is ordered in the third Councell of [i] *Carthage*, that once euery yeare there shall be a generall i Canone 2.
assembly of the Bishops of *Africa*, to which all the prouinces, which haue *primas sedes*, that is, first Sees, and so may hold prouinciall Councels, shall out of their Councels send two Bishops, or as many as they shal think fit; but that out of *Tripolis*, because of the pouerty of the Bishops of it, one Bishop shal come. In these councels, the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* were sometimes present, not as presidents, but assistants, as other Metropolitanes were.

Heere were many prouinces that had *primas sedes*, that is, first Sees, and so consequently many Primates; yet for distinction, some call him that was Bishop of that first See (which was in honour before al the rest of the same countrey and kingdome, and to whom in all common deliberations the other Metropolitanes did resort) by an excellency, the Primate; and the rest, by the common name of Metropolitanes; in which sense the Bishop of *Carthage* was primate of all *Africa*; and so is a Primate in order and honour before Metropolitanes, but inferiour vnto a Patriarch. Of this distinction of degrees of honour amongst Metropolitanes and chiefe Bishops, *Hugo de Sancto Victore* writeth in this sort: [k] *Post Sacerdotes alii- k De Sacrament.*
res sunt Principes sacerdotum, id est, Episcopi: supra quos iterum sunt Archi- lib. 2. part 3. cap.
episcopi: & supra illos, qui dicuntur Primates: supra quos quidam Patriarchas 5.

constituere volunt : alij eosdem Patriarchas & Primates dicunt : that is, After Priests we are to reckon the chiefe Priests, that is, Bishops, as in the first degree of honour aboue them : aboue whom againe are Arch-bishops, and aboue them they that are named Primates : aboue whom some will haue Patriarches to bee placed ; but others will haue Patriarches and Primates to be all one. *Rabanus* in his booke [1] *de institutione Clericorum*, sorteth Bishops into three rankes : Patriarches ; Arch-bishops, who also are named Metropolitanes : and ordinary Bishops.

1 *Lib. 1. cap. 5.*

Chap. 31.

Of Patriarches who they were ; and the reason why they were preferred before other Bishops.

TOVCHING the Patriarches, they were in the beginning but onely three : to wit ; the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioche*. The reason, as some thinke, why the Bishops of these places were preferred before other, and made Patriarches, was in respect had to blessed *Peter*, who was, in sort before expressed, in order and honour the first and chiefest of the Apostles. For *Antioche* was honoured, for that he sate there for a certaine space, and afterwards gouerned it by *Euodius* ; *Alexandria* for that he placed *Marke* his scholer there : & *Rome* because it was the place of his death and martyrdome, where in his body he staieth and expecteth the resurrection of the dead, & the second cõming of Christ. All the Churches founded by any Apostle, are rightly called Apostolique ; but these more specially in which the Apostle *Peter* sate. [a] *Secunda sedes*, saith *Anacletus*, *apud Alexandriam beati Petri nomine à Marco eius discipulo consecrata est. Tertia autem sedes apud Antiochiam eiusdem beati Petri Apostoli habetur honorabilis* ; that is, The second See, and in degree and honour next vnto that of *Rome*, was consecrated at *Alexandria*, by the authority of blessed *Peter*, by *Marke* his Scholer ; and the third See honorable for *Peters* presence in the same is at *Antiocha*. [b] *Nihil*, saith *Leo* writing to *Anatholius*, *Alexandrinæ sedis, eius quam per sanctum Martyrem Euangelistam beati Petri discipulum meruit, pereat dignitatis. Antiochena quoque Ecclesia in quâ primùm prædicante Apostolo Petro, Christianum nomen exortum est, in perenne constitutionis ordine perseueret ; & in gradu tertio collocata, nunquam sit inferior* ; that is, Let the See of *Alexandria* lose no part of that dignity which it obtained by S. *Marke* the Euangelist the Disciple of blessed *Peter*. Let the Church of *Antioche* also, in which vpon *Peters* preaching the name of Christians first beganne, continue in that degree and order, wherein the constitution of the Fathers set it, and being placed in the third degree, let it neuer be put lower. This did *Leo* write, whē the Bishop of *Cõstantinople* sought to haue the

a *Anacletus. Epist. 3.*

b *Leo. ad Anatol. Epist. 53.*

the second place in the Church of God, and to be preferred before the Bishops of *Alexandria*, and *Antioche*. *Gregory* writeth to the same effect to *Eulogius* Bishop of *Alexandria*. His words are. c *Cum multi sint Apostoli, pro ipso tamen principatu sola Apostolorum Principis Sedes in authorate consulit, quæ tribus in locis vnius est. Ipse enim sublimauit sedem, in qua eum quiescere & præsentem vitam finire dignatus est. Ipse decorauit sedem in qua Euangelistam discipulum misit. Ipse firmauit sedem, in qua septem annis, quamuis discessurus sedit. Cum ergo vnius atque vna sit sedes, cui ex authoritate diuina tres nunc Episcopi præsident, quicquid ego de vobis boni audio, mihi imputo*; that is, Whereas there were many Apostles, yet in respect of the chiefty that *Peter* had, as being Prince of the Apostles, his Sea only grew to be in chiefe authority, which in three places is yet the See but of one and the same Apostle. For hee exalted that Sea in which hee pleased to rest, and end this present life. He beautified that Sea in which he placed *Marke* his Scholer: and he firmly and strongly setled that Sea in which he sate seuen yeares, though with purpose in the end to leaue it. When as therefore there is one Sea of one Apostle, in which by diuine authoritie three sit as presidents, whatsoeuer good I heare of you, I impute it to my selfe. And againe in the same place to *Eulogius*, hauing spoken to him of the dignitie of *Peters* chaire in which he sate, he saith: He hath spoken to me of *Peters* chaire, who himselfe sitteth on *Peters* chaire.

c *Greg. Epist. lib. 6. ep. 37.*

This is the opinion of these *Romane* Bishops, touching the reason of the exaltation of the Seas of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioche* aboue other Episcopall Seas; who, how partially soeuer they may be thought to be affected to the chaire of *Peter*, yet heerein do they mainly crosse the conceipt of the *Romanists* at this day, in that they teach, that other Bishops succeede *Peter* in the chaire, and in that chiefety and primacie he had, as well as the Bishop of *Rome*. The dignity of these three Apostolicall Churches was confirmed in the *Nicene* Councel; & each of them cõfined within the ancient bounds & limits thereof. d Let the ancient custome, say the *Nicene* Fathers, continue in *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, & *Pentapolis*, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* may haue power ouer all these; seeing the Bishop of *Rome* hath the like custome in like sort in *Antioche*, and other prouinces; let euery Church retaine and keepe her owne degree and honour. e *Bellarmine* much troubleth himselfe about this limitation and bounding of these Patriarches, as preiudiciall to the illimited Iurisdiction of the *Romane* Bishop: and therefore though it be most cleare that there was a particular assignation of Churches to euery of these Patriarches, yet he seeketh to auoyd the euidence of these words. For whereas f *Ruffinus* saith, it was decreede by the Councell of *Nice*, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should haue care & charge ouer *Ægypt*, as the Bishop of *Rome* hath of the Churches neere that city; & *Theodorus Balsamon* in the explicatiõ of the *Nicene* canons, with *Nilus* in his booke against the primacie interpreteth

d *Concil. Nicen. Canone 6.*

e *De Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

f *Ruff. Hist. eccl. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

terpreteth the words of the *Nicene* decree in this sense, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should haue the charge of *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis*, and the confirming of the Metropolitanes in those parts, because the Bishop of *Rome*, who hath the care of the West, confirmeth the Metropolitanes of the West; hee maketh this construction of the words of the Councell: Let the Bishop of *Alexandria* haue the charge of *Ægypt*, seeing the Bishop of *Rome* was wont to permit him so to haue before any Councell had decreed it. And so, he saith, *Nicolas* the Pope in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour vnderstandeth the words; which yet is most vntrue: for *Nicolas* saith no such thing, but onely that the Councell maketh the custome of the *Romane* Church the patterne for others to follow. But the [g] eighth generall Councell, which no doubt vnderstood the words of the *Nicene* Fathers farre better then *Bellarmine*, sheweth plainly, that the meaning of the *Nicene* Canon was, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should haue power ouer *Ægypt*, and the prouinces pertaining to it, to confirme the Metropolitanes in the same, seeing the like custome preuaileth in the *Romane* Church; And this Councell confirmeth the same distinction of the bounds of Iurisdiction, within which euery Patriarch is to containe himselfe, both for old *Rome* and new, and for the other Churches of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. The Canons of the *Nicene* Councell translated out of the *Arabian* tongue, and published by *Turrian*, *Pisanus*, and *Binnius*, will fully cleare this point, if our Aduersaries giue any credit vnto them. * For in the eighth of those Canons, the decree, about the meaning whereof we contend, is thus set downe: *Constitutum est, vt Episcopus Ægypti, id est, Patriarcha Alexandrinus, præsideat, & habeat potestatem totius Ægypti:* that is, It is ordained that the Bishop of *Ægypt*, that is, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, shall sit as President, and haue power ouer all *Ægypt*, and ouer all places, Cities and Townes which are round about it; because so it is fit, and because likewise the Bishop of *Rome*, that is the Successour of *Peter* the Apostle, hath power ouer all the Cities and places which are about *Rome*. And in like sort let the Bishop of *Antioche* haue power ouer that whole prouince, &c. But because perhaps these Canons, though published by themselues, as rare secrets of Antiquity lately brought to light, will be of little credit with them, I will adde one reason more, which to me seemeth very forcible to confirme our interpretation of the words of the *Nicene* Fathers. [h] There was anciently a great contention betweene the church of *Rome*, and the church of *Constantinople*, about the churches of *Bulgaria*, either of these churches making claime thereunto, and seeking to bring them within the compasse of their owne Iurisdiction: which contention could not haue bene, if the one of these two churches had had an illimited extent of Iurisdiction.

But that neither of thē had any such illimited Iurisdictiō, it is euident in that

g *Canone* 17.

* *Apud Binnium Tom. Conciliorum primo, pag.* 352.

h *Binnius in vita Hadriani.* 2. *Tom.* 3. *Concil. part.* 2.

that neither *Constantinople*, nor *Rome*, vrge any such thing for iustification of their claime, but stand vpon their conuerting of the people of *Bulgaria* to the Christian faith, and the planting of religion amongst them. Which either of these pretending rather then other, sought thereby to iustifie a title of iurisdiction, and authority ouer them.

Wherefore resoluing that we haue the true meaning of the *Nicene* canon, let vs returne thither whence we haue a little digressed, namely to the discourse of Patriarchicall Churches & Bishops set in order and honour before all other. These, as I haue already shewed, were at first but three, to which afterwards two other were added: First *Constantinople*, & afterwards *Hierusalem*. Touching the Church & Bishop of *Constantinople*, after that citty was by *Constantine* made the seate of the Empire, and thereby as much or more honoured then any cittie in the world, the Bishop thereof, before little esteemed, grew exceeding great; and in the second Councell, which was the first of [i] *Constantinople*, was made a Patriarch, in degree of honour next the Bishop of *Rome*, and before the other two: And againe in the Councell of [k] *Chalcedon*, confirmed in the same. And though *Leo* resisted against this act of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, and peremptorily protested, that he would not suffer the Church of *Alexandria* to lose the dignity of the second Sea, & the Church of *Antioche* of the third, and his successours many of them persisted in the same resistance; yet they were forced in the end to giue way to the exaltation of the *Constantinopolitane* Church; so that after the time of *Iustinian* the Emperour, they neuer made any more wordes about this matter. Whereby we see, that to bee true of *Hierome*, [l] *Orbis maior est vrbe*; that is, The world is greater then any one citty of the world, though *Rome* itselfe.

i *Canone.* 3.

k *Actione.* 16.

l *Hierō. ad Euagrium.*

The Church of *Hierusalem*, as being the place of Christs passion, and whence the preaching of the Gospell tooke beginning, was euer much honoured; yet was it not so much as a Metropolitane Church at the first; but the Bishop and Clergie thereof were subiect to the Bishop of *Cæsarea*, as their Metropolitane, and the Bishop of *Antioch* as their Patriarch; as *Hierome* writing to *Pammachius* against *Iohn* of *Heirusalem* testifieth: And thereupon *Leo* [m] writing to *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioche*, blameth *Iuuenall* Bishop of *Hierusalem* for seeking to subiect *Palastina* to himselfe, and chargeth him with insolent boldnesse for that attempt.

m *Leo. epist.* 62.

But the [n] Fathers of the fifth generall Councell thought good to honour the church of *Hierusalem*, where Christ suffered, and rose againe from death: & therfore, whereas the Bishop thereof had formerly but a bare title, and a preëminence in sitting before other, they made him a Patriarch in order the fifth; and that he might haue Metropolitanes subiect vnto him, they tooke some partes of the Diocese of *Alexandria* and *Antioche* from the Bishops of those Churches, and put them

n *In Fragmento Concil. 5. apud Binnium. Tom. 2. Concil. p. 606.*

them vnder him: So that now we haue fiue Patriarches of the Christian church. Touching these, the [o] eighth generall Coũcel taketh order, that no man shall offer any indignity to any of them. To these, they were wont to wish al prosperity & long life in the cõclusion of their Councels. Without these, no Councel was holden to be full and perfect. These might conuocate the Metropolitanes of their seueral diuisions, and hold a Patriarchical Councel, which was of greater authority then either those in the seuerall prouinces, or of a whole nation, formerly mentioned, because it consisted of more, and more honourable Bishops: yet had the Patriarches no greater authority ouer the Metropolitanes within their larger circuits, then the Metropolitanes within their lesser compasse. These were, by the order of the [p] eighth generall Councel, to confirme the Metropolitanes but subiect vnto them, either by imposition of hands, or giuing the Pall: inferior Bishops they might not meddle with, but were to leaue them to the ordering of their Metropolitanes.

[o] Canone, 21.

[p] Canone 17.

Chap. 32.

How the Pope succeedeth Peter: *what of right belongeth to him: and what it is that he vniustly claimeth.*

WE deny not but that blessed *Peter* had a kinde of primacy of honour and order, that in respect thereof, as all Metropolitanes doe succeed him, as being greater then other Bishops in honour & place; so the Patriarches yet more specially: & amongst them the *Romane* Bishops in the first place. We will not therefore put our Aduersaries to so much paines, as some other haue done, to proue, that *Peter* was at *Rome*; that he dyed there, and that the Bishop of *Rome* succeedeth him. But this is it which we say, that hee succeeded him in the Bishoprique of that cittie, and in the honour of being one of the prime Bishops of the world, as the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* likewise did; but not in the condition of being vniuersall Bishop, that is, such a one in whom all Episcopall power and authoritie is originally inuested; from whom it is deriued to others; and who may limite and restraine the vse of it in other, as seemeth good vnto himselfe. For *Peter* was not such an Apostle, but had onely a ioint commission with the rest, who were put into it immediatly by Christ as well as he, though he were in some sort the first man in it.

We deny not therefore to the *Romane* Bishop his due place among the prime Bishops of the world, if therewith he will rest contented; but vniuer-

vniuerſall Biſhop in ſort before expreſſed, we dare by no meanes admit him to be, knowing right well, that euery Biſhop hath in his place, and keeping his owne ſtanding, power and authority immediatly from Chriſt, which is not to be reſtrained or limited by any but by the company of Biſhops; wherein though one be chiefe for order ſake, and to preſerue vnity, and in ſuch ſort that all things muſt take their beginning from him, yet he can do nothing without them.

The Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, as I haue already noted, in the time of the ſecond generall Councell, obtained to be one of the foure Patriarches, by reaſon of the greatneſſe of his Church and cittie; and in the fourth holden at *Chalcedon*, to haue equall priuiledges with the Biſhop of *Rome*; but not contenting himſelfe long with this equality, ſoone after he ſought to be aboue him, and would bee called vniuerſall Biſhop, ſeeking thereby to ſubiect to himſelfe all other both Biſhops and Churches: in which proud claime he was reſiſted by *Gregory the* firſt, who profeſſeth, [a] that whoſoeuer aſſumeth this title, ouerthroweth the dignitie and honour of all other Biſhops; in his pride is like *Lucifer*; and may rightly bee thought to bee a forerunner of Antichriſt.

[a] *Gregor. Epiſt. lib. 4. ep. 34. & 38.*

Paul the Apoſtle, ſaith *Gregory*, when he heard certaine men ſay, *I am of Paul, I am of Apollo, and I of Cephas*; trembling and quaking exceedingly, to heare and ſee this tearing and renting aſunder of the Lords body, through which his members ioyned themſelues in companies factiouſly vnto other heads, cryed out aloud ſaying, *Was Paul crucified for you? or were yee baptized in the name of Paul?* In ſuch ſort therefore did hee decline the particular ſubiecting of the members of the Lords body to certaine Heads, as it were, beſides Chriſt, yea though they were the Apoſtles themſelues. And what wilt thou be able to anſwer to Chriſt the Head of the vniuerſall Church in the tryall of the laſt Iudgement, which goeſt about by aſſuming the title of vniuerſall Biſhop, to put vnder thy ſelfe all the members of his myſticall body? Who is it, I pray thee, whom thou propoſeſt to thy ſelfe for imitation, in taking to thee ſo peruerſe a title, but he who deſpiſing the Legions of Angels, ioyned with him in ſociety as companions, ſought to climbe vp aboue them to the heighth of ſingularity, that neither he might ſeeme to be vnder any, nor any might be found ouer whom he was not: who alſo ſaid, *I will aſcend into heauen, I will exalt my throne aboue the Starres of heauen, I will ſit in the mountaine of the teſtament, in the ſides of the North; I will aſcend aboue the heighth of the cloudes, and will bee like vnto the moſt high.* For what are thy brethren, all the Biſhops of the vniuerſall Church, but the ſtarres of Heauen; whoſe life, and tongue or ſpeech, do ſhine in the midſt of the ſinnes and errours of men, as it were in the midſt

of the darkneſſe of the night; whoſe name and honour while thou ſeemeſt to trample vnder thy feete, in that thou ſeekeſt by this title of pride to preferre thy ſelfe before them, what elſe doeſt thou ſay, but *I will aſcend into heauen, and exalt my ſeate aboue the Starres of heauen?* Are not all the Biſhops of the Church, cloudes, who by the wordes of their preaching powre downe the graces of GOD like ſhowers of raine, and ſhine through the light of good workes, whom whiles your brotherhood deſpiſing ſeeketh to bring vnder it ſelfe, what other thing doth it ſay but this, which is ſaid of the old enemy, *I will aſcend aboue the heighth of the cloudes?* And a little after, the ſame *Gregory* addeth: Surely *Peter* the Apoſtle was the firſt member of the holy & vniuerſall Church: *Paul*, *Andrew*, and *Iohn*, what other thing are they but heads of particular parts of the people and Church of God? and yet notwithſtanding they are all members of the Church vnder one head.

Thus doth this holy Man and worthy Biſhop diſlike, that any amongſt the Biſhops of the Chriſtian church, ſhould be ſo proud and inſolent, as to ſeeke to be ouer all, and ſubiect to none; to ſubiect vnto himſelfe all the members of Chriſt, as to a head, and to challenge vnto himſelfe to bee vniuerſall Biſhop: [b] for that if any ſuch be, if hee fall into errour or hereſie hee draweth all other with him, and ouerthroweth the ſtate of the whole church. Yet do the *Romane* Biſhops at this day, take all theſe things vnto themſelues: for they ſubiect all Chriſts members to themſelues, as to Heads of the vniuerſall church, vpon perill of euerlaſting damnation: they will be ſubiect to none, nor haue any to be ouer them, ſo that all depends of them; their ſtanding is the ſtay of all, and their fall the ruine of all; and if they erre, all erre. But perhaps it will be ſaid, that the name of vniuerſall Biſhop is not ſimply euil, nor theſe claimes ſimply to be diſliked; but when they are made by them to whom it pertaineth not to make them, ſuch as the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* were.

[b] *Greg. Epiſt. lib. 4. ep 32.*

Surely this euaſion will not ſerue the turne. For *Gregory* ſaith in the ſame place, that no Biſhop of *Rome* euer aſſumed this title, *ne dum priuatum aliquid daretur vni, honore debito Sacerdotes priuarentur vniuerſi*: that is, Leſt while ſome ſingular thing were giuen to one, all Biſhops ſhould be depriued of their due honour: thereby ſhewing, that this title, and the claimes accompanying it, are ſimply to be diſliked, as preiudiciall to the ſtate of the whole Church, and the honour and dignity of all other Biſhops, by whomſoeuer they be made. Some man perhaps will be deſirous to know, how our Aduerſaries ſeeke to decline the euidence of this cleare teſtimony of ſo great a *Romane* Biſhop, witneſſing againſt them in a matter of ſo great conſequence. I will therefore ſet downe briefly in this place, what I finde any where ſaid by any of them in anſwer to this authority.

The

The credit of the Author is such, that they dare take no exception a-gainst him; and the generalitie of his speech is such, that what he dissli-keth in the *Constantinopolitane* Bishop, he confesseth to be euill in any o-ther, and particularly in the Bishop of *Rome*. And therefore the onely thing that they can deuise, whereby to darken the cleare light of truth, is this; that the Bishop of *Constantinople* did so, and in such sence chal-lenge to be vniuersall Bishop, that he onely would haue bene a Bishop, and there should haue bene no more; then which nothing could be more absurdly sayd. For the thing that the *Romane* bishops disliked in those of *Constantinople*, was not the putting of all other from being Bishops, but the preferring themselues before other, the subiecting of other to them-selues, the encroaching vpon the priuiledges and rights of other, and the challenging of the power of ordination, and confirmation of them, whom it pertained not to them to ordaine or confirme; as appeareth by the epistles of [c] *Leo*, blaming *Anatolius* for subiecting all vnto himselfe, for depriuing other Metropolitanes of their due honour, by encroaching vpon their rights, and for taking vpon him to ordaine the Bishop of *An-tioch*, who was one of the Patriarches.

c *Leo epist.* 53.

That the Bishops of *Constantinople* sought not so to be vniuersall Bi-shops, that there should be no other bishops but they onely, is most eui-dent by the epistles of *Leo* and [d] *Gregorie*, in that they ordained Bishops themselues, and are blamed by them for presuming to ordaine such as they should not haue ordained. Wherefore the most that they can be conceiued to haue desired, and sought in assuming the title of vniuersali-tie, is no more but the inuesting of the fulnesse of all power and iurisdi-ction Ecclesiasticall originally in themselues, and thereby the subiecting of all other to a necessitie of deriuing ministeriall power and authoritie from them; of seeking ordination at their hands, and being in all things pertaining to Episcopall office subiect to them: all which things are chal-lenged by the Bishop of *Rome*. For the *Romanists* at this day teach, that the fulnesse of all power and iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall is originally in the Pope, and that he communicateth a part thereof vnto others, with such limitations as seemeth best vnto himselfe; that all other Bishops re-ceiue their iurisdiction from him; that all the Bishops of the world can-not iudge him; that he may dispose of all the kingdomes of the world; that his standing is the stay of all; that his fall would be the ruine of all; and that therefore we must perswade our selues he cannot erre. And hence indeed it followeth, that he only is Bishop in truth, and that there are no other.

d *Vide epist. Gregor. supra citat.*

For if the Pope may take from any Bishop, so often as he seeth cause, as many as he pleaseth of them that are subiect to him; if he may reserue vnto himselfe what cases he will, and inhibite Bishops to meddle with them; if he may giue leaue to preach, minister Sacraments, and to do all other

other Ecclesiasticall duties, to whom he will, within any dioceſe of the world; if in generall Councels, where the power of iuriſdiction is principally exerciſed, where the great affaires of the Church are treated of, where doubts are reſolued, controuerſies determined, articles of faith defined, and lawes made that bind the whole church, he haue ſo abſolute power, that he is neither bound to follow the greater, nor the leſſer part of Biſhops there preſent, but may determine what he pleaſeth, when they haue all done, and ſayd what they can. If the aſſurance of finding out the truth, and decreeing that which is good and behoofefull, reſt not partly in him, and partly in them, but only in him, as our Aduerſaries teach; then are Biſhops indeed no Biſhops; no Iudges of controuerſies, but counſellours onely to aduiſe the Pope; no Law-giuers to the Church, but ſuch as muſt receiue lawes from the Pope; no commaunders in their owne right in the Church in any degree, but meere Lieutenants and ſubſtitutes, or, to ſpeake more truly and properly, vaſſals to the Pope.

Chap. 33.

Of the prooſes brought by the Romaniſts, *for confirmation of the vniuerſalitie of the Popes Iuriſdiction and power.*

IT is euident by that which hath bene ſaid, that that vniuerſality, whereof *Gregorie* ſpeaketh in his Epiſtles, and which he ſo peremptorily condemneth, is claimed by the Popes his ſucceſſours, at this day; and conſequently, that they are in his iudgement the fore-runners of Antichriſt, and in pride like *Luciſer*. Yet becauſe there is nothing ſo abſurd, that ſome will not defend; nothing ſo falſe, which ſome will not endeauor to proue true: let vs ſee what the *Romaniſts* can ſay for proofe and confirmation of the vniuerſall Iuriſdiction of their Popes. Surely as men carefull to vphold the ſtate of the Papacy, vnder the ſhadow of the boughes of which tree they ſo ſweetly reſt, and repoſe themſelues, they haue turned ouer their bookes to ſee what may be ſaid, and out of them alleage againſt vs the teſtimonies of Councels, Popes, Fathers *Greeke* and *Latine*, and the practiſe of Popes, whence ſuch a peereleſſe power may be proued and inferred.

The firſt teſtimonie that they bring out of any Councell, is out of the [a] Epiſtle written by the Fathers of the ſecond general Councel to *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and the other Biſhops of the Weſt; wherein the Fathers ſay, (if we may beleeue theſe men, that they came together to *Conſtantinople* by the mandate of the Pope, whoſe letters the Emperour ſent vnto them) and confeſſe, that the *Romane* Church is the head, and they the members. Truely this is a very ill beginning, and may make vs iuſtly feare, that we ſhall

[a] *Theodoret. hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 9. citat. à Bellar. lib. 2. de Pont. Rom. cap 13. & Binnio, in annot. ad Conc. Conſtant. 1.*

hall find little good dealing in that which followeth. For there is no part f this true, which, in the front of all their proofes, is by them ſo confi-ently alleaged. For thus the matter ſtandeth betweene the Fathers of that ouncell, and the Biſhop of *Rome*.

The Biſhops aſſembled at *Conſtantinople* writ to the Biſhop of *Rome*, nd the reſt of the Biſhops of the Weſt aſſembled in a Councell at *Rome*, ignifying, that they had bene inuited by them out of their brotherly oue, as their owne members, to come to their Councell; and that they iſhed nothing more, then that they had the wings of doues, that they ight flie away, and reſt with them; but that the ſtate of their churches ot permitting them to be ſo long abſent, and that intending at the time hey vnderſtood of their letters, to come no farther then *Conſtantinople*, hey could not come, but had ſent notwithſtanding certaine vnto hem.

This is all that is contained in the letter of thoſe Fathers written to he Biſhop of *Rome*: in all which there is no word of any mandate of the Pope, but of a friendly and louing entreatie of the weſterne Biſhops, eſiring the preſence of their brethren of the Eaſt; no word of head and embers, but of fellow members; nor any thing that may proue a com-anding power in the Pope. Nay, the contrary is moſt ſtrongly from ence to be proued. * For it was the Emperour, and not the Pope, that alled them to *Conſtantinople*; they refuſed to come to *Rome*, though they ad receiued the letters of the *Romane* Biſhop; and his colleagues intrea-ing and deſiring them to come to *Rome*, they abode at *Conſtantinople*: and were eſteemed to be the generall Councell, though the Pope held a Councell in the Weſt at the ſame time, which ſhould haue bene accoun-ted generall, rather then this, if all aſſurance of finding out the truth, and making good lawes, did reſt in the Pope onele.

* *Theodret. hiſt. lib. 5. c. 7.*

And laſtly, they ordained Biſhops of the greateſt and moſt famous Churches of the world, ſuch, and in ſuch ſort, as the Pope did not greatly like, and yet he was forced to giue way to their doings, and to ratifie that which they had done. The ſecond allegation to proue the vniuerſality of the Popes iuriſdiction, is, [b] that the Fathers of the third generall Councel, holden at *Epheſus*, profeſſed, that they depoſed *Neſtorius* by force of the mandatorie letters of *Celeſtinus* Biſhop of *Rome*; and that in their Epiſtle to *Celeſtinus* they ſay, they reſerued the iudgement of the cauſe of *Iohn* Patriarch of *Antioch* to him, as being more doubtfull.

b *Bellarm. vbi ſupra.*

The former of theſe two things they endeauour to proue out of [c] *Euagrius*; the later out of the Epiſtle written by the Fathers of that Councell, extant in the Councell it ſelfe. For the clearing of this obiection we muſt obſerue, that [d] *Neſtorius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, hauing vttered certaine hereticall, and impious ſpeeches, touching the perſonal vnion of the natures of God & Man in Chriſt, wherby many were ſcandalized, the firſt amongſt

c *Euagrius hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

d See theſe things in the Actes of the Councell of Epheſus, the 7. booke of *Socrates* hiſt. and the firſt of *Euagrius*.

amongst the Patriarches that tooke notice of it, was *Cyrill* Bishop of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*; who after he found, that *Nestorius* would not be reclaimed by admonitions, called a Synode of his Bishops, and condemned the absurd and hereticall positions of *Nestorius*, and required him to anathematize them, otherwise threatning, that he and his Bishop, would reiect him from their communion, and hold them as brethren who vnder his iurisdiction resisted against him.

This his proceeding he signified to the Bishop of *Rome*, who approued, and commended the same; and with his whole Synode of westerne Bishops encouraged him to goe forward, wishing him not to doubt of his concurrence with him, but as hauing all the authoritie & power he & his Bishops had, to prouide for the church of *Constantinople*, and to let *Nestorius* know, that he was cut off from the vnitie of the body of their Churches, if he should not within a certaine number of daies anathematize his wicked doctrine, and professe the faith touching the generation of Christ the Sonne of God, which the *Romane* Church, the Church of *Alexandria*, and Christian religion euery where preacheth. Hereupon *Nestorius*, fearing the course that *Cyrill* would take against him, desired the Emperour to summon a generall Councell.

To this Councell came *Nestorius*, and the Bishops that were vnder him: and *Cyril*, with his Bishops, assisted with the concurrence of the resolution and direction of the Bishop of *Rome*, and other Bishops of the West, though absent; But *Iohn* the Patriarche of *Antioche* and his Bishops were not come. Whereupon after a while, the Bishops that were present, being wearie of staying there, beganne to proceed without him, requiring *Nestorius* to appeare in the Synode, & to answere to such things as should be obiected to him; Which when he refused to doe, the Fathers assembled, finding by manifest proofe, that he had taught impiously, condemned, and deposed him, compelled so to doe by the Canons, and the letters of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his westerne Bishops, who had set a time, within which if he submitted not himselfe, they would reiect him from their communion.

Fiue daies after the condemnation and deposition of *Nestorius*, came *Iohn* the Patriarche of *Antioche* with his Bishops, excusing himselfe for his long tarrying in respect of the distance of the place from whence came, as also for that his Bishops could not sooner be gathered together. He was much offended, that they who were come before him had passed their sentence before his comming; and thereupon without delay, before he had put off his cloake, or shaken off the dust from his feete, as the storie saith, assembling the Bishops subiect to him in a Synode, deposed *Cyril* and *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who were chiefe agents in the proceedings against *Nestorius*. Which deposition of *Cyrill* and *Memnon*, was something hastily confirmed by the Emperour *Theodosius*.

c Act. Conc Eph. Tom. 4. cap. 17.

The

The Synode assembled vnder *Cyrill*, in like sort gaue sentence against *Iohn*, & signified to *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*, what they had done, shewing how vnaduisedly a few had presumed to condemne a great many, and the Bishop of the third See, Bishops of greater Sees, to wit, *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, and *Celestinus* of *Rome*, who was present in the Counsell by his Vicegerent: yet referring the finall proceeding to his consideration also, he and his Bishops being as much interessed in this businesse, as they that were assembled. In the end by mediation of many great and worthy ones, *Iohn* and his Bishops, that formerly were misconceited of *Cyrill*, were satisfied, and he sent the confession of his faith vnto him; which he approued, and so they were reconciled, and made friends without any farther intermedling of the Bishop of *Rome*.

Here is nothing to be found, that any way argueth or importeth an vniuersality of power in the Bishop of *Rome*, but onely his concurrence with the other Patriarches, as prime Patriarch, in the waighty and important businesses of the Church: and therefore the [f] Fathers of that Councel writing to the Vicars of the Bishop of *Rome* and other Bishops, sent by them to the Emperour, to informe him concerning the differences that had arisen in the Councell, and their proceedings, charge and require them to doe nothing but according to their direction; assuring them, that if they do otherwise, they will neither ratifie that they do, nor admit them to their communion: Thereby shewing, that though the *Romane* Bishop be to concurre with the Fathers assembled in Councels, yet he is not absolutely there to command, but to follow the directions of the Maior part. So that he hath a ioint interest with others, but not an absolute Soueraignity ouer all others; God hauing therefore ordained the high toppes of Patriarchicall dignities (as it is in the eighth generall [g] Councell) that they might iointly concurre to vphold the state of the Church, and the truth of Religion; and that if one fell, the rest might restore, settle and reëstablish things againe: Which course [h] *Cyrill* in his Epistle to *Iohn* of *Antioche* sheweth to haue bene holden by him.

f Act. Conc. Ephe. Tom. 4. cap. 19.

g Apud Binnium Conciliorum. Tom 3. pag. 2. Act. 1. pag. 881.

h Cyril. Epist. inter acta Ephes. Conc.

For when he obserued that *Nestorius* his fellow Patriarch erred from the faith, he first admonished him, and threatned to reiect him from the communion of his Churches. Secondly, he acquainted the Bishop of *Rome* and the westerne Bishops with the impieties and blasphemies of *Nestorius*; who thereupon reiected him, professing that they would admit none to their communion, but such as would condemne him. Thirdly, he wrot to *Iuuenall* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, and to *Iohn* Bishop of *Antioch*, shewing his owne dislike of *Nestorius*, and farther professing, that for his part he was fearefull to be cast out of the communion of the westerne Bishops, as he saw he must be, if he accursed not *Nestorius*.

The next allegation is out of the Councell of [i] *Chalcedon*, where *Theodorus* and *Ischiron*, Deacons, in their bils of complaint exhibited to the Bishop

i Actione 3.

Bishop of *Rome* as president, and to the whole Councell, call *Leo* the Bishop, *Most holy and most blessed vniuersall Arch-bishop, and Patriarche of great Rome*. But they that presse the testimonie of these two distressed Deacons, flying to *Leo* for helpe, should remember, that in the Councell of [k] *Constantinople* vnder *Mennas*, not Deacons, but Bishops, and they many, are reported to haue written to the Bishop of *Constantinople* in this sort: *To our most holy Lord, and most blessed Father of Fathers, Iohn, the Archbishop, and vniuersall Patriarche*; and [l] *Mennas* himselfe also is called *Oecumenicall Patriarche*, and Archbishop, oftentimes in that Councell of *Constantinople*: and yet, I thinke, they will not acknowledge the Bishops of *Constantinople* to haue had an vniuersall, supreme commanding power ouer the whole world.

k *Actione 5. pag. 455. 460. apud Binnium, tom. 2.*

l *Eodem Tomo pag. 438.*

Heereunto therefore they adde another proofe, out of the relation of the [m] Councell of *Chalcedon* made to *Leo*; wherein the Fathers complaine of *Dioscorus*, that as a wild Boare he had violently entred into the vineyard of the Lord, and wasted the same, plucking vp the true fruitfull vines, and planting vnfruitfull in their places; and that he slayed not there, but reached out his hand against him to whom the keeping of the vineyard was committed by our Sauiour, that is, against the Bishop of *Rome*, whom he thought to excommunicate.

m *Actione 16. pag. 139.*

These words we willingly confesse, to be words of iust complaint, vpon great cause made by the Fathers of the Councell, against *Dioscorus*; but they proue not the thing in question. For we make no doubt, but the keeping of the vineyard of the Lord of hosts was committed to the Bishop of *Rome*, not onely as well as to other, but in the first place, as being in order and honour the chiefe: But that he onely receiued from Christ this power, authoritie and charge, and others from him, not we onely, but many learned amongst themselues do denie, as [n] *Bellarmine* testifieth.

n *De Pontif. Rom. l. 4. cap. 22.*

There are two other testimonies that may bee alleaged out of the Councell of *Chalcedon*. For *Paschasinus*, one of the Vicegerents of the Bishop of *Rome* in that Councell, calleth [o] *Rome* the head of the churches, and [p] *Leo* the Bishop of *Rome*, head of the vniuersall Church. But they who presse so much the saying of the Popes Legate in fauour of the Pope, must know, that by head he meant chiefe in order and honour, and not one hauing all power originally in himselfe, and absolutely commanding ouer all, as the Papists now teach. For if he had meant so, he had not beene endured by the Fathers of that Councell, who peremptorily pronounce, [q] that it was the greatnesse of the citie, and not any power giuen by Christ or deriued to him from *Peter*, that made the Bishop of *Rome* to be great; and that therefore they would equall the Bishop of *Constantinople* vnto him, seeing *Constantinople* was now become equall vnto *Rome*.

o *Concil. Chalced. act. 1. pag. 4.*

p *In Exempl. epist. Palchasini, pag. 141.*

q *Act. 15. chap 28.*

The

The next testimonie that they alleage, is out of the Patriarchicall Councell of [r] *Constantinople* vnder *Mennas*, wherein the Fathers professe by *Mennas* their President, that they follow and obey the Apostolique See, that they communicate with them with whom that See communicateth, and condemne all those it condemneth.

r *Actione 4.*

Surely, this reason, howsoeuer it may seeme to haue some force, yet indeed hath none at all. For there is no question, but that the Bishop of *Rome* with his westerne Synodes, all which according to the phrase of Antiquitie are comprehended vnder the name of the Apostolique See, was more to be esteemed then the particular Synode vnder *Mennas*; and that therefore they might professe to follow it, and obey the decrees of it; and yet neither thinke the Pope to be vniuersall Bishop, nor that the Bishop of *Rome*, with his westerne Bishops, is more to be listned vnto, & obeyed, then all the other Bishops of the Christian world. That [s] *Adrian* the Bishop of *Rome*, in his Epistle to *Tharasius* inserted into the seuenth generall Councell, saith, that the See of *Rome* hath the primacie throughout the whole world, & is the head of all churches (which is the last allegation of *Bellarmine* out of Councels) is no more, then we graunted before, if it be rightly vnderstood of a primacie of order and honor, and not of an vniuersall, supreme, commanding power ouer all.

s *Epist. ad Thearas. in Concil. 7. act. 2.*

This is all that *Bellarmine* can alledge out of any ancient Councell: in which his allegations, it will not be amisse for the Reader to obserue his guilefull cunning; who vndertaking to produce the testimonies of ancient Councels, for confirmation of the papacie, bringeth nothing for the most part, but the words of particular men; and they either tutors to the Pope, agents for him, or Popes. To that which he hath out of later Councels, as that of *Lateran* vnder *Innocentius*, and that of *Lyons*, and *Florence*, I will answer, when I come to shew the opinions of later times touching the Popes vniuersality of iurisdiction and power, and therfore will passe them ouer in this place.

Chap. 34.

Of the pretended proofes of the Popes Iurisdiction, taken out of the Decretall Epistles of Popes.

THe next proofes that are brought for confirmation of the vniuersalitie of Papall iurisdiction, are the sayings of Popes in their decretall Epistles. These Epistles [a] *Bellarmine* sorteth into three rankes, placing in the first, the Epistles of those Popes that liued within the first 300 yeares; in the second, the epistles of those, that liued after the first 600 yeares; and in the third, the Epistles of such as came in the midst betweene these.

a *De Pontif. l. 2. cap. 14.*

Touching the first, he confesseth, that certaine errours haue crept into

into them, and that he dareth not pronounce them to be indubitate; but Cardinall *Cusanus*, a man of great learning, reading, and iudgement, minsteth not the matter, as *Bellarmine* doth, but plainely and in direct words professeth, that he thinketh these epistles that go vnder the names of ancient Popes, are counterfeit. His words are these. [b] *In my opinion, the things that are written of* Constantine *and his donation, are Apocryphall, & so perhaps some other long and large writings attributed to the holy men* Clemens, *and* Anacletus *the Pope, on which, they that desire to magnifie the Romane Sea, which is worthie of all honour, and to exalt it more then either is expedient for the Church, or is any way fit, do either altogether, or in some sort ground themselues. For assuredly, if any man would diligently reade ouer and peruse all the writings attributed to those holy men, and compare the time wherein they liued with those writings, and then would be conuersant in the workes of all the holy Fathers, which were till the time of* Augustine, Hierome, *and* Ambrose, *and in the bookes of Councels, wherein authenticall writings are alleaged, committing them to memorie, and making vse of them, he would finde this to be true, that neither any mention is made of those forenamed Epistles in any of those writings, nor that the Epistles compared with the times wherein their supposed authors liued, can be made to agree with the times of their life, but by the very circumstance of time bewray themselues to be counterfeit. It is written in the Epistles of* Clemens, *how he was made Pope, and succeeded* Peter: *and after the death of* Peter, *the author of these Epistles writeth vnto* Iames, *who was brother of our Lord, and Bishop of Hierusalem: and yet it is most manifest that the same* Iames *died eight yeares before* Peter, *which was one of the causes (as* Beda *writeth in his commentaries vpon the Canonicall Epistles) why the Epistle of* Iames *is set first among the Catholique Epistles.* Neither is this the censure of *Cusanus* onely, but [c] *Contius* a learned Canonist, in his annotations vpon *Gratian*, feareth not to pronounce all the decretall Epistles that go vnder the names of such Bishops as liued before *Syluester*, to be false and counterfeit. Besides these censures of learned men, there want not strong and effectuall reasons to disproue these Epistles. For first, they will easily appeare to be counterfeit, because they are barbarously, and rudely written, and are not like the writings of those men that liued in the times wherein the supposed authors of those Epistles did liue, but like the writings of such as liued in later and worse times, after Barbarisme had preuailed, and ouerflowne all. Secondly, because the style is so different from those indubitate remainders of the Epistles of the same Popes, found in [d] *Cyprian*, [e] *Eusebius*, and [f] *Athanasius*, that they cannot be but counterfeit: For whosoeuer shall compare them, shall find them to differ as much as gold and drosse. Thirdly, for that all these supposed Epistles are so like one another in style, and oftentimes haue the very same sentences, that it is very likely they all came from one and the same forge. Fourthly, because neither *Eusebius*, *Hierome*, nor any other auncient writer maketh any

b *Cusan. de concord. Catholica, lib. 3. cap. 2.*

c *Contius annot. in dist. 16. ca. 10.*

d *Cyprian. epist. 68. ad 48. in edit. Pammelij.*

e *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 4.*

f *Athanas. apologia 2.*

any mention of them. Fiftly, becauſe they follow not the old tranſlation in their allegations of Scripture, but that of *Hierome*, which was not in being in thoſe times, wherein the ſuppoſed Authors of theſe Epiſtles did liue. Laſtly, which is the reaſon before vſed by [g] *Cuſanus*, becauſe the Epiſtle to *Iames* written after the death of *Peter*, as appeareth in the front of it, and ſo conſequently after the twelfth yeare of *Nero*, could not be written to *Iames* the brother of our Lord, who, as [h] *Hierome* teſtifieth, was ſlaine at *Hieruſalem* in the ſeauenth yeare of *Nero*. But whatſoeuer become of the cenſure of learned men branding theſe Epiſtles with the note of forgerie, and the reaſons brought to diſproue them, which cannot eaſily be anſwered; yet *Bellarmine* will proue, that theſe Epiſtles are mentioned by the ancient, and conſequently, that the [i] *Centurie-writers* ſay vntruly, that hardly any ſhal be found before the time of *Charles* the great, that ſpeaketh any thing of them.

g Loco citato. vide etiam Binnium in annot. in ep. Clem.

h Hieron. Catalog. Script. Eccleſ. in Iacobo.

i Cent. 2. cap. 7. ad finem.

To this purpoſe he produceth *Iſidore*, in his preface before his collection of the Councels, affirming, that he gathered Canons out of the Epiſtles of *Clemens*, *Anacletus*, *Euariſtus*, and the reſt of the *Romane* Biſhops, by the aduice of eightie Biſhops; but this is to iuſtifie one counterfeit by another; For this preface is thought to be counterfeit, becauſe in it there is mention made of the ſixth general Councel vnder *Agatho*, whereas *Iſidore* was dead fortie yeares before the holding of that Councell. Wherefore he alleageth the Councell of *Vaſe*, as mentioning the ſame decretals. But the decrees of that Councell are vncertaine, as [k] *Binnius* noteth, by reaſon of the great confuſion that is found in them: and truely, I thinke, there is no man that can make any ſence of that which is cited out of *Clements* Epiſtles by that Councell.

k Binnius annot. in Conc. Vaſenſ. 2.

Therefore in the third place he addeth *Ruffinus*, who in his preface before his tranſlation of the recognitions of *Clemens* out of *Greeke*, ſpeaketh of an Epiſtle of *Clement* vnto *Iames* the brother of our Lord, and ſaith, he turned it out of *Greeke* into *Latine*; and this, ſaith *Bellarmine*, which we haue is vndoubtedly the ſame that he tranſlated, as may be proued out of *Gennadius*: therefore the Epiſtle that is now carried about vnder the name of *Clemens*, is ancient, and not late or counterfeit.

l Genna. Catalog illuſtrium virorum.

But that theſe *Philiſtines* may fall by their owne ſword, we will oppoſe againſt *Bellarmine* the Cardinall, *Baronius* the Cardinall: againſt the *Romane* reader of controuerſies, the *Romane* Annaliſt. For [m] *Baronius* proueth out of [n] *Gennadius*, whom *Bellarmine* alleageth, that theſe Epiſtles we haue, are not the ſame that *Ruffinus* tranſlated, becauſe thoſe he tranſlated had prefaces before them, but this of *Clement* hath none. Thus we ſee the Epiſtles of the Popes of the firſt 300 yeares, proue nothing, becauſe they are counterfeite.

m Baron. Anno 102. num. 6.

n De viris illuſtr. cap. 17. vide Annot. Binnij in 1. Epiſt. Clement. ad Iacobum.

Of them that were written by ſuch as liued after the firſt 600 yeares, I ſhall haue a fit opportunity to ſpeake in another place. Wherefore let vs

come to those of the middle rancke, where *Bellarmine* produceth twelue ancient Bishops of *Rome*, claiming that supreme, absolute, and commanding authoritie ouer the whole Church, which we deny.

The first of the twelue, is *Iulius* the first, in his Epistle extant in the second Apologie of *Athanasius*.

The witnesse is good, and we will not except against him, but he deposeth directly against them that produce him; neither is there any better euidence to be desired, then this his Epistle. For the Bishops of the East hauing written to *Iulius*, and blamed him for communicating with such as they reiected, and going about to reuerse the acts which they had agreed on; and hauing told him, that the greatnesse of cities maketh not the power of Bishops to be the greater: & that therefore he should not take on him to be greater then other Bishops, and to vndoe that which they had done, because he was Bishop of a greater citty then any of them was; he answereth modestly in this his Epistle, that he hopeth he offended not in desiring them to come to a Synode, that therein their proceedings might be examined; seeing the *Nicene* Councell appointeth the acts of one Councell to be reëxamined in another.

Secondly he sheweth, that they whome they sent to informe him and the Westerne Bishops, touching their proceedings against *Athanasius*, being conuicted by the Presbyters of *Athanasius*, desired him to call a Councell of his owne Bishops, and to write to *Athanasius*, and those of *Eusebius* part to come vnto the same; wherein they doubted not, but they should proue the things they had alleaged.

Thirdly, he sheweth that if without the sollicitation of their Agents he had desired them to meete in Councell, it had bene no fault, nor any way preiudiciall vnto them.

Fourthly, that they who will not haue their proceedings reëxamined, contemne Councels, by admitting such as were condemned by the *Nicene* Councell; that *Athanasius* was not condemned at *Tyrus*; that he was not present when he was condemned at *Mareotta*; and that many wrote in his defence, to him and the other Bishops of the West; and that yet he foreiudged nothing, but would haue had matters defined in a Councell.

Fiftly, he sheweth that though he wrote alone, yet he reported not his owne opinion onely, but of all the Bishops of *Italy*, and the countries thereabout.

Lastly, he telleth them, that the Bishops they proceeded against, being no vulgar persons, but Bishops of such churches as the Apostles themselues planted, before they had proceeded against them, they should first haue written to him and his colleagues, that from thence might haue bene determined, what was right and good; then which course what could be more fitting? For *Athanasius* Bishop of the second Sea, with other his adherents, went

were not to be iudged by Biſhops of an inferiour ranke, eſpecially in a matter concerning the faith, without firſt conſulting the Biſhop of the firſt See, and his colleagues, that from thence an action of ſuch conſequence might take beginning.

And therefore *Iulius* rightly telleth the Orientall Biſhops, that in their raſh proceeding againſt ſo great and worthy a Biſhop, as was *Athanaſius*, they had offended againſt the ordinations of *Paul*; that the Fathers had not taught them ſo to do; and that he had receiued otherwiſe from bleſſed *Peter*.

Here is nothing found, for any thing I ſee, that any way proueth the Pope to haue a ſupreme commaunding power ouer the whole church; but rather the contrarie: For he doth nothing, without the Synode of the Weſterne Biſhops: He challengeth not the right of iudging the cauſes of the Orientall Biſhops, either by himſelfe alone, or with his Synode of Weſterne Biſhops; much leſſe deriueth the claime of any ſuch right from *Peter*; as the Ieſuit vntruly miſreporteth the matter; but thinketh, that the finall, and ſupreme iudging of them pertaineth to a generall Councell.

The next allegation is out of an ° Epiſtle of *Damaſus*, wherein writing to the Biſhops of the Eaſt, he commendeth them that they gaue due reuerence to the Sea Apoſtolique, and calleth them ſonnes. To what purpoſe this allegation ſerueth, I know not. For if any man doe thinke it conſequent, that the Pope hath an vniuerſall commaunding power ouer all, becauſe the Biſhops of the Eaſt yeelded a kind of due reſpect and reuerence to the Sea Apoſtolique (that is, to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his colleagues) for that it was in order and honour the firſt Sea; he is greatly deceiued, and may be confuted out of the ᵖ Epiſtle of the Orientall Biſhops, in anſwere whereof *Damaſus* writeth. For they write vnto him, not as to their Lord and Commaunder, but as to their brother and colleague; and direct not their letters to him only, but to him and the other Biſhops of the Weſt. Their Epiſtle beginneth in this ſort.

° *Apud Theodoret. lib. 5. hiſtor. Eccleſ. cap. 9.*

ᵖ *Apud Theodoret. ibidem.*

To their Brethren and Colleagues, *Damaſus*, *Ambroſe*, *Britto*, *Valerianus*, *Acholius*, *&c.* and the reſt of the holy Biſhops aſſembled in the great citie of *Rome*. Where by the way, we may obſerue, that howſoeuer *Damaſus* call them ſonnes, as being Biſhops of meaner places, and inferiour Seas, yet they call him brother and colleague, as being equall in office and power, though inferiour in order and honour. Beſides this, they refuſed to come to *Rome*, though earneſtly intreated by *Damaſus* ſo to do, but ſtayed at *Conſtantinople*, and there held a Councell, wherein they condemned the hereſies of the *Eunomians*, and *Macedonians*; ordained ſundry Biſhops, as the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, *Antioche*, and *Hieruſalem*, *Nectarius*, *Flauianus*, and *Cyrill*: they made the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* a Patriarche, and ſet him in degree of honour next vnto the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Vide notas Binnij in Concilium Constantinopolitanum Primum consilior. tom. 1.

These ordinations of *Nectarius* and *Flauianus* especially, *Damasus* liked not, and yet was forced to giue way vnto them, and to yeeld to the Bishops assembled at *Constantinople* (being but an hundred and fifty in number) the name of the generall Councell, though about the same time, he, & all the Bishops of the West were assembled at *Rome*. Wherefore this testimony might well haue bene spared.

q *Damas. Epist. 4*

The next allegation out of the q Epistle of *Damasus* to the Bishops of *Numidia*, is lesse to be esteemed then the former; seeing that Epistle hath many thinges in it, which cannot agree with the state of things in those times.

For if the *Africanes* had bene so willing to referre all greater matters by way of appeale to *Rome*, as the Epistle of *Stephen*, in answere whereunto this of *Damasus* is written, importeth; how could it haue come to passe, that in *Zozymus* his time, appeales to *Rome* should seeme so strange, as it appeareth they did?

That which is alleaged out of the Epistle of *Syricius* to *Himericus*, Bishop of *Tarracon*, and of *Zozymus* to *Hesychius*, Bishop of *Salona*, is to little purpose; for, that *Syricius* saith, he is more zealous of true religion, then all other Christians, and that he beareth the burthen of all that are grieued, is no more then is attributed to r *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*.

r *Basil. Epist. 48*

Neither is it to be maruelled at, that he saith the Bishop of *Tarracon* referred certaine matters to the Church of *Rome*, as to the head of his body, seeing he was one of the Bishops that were subiect to the Bishop of *Rome*, as Patriarch of the West. Which also is the reason, why *Zozymus* giueth directions to the Bishop of *Salona*, touching the time they of the Clergie were to continue in euery of the lower degrees, before they might be preferred to higher, wishing him to acquaint others neare vnto him with the same, and to assure them, that he should answer it with the losse of his place, whosoeuer should contemne the authority of the Fathers, and neglect his prescriptions.

s *Innocent Epist. 22. ad Episc. Maced.*
t *Inter Epistolas Augusti. ep. 91. & 93.*

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The first is, that the Church of *Rome* is by him called head of churches, yea the wel-spring, and head of all churches.

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u *Leo epist.84.*
x *Idem epist.46.*
y *Idem epist.62.*
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a *Idem. epist.81.*
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the head of all Churches then in that, in respect of earthly dominion, she was Lady and Mistresse of a great part of the world.

To all these obiections thus mustered together out of the writings of *Leo*, we answere in this sort.

First, that *Thessalonica* was within the Patriarchship of *Rome*, and that therefore the Bishop of *Rome*, might haue a Vicegerent there to dispatch some of those things that pertained to him as Patriarch, & yet haue no vniuersall commanding power ouer all the world.

Secondly we say, that *Leo* did not acknowledge *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople* to be a Patriarch, and that therefore it followeth not, that he would haue presumed to haue commanded a Patriarch, if he had commanded him: but that indeed he did not command him. For thus the case stood.

[d] *Vide Epist. 46. Leonis.*

[d] After the Councell of *Ephesus*, wherein diuers Bishops compelled by *Dioscorus*, subscribed to impious decrees, *Leo* besought the Emperour, that a generall Councell might be called; but because by reason of warres in many parts of the world, such a Councell could not conueniently be presently called, he sent certaine commissioners to *Constantinople*, who taking to them the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and being assisted by him and the Bishops thereabout, might, vpon repentance and due satisfaction, reconcile and againe admit to the communion of their churches, such as they should thinke fit.

These commissioners *Leo* directed & commanded, as in right he might; But that he specially commanded the Bishop of *Constantinople*, it cannot be proued.

Thirdly we say, that *Leo* in brotherly sort wished the Bishop of *Antioch* to resist heretiques; and to let him vnderstand of the state of the churches, and to be a consort of the Apostolique Sea in this care: to see that the priuiledges of the third Sea were not diminished by any mans ambition, assuring him, that whensoeuer he will doe any thing for the aduancing of the dignity of the Sea of *Antioch*, he also will be ready to concurre with him.

In all which passages betweene *Leo*, and the Bishop of *Antioch*, there is nothing found, that hath any shew of proofe of the Popes supremacie.

Fourthly, we say that *Cyrill* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, besought *Leo* to giue no consent to the attempts of *Iuuenal* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, seeking to preiudice the church of *Antioch*, and to subiect *Palestina* to himselfe; but that he besought *Leo*, not to permit, nor suffer *Palestina* to be taken from *Antioch*, and subiected to the church of *Hierusalem* (as if the whole power of permitting or hindring this thing, had rested in *Leo*) is but the false report of the Cardinall, according to his wonted manner of misse-alleaging

leaging authors for the aduantage of his cause.

So that the disposition of this matter rested not wholly in *Leo*, but his concurrence with the Bishops of *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, was necessary for the withstanding of the attempts of *Iuuenal*; which his concurrence and helpe, he promised the Bishop of *Antioch*, as we haue already heard, and was euer ready to yeeld the same vnto him.

Fiftly we say, that *Leo* did not command *Dioscorus* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*: but whereas the manner was, when the Patriarches were first elected and ordained, that they should mutually consent one to another, and that he who was newly ordained, should send vnto the rest his Synodall letters, and testimonies of his lawful election and or dination: *Dioscorus* being newly elected, and appointed Patriarch of *Alexandria*, sendeth his Synodall letters to *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, that so he might giue his consent, and receiue and embrace him as his fellow Patriarch.

Leo, that these beginnings of *Dioscorus* might be more sure & firm, & nothing wanting to perfection, fatherly, as more ancient, & brotherly, as of the same ranke with him, putting him inmind of some differences between their two churches, about the time of the ordination of Ministers; and for that it seemed not likely vnto him, that *Marke* the scholer of *Peter* took any other order in this behalfe then *Peter* did, saith vnto him; *We will haue you to obserue, that which our Fathers euer obserued*; making this a condition of the allowance and consent he was to yeeld vnto him; and vrging the practise of the Apostles, saith, he shall do well, if obeying these Apostolicall institutions, he shall cause that forme of ordination to be kept in the churches ouer which God hath set him, which is obserued in the churches of the West; that Ministers of the church may be ordained onely on the Lords day, on which day the creation of the world was begun, in which Christ rose, in which death was destroyed; and life, after which there is no death, tooke beginning; in which the Apostles receiued from the Lord the trumpet of preaching the Gospell, & the ministration of the Sacrament of regeneration.

Sixtly we say, that *Leo* intermedleth in the churches of *Africa*, and requireth some ordained contrary to the Canons, to be put from their places; tolerateth others, and willeth the cause of *Lupicinus*, a Bishop who had appealed vnto him, to be heard there, because he was Patriarch of the West; and these parts of *Africa* were within his Patriarchship; and that yet this his intermedling in so particular sort with the affaires of the *Afriene* churches, was not very pleasing vnto those of *Africa*, as shal appeare by that which followeth.

Lastly, we say, that the church of *Rome* was the head of all churches in the sence before expressed, and had a presidence of order and

honour amongst them; and had in that sort, as *Leo* truly sayth, more subiect to it, then euer were vnder the *Romane* Empire; but vnder any absolute, supreme, commaunding power of the Church of *Rome* they were not.

But, saith *Bellarmine*, if the former testimonies of *Leo* be auoided, there is one more yet behind so cleare and full for the supremacie of the Pope, that nothing can bee sayde in answere vnto it, in his Epistle to *Anastasius*, Bishop of *Thessalonica*: His words are these: [e] *Amongst the most blessed Apostles, like in honour, there was a certaine difference and distinction of power; and whereas they were equally chosen, yet notwithstanding it was giuen to one of them to haue a preeminence amongst the rest, from which forme, the distinction and difference, that is amongst Bishops, hath taken beginning; and by a most wise disposition it hath bene prouided, that all without difference shall not challenge all vnto themselues, but that there should be in seuerall prouinces seuerall Bishops, whose sentence and iudgement should be first and chiefe amongst the brethren; and againe certaine other constituted and placed in greater cities, who might take the care of more then the former, by whom the care of the whole Church might flow vnto that one seate of* Peter, *and nothing any where might dissent from the head.* These words truely make a goodly shew, and may seeme most strongly to proue the supremacie that the Popes now challenge; but in very deed they most powerfully ouerthrow it. For the Bishops of *Rome* will neuer be perswaded in proportionable sort as is expressed in the words of *Leo*, to challenge no more in respect of the whole Church, then the Metropolitane Bishops do in respect of their prouinces, and the Patriarches in respect of their churches of a larger extent: For then they must do nothing, but accordingly as they shall be swayed by the major part of the voices of the Bishops of the Christian Church.

[e] *Leo epist. 84.*

For the Metropolitane may do nothing in his prouince, nor the Patriarche in his larger extent, but as they shall be directed, and swayed by the major part of the voices of their Bishops: & yet surely the meaning of *Leo* was not to giue so much to the Bishop of *Rome*, in respect of all Christian Bishops, as pertaineth to the Metropolitanes and Patriarches, in respect of their Bishops.

For the Metropolitane is to ordaine the Bishops of the prouince, and the Patriarche to ordaine and confirme the Metropolitanes by imposition of hands, or mission of the Pall; but the Pope neuer had any such power in respect of the Patriarches, who were onely to send their Synodall Epistles to him, testifying their faith, as he likewise to them, without expecting any other confirmation then that of mutuall consent, whereby one of them assured of the right faith and lawfull ordination of another, receiued and embraced each other as fellowes and colleagues.

So

So that that care of the vniuersal Church, which *Leo* saith floweth together and commeth vp to that one chaire of *Peter*, is to be vnderstood only in respect of things concerning the common faith, and generall state of the Church, or of the principall, most eminent, and highest parts, & members of the same; none of which things might bee proceeded in without the Bishop of *Rome* and his Colleagues: but otherwise he was not to intermeddle with inferiour persons and causes, within the iurisdiction of other Patriarches, neither immediatly, nor vpon appeale, and complaint.

The seuenth *Romane* Bishop brought to testifie for the absolute supreme power of Popes, is *Gelasius*; out of whom two thinges are alledged: The first is, that he [f] saith, the Sea of *Peter* hath power to loose that which the Bishops of other Churches haue bound. The second, that [g] it hath power to iudge of euery Church, and that no Church may iudge of the iudgement of it. For answer to this testimony of *Gelasius*, first we say, that the Church of *Rome* may not meddle with reuiewing, reëxamining, or reuersing the acts of other Churches proceeding against Lay-men or inferiour Clergy-men; Secondly, that in the case of a Bishop complaining of wrong, by the authority of the Councel of [h] *Sardica*, she might interpose her selfe, not so as to bring the matter to *Rome*, there to be heard; but so farre forth only, as to command & appoint a reuiew to be taken by the Bishops of the next bordering prouince, or at the most to send some commissioners to sit with such second Iudges. Thirdly, that in cases which concerned the principall Patriarches, whether they were differences betweene them and their Bishops, or betweene themselues, the chiefe Sea, as the principall part of the whole Church, might interpose it selfe. Neither was this proper to the Sea of *Rome*; for other Patriarches likewise of the higher thrones might interpose thēselues in matters concerning the Patriarches of inferiour thrones; whence it is, that *Basil* writing to *Athanasius* Bishop of the second See, [i] telleth him, that the ordering of the Church of *Antioche*, which was the third See, did pertaine to him, and that hee was to see to the setling of things there, though the quieting of the whole East required the helpe of the Occidental Bishops: and [k] *Cyril* in the case of *Nestorius* not yet fully established, in the right of a Patriarch intermedled, and proceeded so farre as to reiect him and his adherents from the cōmunion of the Churches of *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, & *Pentapolis*. But the Bishops of the inferior thrones, might not iudge the superiour; & therefore [l] *Iohn* of *Antioche* of the third See, is reprehended and reproued for iudging *Cyril* Bishop of the second See: & *Dioscorus* Bishop of the second See, is condemned in the Councel of [m] *Chalcedon*, as for other things, so for this among other, that he presumed to iudge the first See. So that this is it which *Gelasius* saith, that the See of *Rome*, that is, the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Bishops of the West, may iudge & examine the differences betweene Patriarches

f *Gelas. Epist. ad Episc. Dardan.*
g *Idem epist. ad Anast. Imperat.*
h *Cap. 7.*
i *Basil. ep. 48.*
k *Act. Concil. Ephes.*
l *Ibidem.*
m *In Epist. ad Martian. & Valentiniā. Imp. & in altera ad ipsum Leonem qua habetur act. 3. eiusd. Concil.*

Patriarches, or betweene Patriarches and their Bishops; but neither so peremptorily, nor finally, but that such iudgement may be reuiewed and reëxamined in a generall Councell: and that no other particular Church or See may iudge the Church of *Rome*, seeing euery other See is inferiour to it; no way denying, but that a generall Councell may reuiew, reëxamine, & reuerse the acts and iudgments of the *Romane* See; as being greater, and of more ample authority. Neither truly can there be any better proofe against the pretended supremacie of the Popes, then this Epistle, the circumstances whereof are these. *Acatius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, for communicating with certaine *Eutychian* Heretiques, was by the See of *Rome* condemned; some disliked his proceeding against him, because a Synode was not specially summoned for the purpose, especially seeing hee was Bishop of the Princely citty; *Gelasius* standeth not vpon the claime of vniuersall power, thereby to iustifie his proceeding, but answereth; First, that *Eutyches* being condemned in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, all such were accursed likewise, as should either by defence of such errour, or communicating with men so erring, fall into the fellowship of the same heresie, and that therefore there needed no Synode, but the Sea Apostolique might execute that was there decreed.

Secondly, that the Catholique Bishops in the East being deposed, and Heretiques thrust into their places, there was no reason why he should haue consulted with them.

Thirdly, that he did nothing of himselfe, but with a Synode of the Westerne Bishops.

The next foure Bishops produced by the Cardinal, are *Iohn* the second, *Anastasius* the second, *Felix* the fourth, & *Pelagius* the second; out of whō he alleageth nothing but this, that the Sea of *Peter* holdeth the chiefty assigned of the Lord in the vniuersall Church, and that the church of *Rome* is the head of all churches. Whereunto we briefly answer, that the Sea of *Peter* euer held the chiefty, and that the church of *Rome* was euer the head of all churches, not in vniuersality of absolute supreme power and commanding authority, but in order and honour in sort before expressed: and that by the See of *Peter* and church of *Rome*, is meant the whole West church, and not precisely the Diocese of *Rome*, as likewise we haue noted before; and therefore these allegations to proue the Popes supremacie ouer all Bishops, are nothing to the purpose.

The last of the twelue Bishops brought by *Bellarmine*, is *Gregorie* the first; out of whom foure things are alledged; the first is, * that he required the *Africanes* to permit appeales to *Rome* from the Councell of *Numidia*, and blamed the Bishops of *Africa*, for that after letters written vnto them, they had degraded *Honoratus* the Arch-deacon. The second, [n] that he sent a Pall to the Bishop of *Corinth*. The third, [o] that he saith, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, acknowledged the Church of *Costantinople* to be subiect to

* Greg. Epist. lib. 1. ep. 72.

n Idem. lib. 2. epist. 37.

o Idem. lib 4 ep. 56.

to the Sea Apostolique. The fourth, [p] that the Bishop of *Constantinople* professeth his subiection to the Sea Apostolique.

To these obiections we answer; First, [q] that it is contrary to the resolution of the ancient Councels of *Carthage*, and *Mileuis*, that the Bishop of *Rome* should admit appeales of inferiour Clergy-men out of *Africa*; and that therefore by some positiue constitution or later agreement, *Gregory* might be permitted to heare the complaints of an Arch-deacon appealing vnto him out of *Africa*, yet from the beginning it was not so, though some parts of *Africa* were euer within the compasse of the Patriarchship of *Rome*.

Secondly, that he sent the Pall to the Bishop of *Corinth*, because he was within his Patriarchship; all Patriarches being to confirme their Metropolitanes by imposition of hands, or by sending the Pall.

Thirdly, that there was no such *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople* in *Gregories* time, as is mentioned in the Epistle alledged; and that they that were, as *Iohn* and *Cyriacus*, strooue and contended with *Gregory*, to bee aboue him, and to haue the first place in the Church; and that not without the helpe and furtherance of the Emperour: so that it may be doubted whether *Gregory* wrot this or not, it being so contrary to that we know to haue bene attempted and sought by the Bishops of *Constantinople*, that lined in his time. But granting that *Gregory* did so write, and that *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople* did acknowledge his Church to be subiect to the Sea of *Rome*, yet he meant nothing else thereby, but that it was an inferiour See, and so subiect in such sort, as I haue declared the inferiour Seas to be subiect to the superiour; which subiection will no way proue the supremacie that the Popes now claime.

Fourthly, that *Gregory* doth not say, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* acknowledged himselfe subiect to the Bishop of *Rome*. For it was not *Primas Byzanzenus*, the Primate of *Byzantium*, that *Gregory* reporteth to haue confest himselfe subiect to the Bishop of *Rome*, and whose cause the Emperour commanded *Gregory* to heare, but [r] *Primas Byzazenus*, that is, the Primate of the *Byzazene* prouince of *Africa*. So that this confession of the Primate mentioned by *Gregory*, brought to proue that the Bishop of *Rome* had a commanding power ouer the Bishop of *Constantinople*, is meerely mistaken by *Bellarmine*, as it was before him by *Gratian*.

But some man will say, howsoeuer there be a mistaking of this allegation, yet it is strong and forcible to proue the thing intended. For *Gregory* saith expressely, that howsoeuer all Bishops in respect of humility, bee equall, yet there is no Bishop but if he bee found faulty, is subiect to the Sea of *Rome*; That this saying of *Gregory* may bee found true, certaine limitations must bee added vnto it. For the Bishop of *Rome* might not immediatly punish euery Bishop that hee found to offend, nor

p *Idem. lib. 7. epist. 63.*

q *Vide infra.* chap. 39. of appeales to *Rome*.

r *Vide annot. in Gratian. Decr. part. 1 dist. 22. cap. 3.*

nor vpon appeale take notice of the faults and misdemeanours of all Bi-
s *Canone. 9.* shops; but the Councel of s *Chalcedon* ordereth that if any inferiour Cler-
gy-man haue ought against another inferiour Clerke, the matter shall be
heard and determined by the Bishop, or such as with the liking of the
Bishop shall by the parties be chosen arbitratours; and if he goe against
their determination, he shall bee punished. If a Clerke haue ought a-
gainst his owne or another Bishop, it shall be inquired of in the audience
of the Synode of the prouince. If either Clerke or Bishop haue ought a-
gainst the Metropolitane of the prouince, hee shall goe to the Primate
of the Diocese, or to the throne and Sea of the Regall citty of *Constan-
tinople.*

This Canon of the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, was confirmed by the
t *Iustinian. Nouel. 123. cap. 22.* decree of *Iustinian* the Emperour. t If any man (saith the Emperour) ac-
cuse a Bishop, for whatsoeuer cause, let the cause bee iudged by the Me-
tropolitane: and if any man gainsay the Metropolitane, let the matter be
referred to the Arch-bishop, and Patriarch of that Dioceſe, and let him
end it according to the Canons and Lawes. So that we see the Bishops
of *Rome* might not intermedle in iudging inferiour Bishops, subiect to o-
ther Patriarches, neither immediatly, nor vpon complaint and appeale,
whatsoeuer their faults be; but they haue other supreme Iudges, who
haue power finally to determine such matters, and from whom there ly-
eth no appeale.

This Canon of the Councel of *Chalcedon*, and the Emperours decree
u *Gregor. Epist. lib. 11. ep. 54.* confirming the same, u *Gregorie* alledgeth and alloweth, onely adding,
that if there be no Metropolitane or Patriarch, such thinges as otherwise
should be finally determined, and ended by them, are to bee brought to
the Bishop of *Rome*. Wherefore it seemeth that *Gregory* speaketh of the
Bishops within his owne Patriarchship, whom sometimes he calleth his
owne Bishops, when he saith, there is no Bishop, but if he be found faulty
is subiect to the Sea of *Rome*.

x *Idem. Lib. 4. Epist 24. & in ep 36 hortatur Eulogium Episc. Alexandr. & Anastasium Antiochenum vt omnes Episcopos eorum cure Subiectos ab iniquitate elationis Eps. Constantinopolitani prohibeant.*
y *Lib. 11. epist. 42.*

Of these he speaketh when he saith, x I impute it to my sinnes, that my
owne Bishops should thus despise me. And againe, if the causes of Bi-
shops committed to me be thus dealt with, alas, what shall I doe? And
in this sense hey willeth *Iohn* of *Palermo*, to whom he sendeth a Pall, not
to suffer the reuerence of the Apostolique See to bee troubled by any
mans presumption: for that the state of the members is then entire and
safe, when the canons are kept, and no iniurie hurteth the head of the
faith; not naming the church of *Rome* the head of the Faith, for that the
Bishop of *Rome* hath an infallible iudgement, and absolute command in
matters of faith, vpon which all the world must depend (as some igno-
rantly misconstrue him) but because it was the head, that is, the beginning
and wel-spring, whence the doctrine of Faith, the knowledge of God,
and all Christian institution flowed to sundry other Churches, which
therefore

therefore are in a sort to depend on it, to haue recourse to it, and to hold conformitie with it. [z] No other, saith *Innocentius*, established and founded the Churches of *Italie*, *France*, *Germany*, *Spaine*, *Africke*, and the Isles that lye betweene, but *Peter* and his Successours: and therefore the Bishops of these Churches must keepe such obseruations, as the *Romane* Church (from which they tooke their beginning) receiued from the Apostles, *ne caput institutionum omittere videantur*, that is, Lest they seeme to forsake the Head, and wel-spring of all the institutions and ordinances they haue.

z *Innocent in Epist. ad Decentium. Eugubin. Episcopum.*

This is the reason, why the Churches of these parts haue bene so subiect to the Church of *Rome*, namely for that from thence they receiued the light of Christian knowledge; but to all churches it is not an head in this sort, seeing they receiued the faith not from *Rome*, but from some other Apostolicall church, as *Antioche*, or *Alexandria*.

Chap. 35.

Of the pretended proofes of the Popes Supremacie, produced and brought out of the writings of the Greeke *Fathers.*

HAVING examined the proofes they bring for confirmation of the Popes supremacie out of Councels, and the writings of ancient Bishops of *Rome*, let vs come to the testimonies of the Fathers *Greeke* and *Latine*.

The first that they produce amongst the *Greeke* Fathers, is *Ignatius*, [a] who writeth to the holy church which hath the prehidence in the region of the *Romans*, or sitteth before other in the region of the *Romanes*; from which words nothing can bee inferred that we euer doubted of. For we most willingly confesse the *Romane* church to haue bene in order and honour the first and chiefest of all churches, and he saith nothing out of which any other thing may be concluded.

a *Ignatius Epist. ad Romanos.*

The next is *Irenæus*, [b] who being to shew against Heretiques, that the tradition of the church is against them, and for him, and thinking it very tedious to runne through the successions of all churches, saith, hee will content himselfe with that which is the greatest, ancientest, best knowne to all, and founded by the two most glorious Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*, at *Rome*; for that the whole church, that is, the company of all faithfull ones, that are euery where, in which the tradition hath bene euer preserued, must of necessity agree in her tradition with this, *propter potentiorem principalitatem*, that is, For that it is the principall of all other.

b *Irenæus lib. 3. cap 3.*

This testimony of *Irenæus* no way proueth the thing in question. For heere is nothing of the dependance of all other churches on the church of

of *Rome*, in their faith and profession, nor that all Churches haue kept the faith in that Church, that is, in cleauing to it, as to their head and Mother, as *Bellarmine* vntruly fansieth: But all that is heere said, is nothing else, but that vndoubtedly the same faith was giuen and deliuered to all other Churches, that was deliuered by blessed *Peter* and *Paul* to the Church of *Rome* the chiefest of all. The two next *Greek* Fathers that are produced to testifie for the supremacie, are [c] *Epiphanius*, & [d] *Athanasius*: who report, that *Vrsacius* & *Valens*, sworne enemies of *Athanasius*, repenting them of their former errors, came to *Iulius* Bishop of *Rome*, to giue an account, and to seeke fauour & reconciliation. Surely, the producing of such testimonies as these are, is nothing else but meere trifling; & they that bring them know right wel, that they no way proue the thing questioned; the circumstances of this narration touching *Vrsacius* & *Valens*, are these. The cause of *Athanasius*, as himselfe [e] testifieth, was first heard in his owne prouince, by an hundred Bishops, and he there acquited: Secondly at *Rome*, by more then 50 Bishops, at the desire of *Eusebius* his Aduersary; and lastly, at *Sardica*, by 300 Bishops, where he was likewise acquited. To the decrees of this Synode, *Vrsacius* & *Valens*, his enemies, making shew of repentance, subscribed, cõfessing, they had plaied the sycophants: neither rested they there, but they wrote to *Iulius* Bishop of *Rome*, to testifie their repentance, and to desire reconciliation; and likewise to *Athanasius* himselfe. It were strange, if any man could proue the absolute supreme power, & commanding authority of the Bishop of *Rome* ouer al the world by this testimony, wherein nothing is found of submission to *Iulius*, or of seeking his fauor & cõmunion, more then the fauour & communion of *Athanasius*, & all other Catholique Bishops adhering to him. The Epistle of *Athanasius* to *Felix* Bishop of *Rome*, is a meere counterfeit, as that worthy and renowned [f] *Iuel* hath proued at large by vnanswerable demonstrations; & therfore it needeth no answere. The allegation of the accusation of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, to *Dionysius* of *Rome*, ioined with it it by *Bellarmine*, is of the very same stampe; & yet if it were not, proueth nothing against vs. For there is no question, but that in matter of faith, men may accuse any erring Bishop, to the Bishop of *Rome* & his Westerne Bishops; and that they may iudge & cõdemne such a one, though the Pope be not supreme head of the church. The fifth *Greeke* Father that they alledge, is *Basil*, [g] who, as they say, in an Epistle to *Athanasius*, attributeth to the Bishop of *Rome* authority to visit the Churches of the East, to make decrees, & to reuerse the decrees of generall Councels, such as that of *Ariminum* was. Truly to say no more, the alledging of this testimony, sheweth they haue very little conscience that alledge it. For these are the circumstances of *Basils* Epistle, whereof let the Reader iudge. *Basil* writing to *Athanasius* (whom he highly commendeth, for that, whereas other thinke it well if they take care of their owne particular churches, his care was no lesse for the whole church, then for that which

c *Epiphan. haeres 68.*
d *Athanas. in Apolog. 2.*
e *Apolog. praedict.*
f *Defence of the Chaleng. Artic. of the Supremacie.*
g *Basil. Epist. 52. & 48.*

which was ſpecially committed to him) aduiſeth him, that the only way to ſettle things put out of order in the Eaſterne churches by the *Arrians*, were the procuring of the conſent of the Weſterne Biſhops, if it were poſſible to intreat them to interpoſe themſelues: for that vndoubtedly the rulers would greatly regard, & much reuerence the credit of their multitude; and people euery where would follow thē without gainſaying. But ſeeing this, which was rather to be deſired, would not in likelihood eaſily be obtained, he wiſheth that the Biſhop of *Rome* might be induced to ſend ſome of good diſcretion & moderation, who by gentle admonitiōs might pacifie the mindes of men; and might haue all things in readineſſe that concerned the *Arimine* Councel, neceſſary for the diſſoluing & ſhewing the inualidity of the acts of that Councell. I doubt not but the reader, vpon the bare view of theſe circumſtances, will eaſily perceiue, that this Epiſtle of *Baſil* maketh very much againſt their opinion that alledgē it: For he preferreth, and rather wiſheth a Councell then the Popes owne interpoſing of himſelfe, if there had bene any hope of a Councell. Beſides, theſe whom the Pope was to ſend, were not to proceed iudicially, & by way of authority, but by intreaty and gentle admonitions to pacifie the mindes of men; and therefore heere is nothing of viſiting the Churches of the Eaſt, or voiding the acts of the Councell of *Ariminum* by way of ſentence & formall proceeding, as *Bellarmine* vntruly reporteth; but onely a reaching forth of the hand of helpe to the diſtreſſed parts of the Church, by them that were in better ſtate, and a manifeſting or declaring of the inualidity of that Councell, the vnlawful proceedings of it, and the reaſons why it neither was, nor euer ought to be admitted.

The ſixth *Greeke* Father brought to be a witneſſe of the Popes ſupremacie, is *Gregorie Nazianzen*,[h] who ſaith, that the *Romane* Church did euer hold the right profeſſion, as it becommeth the citty which is ouer all the world. This teſtimony is no leſſe abuſed then the former, as it wil eaſily appeare to him that will take the paines to view the place alledged. *Nature* (ſaith *Nazianzene*) *doth not affoord two Suns, yet are there two Romes, the lights of the whole world: the old and the new ſeate of the Empire. The one of theſe lights appeareth at the riſing, and the other at the ſetting of the Sunne, and both iointly ſend forth a moſt excellent glittering brightneſſe. The faith of the one was a long time, and now is right, knitting, and ioyning the Weſt to the ſauing word of Life, as it is fit the Miſtreſſe and Lady of the world ſhould be.*

h *Nazianz. in Carm. de vitâ ſua.*

In which words it is euident, that hee ſpeaketh of the greatneſſe of the cittie of *Rome*, in reſpect of her ciuill and temporall ſoueraignty, and not in reſpect of the ſpirituall power of the Church; and therefore it is ſtrange that *Bellarmine* ſhould deny the ſame. For though in the time of *Nazianzen*, the Emperour made his abode, for the moſt part, at *Conſtantinople*, and not at *Rome*, yet hee calleth *Rome* the Miſtreſſe of

of the world, in respect of the ciuill state thereof, as appeareth in that he speaketh of two famous cities, two lights of the world; and nameth the one the old Seate, and the other the new Seate of the Empire.

The seuenth *Greeke* Father is *Chrysostome*, who (if we may beleeue *Bellarmine*) being deposed by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and put from the Bishoprique of *Constantinople* in a Councell of Bishops, i writeth to the Bishop of *Rome*, by his authority to void the sentence of *Theophilus*, and to punish him: whence it wil follow, that *Chrysostome* acknowledged the *Romane* Bishop to bee supreme Iudge of the *Greeke* or Easterne Bishops, and consequently of all the world. For the better manifesting of the bad dealing of the Cardinall in alledging this testimony, I will briefly set downe all the most material and principall circumstances of the narration of the most vniust deposition of *Chrysostome*, that worthy and renowned Bishop of *Constantinople*. Thus therefore the case stood.

i *Chrysost. Epist. 1, ad Innocentiũ.*

k There arose a question in the Churches of *Egypt*, whether God were ἀνθρωμορφος; that is, had the shape of a man. Some of the simpler sort of Monkes thought, that God hath a bodily forme or shape: others thought otherwise, and condemned such as so thought, as blasphemous: *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, was of opinion, that GOD is not ἀνθρωμορφος, that is, that God hath no bodily shape or forme; which the Monkes that thought otherwise greatly disliking, came to *Alexandria* with a full purpose to kill and destroy him, as a wicked and godlesse person. But he perceiuing their affection, presented himselfe speedily vnto them saying, *I haue seene you, and looked vpon you, as vpon the face of God*; and thereby pacified them for the present, supposing he had bene of their opinion, and had thought God to haue a face and countenance like man. But afterwards, hauing vpon some dislikes excommunicated *Isidorus*, a Presbyter of his Church, *Isidorus* goeth to the Monkes, and thereupon *Ammonius* with certaine other come to *Theophilus*, desiring him to receiue such to the communion, as he had excommunicated, which he promised to doe, but performed not. Heereupon farther quarrels grew, and *Theophilus* perceiuing that these Monkes were in opinion contrary to the *Anthropomorphites*, ioyned himselfe with the *Anthropomorphites*, and intended some ill to the other; whereupon *Ammonius*, *Dioscorus*, and *Isidore*, came to *Constantinople*, and desired that the Emperour and *Chrysostome* might heare the matter betweene them. *Chrysostome* vsed them kindly, and suffered them to be present at the common praiers, but admitted them not to the communion: he wrote to *Theophilus*, to restore them to the communion as being right beleeuers, and desired him, if hee thought fit to haue their cause heard and examined at *Constantinople*, to send some to follow the businesse for him: Whereunto *Theophilus* returned no answere; which moued the complainants to sue to the Empresse, that a Councell might be called, which shee promised to procure: but in

k *Sozomen. lib. 8. cap. 11. & seq. Socrates, lib. 6. Pallad. & Gregorius Alexandr. in vitâ Chrysostomi. Nicephorus lib. 13. Baron. an. 404 numero 2. & Binnius, Concil Tom. 1. pag. 589.*

in the meane while there being a rumor raiſed, that *Chryſoſtome* had receiued *Dioſcorus* and the reſt to the communion, and that hee ſought to ſteed them what he could, *Theophilus* enraged againſt him, began to deuiſe how he might put him from his Biſhoprique. To this purpoſe hee writeth to ſundry Biſhops, reprehending the bookes of *Origen*, wherein the error of the *Anthropomorphites* was condemned. Amongſt other, he drew into his faction by this means *Epiphanius*, a man erring in that point, but otherwiſe of great authority for his good life and learning. *Epiphanius* calleth a Synode of the Biſhops of *Cyprus*, condemneth the bookes of *Origen*, forbiddeth the reading of them; and perſwadeth other, and amongſt them the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* to do the like. *Theophilus* likewiſe followed his example, and with his Biſhops paſſed the like decree; but *Chryſoſtome* neglected the matter: which offended *Epiphanius* and *Theophilus* not a little. Heereupon many of the great ones in *Conſtantinople*, and of the Clergie alſo, hating *Chryſoſtome*, perceiuing that *Theophilus* was bent againſt him, vrged him to go forward, and procured a great Synode to bee called at *Conſtantinople*; which opportunity he neglected not, commanding the Biſhops of *Ægypt* to go thither, & writing to *Epiphanius* and the reſt of the Eaſterne Biſhops to come thither. *Epiphanius* accordingly came thither, ſhewed himſelfe auerſe from *Chryſoſtome*, and would neither come into the ſame houſe, nor pray with him, though hee ſought him with great reſpect: Whereupon after a while, *Epiphanius* in great diſlike departed from *Conſtantinople*; at the parting of theſe Biſhops, the one of them ſaying, he hoped the other ſhould neuer returne home; the other, that he ſhould neuer dye a Biſhop; both which fell out accordingly: for *Epiphanius* died by the way, as he was returning home; and *Chryſoſtome* caſt out of his Biſhoprique, died in baniſhment. After the departing of *Epiphanius*, *Chryſoſtome* made a Sermon in reproofe and reprehenſion of women, which ſo moued and enraged the Empreſſe, that ſhe complained bitterly to her husband, and vrged him to cauſe *Theophilus* to come quickly, and to hold a Councell, which accordingly he did. *Chryſoſtome* was called to come into the Synode; but he anſwered, that he refuſed not iudgement, but deſired to know his accuſers, and what crime he was charged with, and proteſted againſt theſe Iudges as partial, appealing to a generall Councell; whereupon he was depoſed.

Three dayes after he withdrew himſelfe, which put the people into an vp-rore, who ſtirring in very tumultuous manner, forced the Emperour to bring him backe againe, and cauſed him to take his chaire againe, thirty Biſhops bringing him to it. Heere beganne a new quarrell, for that being depoſed by a Synode, he reſumed his place without a Synode: but the matter was reaſonably well quieted, till reprehending thoſe in authority, for permitting certaine abuſes, the Empreſſe thinking her ſelfe touched, beganne againe to thinke, how ſhee might procure another

greater Councell to be called then before; which *Chryſoſtome* vnderſtanding, made that Sermon that beginneth, *Herodias denuò inſanire, denuò commoueri, denuò ſaltare pergit, denuò caput Ioannis in diſco accipere querit*: that is, *Herodias* proceedeth and goeth on to be mad againe, to bee moued and ſtirred againe, and to daunce againe: ſhee ſeekes once againe to haue the head of *Iohn* in a platter. It was not long after the preaching of this Sermon, before the Biſhops came together and met in Synode, by the procurement of the Empreſſe; who omitting all other things, obiected vnto him, the reſuming of his place without a Synode. He anſwered, that there were 50 Biſhops that conſented to him, and communicated with him. But they replyed, that there were more that condemned him; and that therfore by the Canon he ought not to haue reſumed his place. To whom hee anſwered, that that was a Canon of the *Arrians*, made by them when they proceeded againſt *Athanaſius*, and therefore not to be regarded. But that anſwer would not ſerue the turne: wherefore they proceeded to ſentence againſt him, and put him out of his Biſhoprique, and the Emperour immediatly ſent him into baniſhment. Being in this diſtreſſe, and thus grieuouſly wronged, he writeth to *Innocentius*, and the Weſterne Biſhops, deſiring them to do what they can to repreſſe theſe vile practiſes, & to write, that the things done againſt him be of no force, as in deed they are not; and that hee might ſtill hold communion with them, as before he had done.

The Biſhop of *Rome* vpō this his ſuite, called a Synode of al the Biſhops of the Weſt,* held both *Theophilus* and *Chryſoſtome* in their communion; pronounced the iudgement of *Theophilus*, and his proceedings againſt *Chryſoſtome*, to be void, as being againſt the Canons; and yet told *Chryſoſtome*, there was no helpe, nor no meanes to releeue him, but in a generall Councell, which by all poſſible meanes he will labour to procure; till which time he muſt be content, and referre all to God, who taketh care of theſe thinges. But with how ill ſucceſſe hee ſought to procure a generall Councell for the reſtoring of him to his place againe, we may finde in [1] *Sozomene*; who reporteth, that being deſirous that *Chryſoſtome* might returne, he ſent with thoſe Orientall Biſhops that came to him to intreate his helpe & aſſiſtance, fiue Biſhops & two Presbyters to *Honorius*, and *Arcadius*, to obtaine a Councell, and to haue the time appointed: who were ſo farre from preuailing, and obtaining that they ſought, that they were ſent away with diſgrace, as forreine and outlandiſh diſturbers of the ſtate of the Empire.

* *Vide epiſt Innocentij ad Chryſoſtom. & Theophilum, apud Binnium. Tom. 3. Concil.*

[1] *Lib. 8 cap. 18.*

Theſe are the principall, and moſt materiall circumſtances of the narration & report of the vniuſt depoſition of *Chryſoſtome*, his writing to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the anſwer he had from him, and the other Biſhops of the Weſt, which make moſt ſtrongly againſt the pretended ſupremacy of Popes. For *Innocentius* telleth *Chryſoſtomes* friends, that it lieth not in him

him to helpe him, but in a generall Councel: And though he and the Bishops of the West pronounce the proceedings of *Theophilus* void, as against the Canons, and do make them void, as much as by their dissenting they can, yet they confesse, that the absolute voiding of them, and the punishing of *Theophilus* was not in them, but in a general Councell. But, saith *Bellarmine*, [m] *Chrysostome* in another Epistle giueth *Innocentius* thankes for his fatherly care and kindnesse, & intreateth, that his enemies may not bee excluded from the communion, if by any meanes they may bee reclaimed: therfore it seemeth *Chrysostome* thought, he had an absolute supreme commanding power. What it is in this Epistle that argueth that supreme power which *Bellarmine* dreameth of, I cannot tell. For I know no reason why *Chrysostome*, now a deposed & distressed Bishop, might not vse so respective a forme of speech to the Bishop of the first Sea, & esteeme of him as a father, without acknowledging him to haue any absolute supreme power ouer all. And all the other circumstances and parts of the Epistle most clearly make against the Papacie. For he saith, *Innocentius* had done what he could; but that his enemies notwithstanding went stil forward in their ill courses; & for the auoyding of greater scandals, distractions, and confusions, desireth him not to reiect them from his communion, considering the greatnesse of the worke: for that this was the contention almost of all the world. So that the Churches were brought vpon their knees, the people dispersed, the Clergie vexed, Bishops banished, and the constitutions of the holy Fathers violated and broken.

m *Inter Epistolas Innocentij supradictas.*

The eighth *Greeke* Father is *Cyril*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, out of whom *Bellarmine* alledgeth no new thing, but the very same which hee brought out of the Councell of *Ephesus*, whereof hee was president; and therefore I will make no new answer heere to this renued allegation, but referre the Reader to the [n] answer already made.

n See chap. 33.

The ninth *Greeke* Father is *Theodoret*, out of whom *Bellarmine* seeketh to confirme the Papacie, for that though he were a Bishop of *Asia*, and had vnder him 800. Churches, yet [o] he acknowledgeth the Bishop of *Rome* to be his supreme Iudge: and in an Epistle written to *Renatus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, saith, that that holy See hath the gouernment and direction of the churches throughout the world. For answer vnto this obiection, we must obserue, that *Theodoret* being deposed, banished, and grieuously vexed for matters of faith, seeketh to haue his cause reëxamined, and heard againe by the Bishop of *Rome*, & the Bishops of the West; which thing he obtained, and was by *Leo*, and the rest of the Bishops of the West, iudged Catholique, receiued to their communion, and, as much as lay in them, restored to his Bishoprique againe; yet could he not repossesse his place, till the Councel of *Chalcedon* put him into it; [p] which, though it were enformed by the deputies of *Leo*, that he had long before receiued him to his cõmunion, yet admitted him not til he was reëxamined

o *Theodoret. in Epist. ad Leonẽ. quæ habetur in fine operum eius.*

p *Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. & 8.*

and at first many of the Fathers disliking his answeres as imperfect, cryed out aloud, that hee was a *Nestorian*, and desired that the Heretique might be cast out, censuring him as *Cyril*, and other Catholique Bishops had done before. But when he fully and peremptorily accursed *Nestorius* with all his adherents, they all with one consenting voice, pronounced him worthy of his place, and admitted him to sit in Councell with them. Whereby it appeareth, that howsoeuer the Westerne Bishops pronounced him Catholique, receiued him to their communion, and, as much as in them lay, restored him to his place, yet of themselues they neither could, nor did perfect that worke, but were forced to leaue it to the generall Councell; all which *Leo* himselfe in his Epistle to *Theodoret* acknowledgeth: ¶ *Adiutorium nostrum*, saith he, *in nomine Domini, qui fecit cælum & terram, qui nullum nos in nostris fratribus detrimentum sustinere permisit; sed quæ nostro prius ministerio definierat, vniuersæ fraternitatis irretractabili firmauit assensu; vt verè à se prodijsse ostenderet, quod prius à prima omnium sede formatum, totius Christiani orbis iudicium recepisset, vt in hoc quoque Capitis membra concordent. Nam, ne aliarum sedium, ad eam quam cæteris omnium Dominus statuit præsidere, consensus, assentatio videretur, inuenti prius sunt, qui de iudicijs nostris ambigerent*; that is, Our helpe is in the name of the Lord, who made both heauen and earth, who suffered vs not to sustaine any losse in our brethren, but confirmed, and established by the irreuocable assent of the whole brotherhood, what things he had before defined by our ministery; that he might clearely shew that thing vndoubtedly to haue proceeded from himselfe, which being formerly framed by the first See, the iudgmẽt of the whole Christian world receiued: So that heerin the head and members conspire together. For lest the cõsenting of other Sees to that which the Lord of all appointed to be first of all, might seeme to be but flattery, there were some found that at first doubted of our iudgements, whether they were right or not. And he addeth, that *multũ Sacerdotalis officij meritũ splendescit, vbi sic summorũ seruatur authoritas, vt in nullo inferiorum putetur imminuta libertas*: that is, that the excellent worthines of the Priestly office doth then most appeare in shining brightnesse, when the authority of the highest is so retained, that the liberty of the inferior and lesser be thought in nothing to be diminished or empaired. Thereby insinuating, that hee and his Westerne Bishops did so goe before in their resolution touching the case of *Theodoret*, that they no way diminished, much lesse tooke away the liberty of other inferiour Sees, but that they might resist and gainsay, till they were satisfied, and made to see the equity of the iudgement of the first See: accordingly as we finde they did in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, reiecting him as an Heretique, whom the Bishop of *Rome* had receiued, till vpon more full and particular examination, they found him to be catholique, and acquited him in their owne iudgement.

¶ *Leon. Epist. in fine operum Theodoreti.*

So that heere we see there is nothing to proue the Pope to be an absolute supreme

supreme iudge of all, as *Bellarmine* vntruly alledgeth. But haply hee will say, that *Theodoret* intreateth *Renatus* to perswade *Leo* to vse his authority, and to require the Bishops that had proceeded against him, to come to his Synode in the West, seeing the See of *Rome* hath a direction of all Churches: and that therefore he seemeth to acknowledge an absolute supreme power in the Pope.

For answer heereunto we say, that the circumstances of this Epistle do clearely convince and proue he had no such conceipt. For first, he speaketh not of *Leo* alone, as if of himselfe he could determine the matter of difference betweene him and his Aduersaries, but of him & his Westerne Councell. Secondly, he doth not say, that he, and his Councel alone may determine the matter; but that his See being the first See, he and his Bishops may call all other Bishops to their Councell: and this is that direction or gouernement which he saith the first See, or Westerne Church hath of other Churches; namely, in going before them, and inuiting and calling them to publique deliberations, not in peremptory and absolute commanding without them and ouer them.

The tenth witnesse produced out of the *Greeke* church, is *Sozomene*, out of whom two things are alledged. The first is, that hee saith[r] *Iulius* Bishop of *Rome*, restored *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Paulus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, to their churches, from which they were violently and vniustly expulsed by certaine Orientall Bishops. The second, [f] that he did this because the care of all pertained to him in respect of the dignity of his See.

r *Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

f *Ibidem.*

How the words of *Sozomene* reporting that *Iulius* restored these Bishops to their churches, are to bee vnderstood, we may learne of *Iulius* himselfe, who in his Epistle mentioned by *Athanasius* in his second Apologie, hauing blamed the Orientall Bishops, for proceeding in a matter of so great consequence concerning the faith, & the Bishops of the principall Churches of the world, without him and his Bishops, and, as he vnderstood, very irregularly; telleth them, that he durst not confirme that they had done, that hee communicated still with *Athanasius* and *Paulus*, not foreiudging any thing, but desiring them to come to a Synode, where things might be fully debated and determined; and that, though he alone wrote for them, yet he wrote in the name, and with the consent of all the Bishops of the West.

Vpon which his letter, they [t] were so farre from restoring them to their places, that they tooke it in ill part, that he did write vnto them, telling him that when he proceeded against certaine *Nouatians*, they intermedled not, & that therfore he should not meddle with their proceedings, seeing the greatnesse of citties maketh not the power of one Bishop greater then the power of another. By which their peremptory reiecting of his motion, it appeareth that he neither did, nor could put the expulsed Bishops

t *Sozom. vbi supra.*

into their places againe: which thing [u] *Sozomene* himselfe testifieth also, telling vs, that they could neuer recouer their places, till the Emperor by his mandatory letters preuailed. So that when hee saith, *Iulius* restored them, his meaning is, that hee restored them as much as lay in him; as likewise it may be said of *Cyril*, and *Iohn* of *Antioche*, that after many and bitter contentions, they were in the end reconciled, and [x] restored each to other their Churches, from which yet they were neuer driuen indeed, but in the censures of the one of them passed against the other. But *Sozomene* saith, the care of all Churches pertained to the Bishop of *Rome*; therefore he acknowledgeth, that he had an vniuersalitie of power ouer all.

u *Ibidem. cap. 9.*

x *Socrates. lib. 7. cap. 33. Euagrius. lib. 1. cap. 5. Vide acta Concilij Ephesini.*

Surely, this consequence will neuer be made good. For the Metropolitane, or he that is Bishop of the first See in each prouince, in respect of the dignity of his Sea, hath the care of the whole prouince, yet can he doe nothing, but as he is directed by the maior part of the Bishops. So that the care of all is said to pertaine to him, not because he hath power to dispose of all things by himselfe, but because all publique proceedings concerning the whole prouince, must take their beginning from him, & nothing of that nature may be taken in hand, without consulting him.

In like sort, and in the same sense and meaning, *Sozomene* saith, that for the dignitie of his See, the care of all pertained to the Bishop of *Rome*; not as if the absolute disposing of all things did rest in him, but for that he, as prime Bishop of the world, was first to bee consulted, before any thing concerning the common faith, & the whole state of the Christian Church, were determined; and for that by the assistance and concurreace of other Bishops, he as first in order and honor amongst them, was to begin and set forward all things of greatest consequence tending to the common good.

Three more witnesses *Bellarmine* hath yet behinde, *Acatius*, the Bishop of *Patara*; and *Iustinian* the Emperour, out of whom three things are alledged. The first, that the Bishop of *Rome* beareth about with him the care of all churches. The second, that the Pope is ouer the Church of the whole world. The third, that the Pope is the head of all holy Churches. To the first of these allegations taken out of *Acatius* his Epistle to *Simplicius* Bishop of *Rome*, I haue answered before; as likewise in what sense the Pope may be said to be ouer the Church of the whole world, to wit, in respect of a primacie of order and honour, but not of power; in which sense also, *Iustinian* the elder, writing to *Iohn* the second, saith, his See is the head of all Churches. And thus hauing examined the testimonies of the *Greeke* Fathers, we are now to proceed to the authorities of the *Latine* Church.

Chap. 36.

Of the pretended proofes of the Popes Supremacie, taken out of the writings of the Latine Fathers.

THE first among the *Latine* Fathers, that [a] *Bellarmine* produceth, is *Cyprian*; who of all other most clearely ouerthroweth the errour of the *Romanists*, touching the Papacie, and therefore is very vnaduisedly produced by them in the first place, and appointed to marshall and conduct the rest of their witnesses: yet let vs heare what he will say. Out of *Cyprian* foure places are alledged. The first is, in his booke *de vnitate Ecclesiæ*. The second, in the third Epistle of his first booke written to *Cornelius*. The third, in the tenth Epistle of the second booke to the same *Cornelius*. The fourth, in the eighth Epistle of the first booke *ad plebem vniuersam*. Out of the first of these places they will proue, that he maketh *Peter* head of the whole Church. Out of the second, that there is one high Priest, and one supreme Iudge in the Church, whom all men are bound to obey. Out of the third, that *Cornelius* was head of all Catholiques. Out of the fourth, that there is one singular Chaire in the Church, wherein he sitteth that must teach all.

[a] Bell. de Pont. lib. 2. cap. 16.

To euery of these allegations, I will answer in order, and make it most cleare and euident, that none of the thinges imagined by the Cardinall, can possibly be concluded out of any of the forenamed places. For to begin with the first; whosoeuer will but reade euer *Cyprians* booke of the vnity of the Church, shall most certainly and vndoubtedly finde, that hee speaketh not in that booke, of *Peters* headship of the vniuersall Church, as the Iesuite fansieth; but of the head, originall, and first beginning of Pastorall commission. Which that it may the better appeare, I will as briefely as possibly I can, lay downe the principall and most materiall circumstances of the whole discourse of that book, written vpon occasion of the Schisme of the *Nouatians*.

The first thing that occurreth in the whole discourse of the booke, is the Authors obseruation of the endlesse malice of Sathan, who when hee found the Idols of the Gentiles, wherein he was wont to be worshipped, to be forsaken, and his Seates and Temples deserted, almost all professing to beleeue in Christ, *Hæreses inuenit & Schismata, quibus subuerteret fidem, veritatem corrumperet, scinderet vnitatem*: that is, Found out Heresies & Schismes, by which he might subuert the Faith, corrupt the verity, and cut in sunder the vnitie; so that *Quos detinere non potest in via veteris cœcitate, circumscribit, & decipit noui itineris errore*: that is, Whom hee cannot hold in the blindnesse and darknesse of the old way, those he circumuenteth & beguileth, by making them erre, go aside, & not hold on

the right course of their iourney in the new way that leadeth vnto life. In the second place he sheweth, that this so falleth out, and that men are so beguiled, and misse-led into Schismes and Heresies, because they returne not backe to the first origine of truth, because they seeke not the head, nor keepe the doctrine of the heauenly Maister; which if a man would consider & thinke of, he should not need to seeke out many argumēts, nor fetch any great compasse about; but the truth would easily without any great search offer it selfe vnto him. For therefore did Christ, when hee was to lay the foundations of the Christian church, say specially to *Peter*, [b] *Thou art* Peter, *and vpon this Rocke will I build my Church, and I will giue to thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen*: and againe after his resurrection, [c] *Feede my Sheepe*; because though rising againe from the dead, he gaue like power to all the Apostles, when he said [d] *As my Father sent me, so send I you*; *whose sinnes ye remit, they are remitted; whose sins ye retaine, they are retained*; yet he would by speaking specially to one, and by appointing one chaire, shew what vnity should be in the Church.

b Mat. 16. 18. 19.
c Ioh. 21. 15. 16.
d Ioh. 20, 21. & 23.

The rest of the Apostles, saith *Cyprian*, were vndoubtedly the same that *Peter* was, equall in honour & power; but therefore did Christ in the first place giue, or at least promise to giue specially & particularly to one that Apostlique commission, which he meant also to giue to the rest, that hee might thereby shew, that the church must be one, & that there must be but one Episcopall chaire in the world.

All the Apostles, saith *Cyprian*, are Pastors, but the flocke of Christ is but one, which they are to feed with vnanimous consent: There is but one body of the church, one spirit, one hope of our calling, one Lord, one Faith, one baptisme, one God. This vnity all men must endeuour to keepe, especially Bishops, that they may make it appeare that there is but one Bishoply commission in the Christian church, *Cuius à singulis in solidum pars tenetur*, that is, Whereof euery one indifferently and in equall sort hath his part.

Heere is nothing that proueth the vniuersality of the Papall power, or that *Peter* was by Christ made head of the whole church. But this place most mainely ouerthroweth that supposed Headship. For *Cyprian* teacheth, that Christ meant to giue equall power and authority to all his Apostles, and that the reason, why intending no more to one then to the rest, yet he more specially directed his speech to one then to the rest, was, onely to shew, that there must be an vnity in the church, which he settled in that beginning with one, from him he proceeded to the rest, not meaning that the rest should receiue any thing from him, but that from himselfe immediatly they should receiue that in the second place, which hee had first, and that they should receiue the same commission together with him, into which he was first put, that they might know him to be the first of their company.

In

In this sense *Innocentius* saith, [e] *A Petro ipse Episcopatus, & tota authoritas nominis huius emersit*; that is, The bishoply office, and the whole authoritie of this name and title tooke beginning from *Peter*; whom, he saith, all Bishops must respect, as *Sui nominis & honoris authorem*; that is, as the first and originall of their name and honour: And *Leo* in like sort, [f] *Huius muneris sacramentum ita Dominus ad omnium Apostolorum officium voluit pertinere, vt in beatissimo* Petro *Apostolorum omnium summo principaliter collocaret, vt ab ipso, quasi quodam capite, dona sua velut in corpus omne diffunderet*; that is; The Lords will was, that the mysterie of this heauenly gift, commission and employment, should so pertaine to the ministerie and office of all the Apostles, that yet he would first and principally place it in most blessed *Peter* the greatest of the Apostles, that so beginning with him as with the head and first, he might proceede from him to poure forth his gifts into all the body.

[e] *Inter Epistolas Augustini, epist.* 91.

[f] *Leo epist.* 89.

But, saith *Bellarmine*, *Cyprian* speaketh of another head of the Church besides Christ, and maketh the Church that so enlargeth it selfe, and hath so many parts, yet to be one in this roote and head; as the beames are manie, but the light is one; as the boughes are many, but the tree is one; the riuers are many, but the fountaine is one.

It is straunge that a man of his learning and iudgement should so misconceiue things, as he seemeth to doe. For it is most euident to any one that will but take the paines to peruse the place, that *Cyprian* speaketh not of a distinct head of the Church different from Christ, and appointed by him to gouerne the Church, but of the originall, first beginning, and head of the commission the Pastors of the Church haue: Which commission Christ so gaue to all his Apostles, that yet first he gaue it, or at least, first promised to giue it to one, and directed his speech specially to him, to shew that none can be Pastors of the Church, but such as without intrusion are consented on by them, that, hauing this power in vnitie amongst themselues, may communicate it to others.

Neither doth he say, as the Iesuite fansieth, that the many parts of the Church are one in subiection to one head distinct from Christ, as the beames of the sunne are one in the same light; but in the vnitie of the same maine body: For euen as, saith *Cyprian*, the beames of the sunne are one in the same light, and the boughes of the tree are one in the same tree; so all churches must deriue themselues from the first Church, and all Pastors their commission from the first commission, which Christ gaue to all his Apostles; yet so, that he put one first into it, and directed his speeches specially vnto one, thereby to settle them in an orderly vnitie amongst themselues.

This is vndoubtedly the meaning of *Cyprian*: For it can no way stand, either with the truth, with the opinion of *Cyprian*, or with the opinion of our Aduersaries themselues, that the rest of the Apostles receiued their

Minister-

Ministeriall power from *Peter*, and were subiect to him as to an head, and absolute commander ouer them, seeing he saith expressely, *that they were the same that* Peter *was, and equall to him, both in honour and power*; and besides, both in this booke, and in many other places, he is wont to deriue the originall of schismes and heresies from the intrusion of men into places already full, or at the least into voide places, without due admittance and allowance of them, that in a kind of coherent concord, rule and gouerne the Church; and neuer, from the resistance against one supreme commaunder set ouer all.

g *Epist.* 52. So in his g Epistle to *Antonianus*, he proueth *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* to be a true and lawfull Bishop, because hauing the testimonie of the Clergie, and voices of the people, the place of *Fabianus* being voide, he was ordained to succeede him by manie Bishops then at *Rome*, who sent their letters abroad, making honorable report of his due and right comming to the place, and the whole number of Bishops throughout the world with great vnanimitie consented; and by the want of these things proueth his factious opposites to be schismatiques.

In the second allegation the Cardinall bewrayeth very grosse ignorance: For it was not a difference betweene *Cornelius*, and the *Nouatians* refusing to acknowledge him to be Bishop, that gaue occasion of writing that h Epistle, as he vntruly saith; but the calumniations of *Felicissimus* and *Fortunatus*, against *Cyprian* himselfe: Which factious companions being put from the communion by *Cyprian*, and many of his colleagues, flying to *Rome*, were there reiected, and thereupon fell to threatning.

h *Lib.* 1. *epist.* 3.

These threatnings *Cyprian* despiseth, pronounceth them to be murtherers, sheweth that they shall not escape the iudgement of God, and that nothing is to be remitted of the seueritie of church-discipline, for feare of these wicked ones, that are enemies of Priests, and rebels against Gods Church; whom God will vndoubtedly much more seuerely punish, then they were, who in the time of the law of *Moses* despised the high Priest, and other Priests and rulers of the people; who yet answered such their contempts with their bloud; and then addeth the words cited by *Bellarmine*, that *hence all heresies and schismes do arise, for that the Priest of God is not obeyed, nor one Priest in the Church for the time, and one iudge in Christs stead for the time acknowledged: whom if men would obey according to the diuine instructions, no man would attempt any thing against the colledge of Priests, no man after the iudgement of God, the voices of the people, and the consent of fellow-Bishops, would make himselfe a iudge, not so much of the Bishops, as of God himselfe; no man pleasing himselfe would bring in any new heresie or schisme to the renting and deuiding of the church; as if, when a sparrow falleth not to the ground, without the will of our Father, it were possible, that he*

who

who is ordained a Bishop in the Church, should be ordained without the will of God.

Surely, saith he, *I speake it prouoked, I speake it grieued, and constrained; when a Bishop is placed in the roome of one that is dead, chosen in peace by all the people, protected by diuine helpe in the time of persecution, faithfully conioyned with all his colleagues, approued to his people foure yeares in his Bishoply office, in the time of peace keeping the rules of discipline, proscribed in the times of trouble, so often euen with addition of the title of Bishop, called for to be cast to the Lyon, and euen in these verie dayes wherein I write vnto thee, called for againe to the Lyon; if such a one be impugned by a few desperate and wicked ones, it will easily appeare who they are, that so impugne him.*

All these things are spoken by *Cyprian* of his owne case, as most clearly appeareth by his 69. Epistle; and therefore the words are straungely wrested by *Bellarmine* to proue the Papacie, when *Cyprian* speaketh of the respect that is due to the Bishop of euery particular church, and, by application thereof to himselfe, sheweth *Cornelius*, how little hee had bene respected, and how grieuously he hath bene wronged.

But the Cardinall will proue that he speaketh of the Pope, when he speaketh of one Pastour and of one Iudge in the Church for the time, and not of euerie Bishop or Pastour in his owne particular Church: First, because in the booke *De vnitate Ecclesiæ*, he maketh *Peter* head and commaunder of all the church; and saith, heresies spring from the not seeking to this head; then which nothing is more vntrue. For *Cyprian* doth not make *Peter* head and commander ouer the whole church, as I haue alreadie shewed in answer to the former allegation. Secondly, for that when he speaketh of one Iudge in the Church in stead of Christ, he must of necessitie by the name of the church vnderstand the vniuersall church, and not each particular church, because in his Epistle he speaketh of *Cornelius*.

A strange kind of proofe, and such as I thinke can neuer be made good: For first, the consequence doth not hold, seeing he might speake of *Cornelius*, and yet vnderstand by the name of the church, the diocese of *Rome*, and not the vniuersall church: and secondly, it is vntrue that he saith, he speaketh of *Cornelius*. For it is as cleare as the Sunne at noone day, that throughout the whole Epistle, he complaineth of contempts, indignities, and wrongs offered to himselfe by *Felicissimus* and *Fortunatus*, and not to *Cornelius*.

But that *Cyprian* neuer acknowledged the supremacie of power which the *Romane* Bishops at this day claime, no better proofe can be desired then this Epistle will yeeld: For these miscreants, *Felicissimus*, *Fortunatus*, and their adherents, fled to *Cornelius*, complaining against *Cyprian*: whom he peremptorily condemneth for this their flying to *Rome*, as violators of the Canons, and disturbers of the order of the Church,

Church, which requireth all matters to be heard and determined in those places where the accusers and witnesses may be produced; *Vnlesse*, saith he, *a few desperate and wicked companions do thinke the authority of the African Bishops to be lesse then the authoritie of other Bishops elsewhere, and therefore carry things out of Africa by way of appeale to other places*. So that when he calleth the church of *Rome* the principall church, whence Sacerdotall vnitie sprang, his meaning is, that it is the principall church in order and honour, and not in absolute, supreme, commaunding power; and that Sacerdotall vnitie sprang from thence, not as if all Bishops did receiue their power and iurisdiction from the Bishop of *Rome*, but for that, though all receiue their Bishoply commission immediatly from Christ, by the hands of the Apostles ordaining them, yet he is to be acknowledged as first in the commission, succeeding *Peter* to whom Christ first promised that, which he meant afterwards in as ample sort to giue to all the rest.

For answer to the third allegation, we must obserue that *Cyprian* in the [i] Epistle cited by *Bellarmine*, laboureth to satisfie *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, who was something offended with him, for that presently so soone as he heard of his ordination, he did not write vnto him as to his fellow Bishop. To this purpose he sheweth, that he refrained and forbare so to do, till he was by others assured of his due and orderly election, and ordination, as well as by himselfe, because he perceiued there was some opposition against him; but that as soone as his ordination was approued vnto him, hearing of some factious and turbulent men stirring against him, he sent certaine of his brethren and colleagues to put to their helping hands for the bringing of the deuided members of the body to the vnitie of the Catholique church, if by any meanes it might be; but that the obstinacie of the one part was such, that they not onely refused the bosome of the roote, and common mother seeking to receiue and embrace them, but set vp another head or Bishop; where it is plaine and euident, that he speaketh not of the vniuersall church, the common mother of all beleeuers, but of that particular church of *Rome*, whereof *Cornelius* was Bishop, opposite to the diuisions of such as departed from the vnitie of it, who being gone out of the bosome and lap of it, chose a Bishop of their owne faction.

i *Lib. 2. epist. 10. ad Cornelium.*

The fourth and last allegation will easily be answered, if we doe but take a view of that which *Cyprian* writeth in the [k] Epistle alleaged. *There is*, saith he, *one God, one Christ, one Church, one chaire founded vpon Peter by the Lords owne voyce. No other Altar may be raised, nor other new Priesthood appointed, besides that one Altar and one Priesthood already appointed. Whosoeuer gathereth any where else, scattereth*. Surely, it is not possible, that the Cardinall should thinke as he pretendeth to doe, that *Cyprian* speaketh of one singular chaire ordained by Christ for one Bishop to sit in

k *Lib. 1. Epist. 8. ad plebem vniuer.*

in, appointed to teach all the world. For the question in this place is not touching obedience to be yeelded to the Bishop of *Rome*, that *Cyprian* should neede to vrge that point, but touching certaine schismatiques which opposed themselues against him; and therefore he vrgeth the vnitie of the church and of the chaire, to shew, that against them that are lawfully placed, with consenting allowance of the Pastors at vnitie, others may not be admitted; and that they, who by any other meanes get into the places of Ministerie, then by the consenting allowance of the Pastors at vnitie amongst themselues, are in truth and indeed no Bishops at all.

So that *Cyprian* by that one chaire he mentioneth, vnderstandeth not one particular chaire appointed for a generall teacher of all the world to sit in, but the ioynt commission, vnitie, and consent of all Pastors, which is and must be such, as if they did all sit in one chaire.

Hitherto we haue heard what can be alleaged out of *Cyprians* writings, to proue the supreme commaunding authority of the Pope. Now let vs heare what may be alleaged out of the same for the improuing thereof.

First, in his booke of the vnitie of the church he saith, *There is one Episcopall office whereof euerie one equally and indifferently hath his part*; and secondly, in the Councell of *Carthage* holden by him and other Bishops of *Africa*, he saith; [l] *None of vs maketh himselfe a Bishop of Bishops, or tyrannically enforceth his colleagues to a necessitie of obeying, because euery Bishop hath his owne free iudgement and disposition, and may neither iudge other, nor be iudged of other, but must all expect the iudgement of God, who onely hath power to set vs ouer his Church, and to iudge of our actions.* To the first of these authorities [m] *Bellarmine* answereth, that each Bishop hath his part in the Episcopall office and commission, equally, and as well as any other, but not in equall part: For *Peter* and his successours haue that part, that is as the roote, head, and fountaine; the rest those parts that are as the braunches, members, and riuers, and that therefore *Peters* successours are to rule and gouerne the rest. But this answer is refuted by the other place, where *Cyprian* with the whole Councell of *Carthage* saith: *None of vs maketh himselfe a Bishop of Bishops, or goeth about tyrannically to inforce others to a necessity of obeying, seeing each Bishop hath his libertie, and no one may iudge another, nor be iudged of another, but must all expect the iudgement of God.* If he replie, that this which *Cyprian* speaketh of the equality of Bishops, is to be vnderstood of the Bishops of *Carthage*, amongst whom none was found, that had power to commaund ouer others, and not generally so as to include the Bishop of *Rome*, he is refuted by *Cyprian* himselfe; who in his Epistle to [n] *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, hauing freely dissented from him, and shewed the reasons of his so dissenting, *pro communi honore, & simplici dilectione*; that is, For the fellowship they haue in the same honorable calling and employment, and the simplicitie and singlenesse of his loue, saith, he hopeth *Stephen* will approue that which is true and right,

l Concil Carthag. inter opera Cypriani.

m De Pont. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 16.

n Cypr. lib. 2. epist. 1.

right, and which he hath ſo ſtrongly confirmed and proued, though there be ſome (ſo taxing him in a ſort as too ſtiffely cleauing to his owne opinion) that will not eaſily alter their minds, but holding communion with their colleagues, ſtiffely maintaine what they haue once conceiued. Wherein, ſaith he, *Nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus, cùm habeat in Eccleſiæ adminiſtratione voluntatis ſuæ arbitrium liberum vnuſquiſque præpoſitus, rationem actus ſui Domino redditurus*; that is, Neither do we force any man, or giue a law vnto any man, whereas euerie gouernour hath the free diſpoſition of his owne will in the adminiſtration of the Church, being to giue an account of his actions vnto the Lord.

Here we ſee *Cyprian* ſpeaketh in the verie ſame ſort in the caſe betweene him and *Stephen*, as he did in the Councell of *Carthage*, and that generally he maketh all Biſhops equall, and no one ſubiect to the iudgement of another, but to the iudgement of God only, and the company of their fellow Biſhops.

And that he did not thinke the Biſhop of *Rome*, to haue an infallibility of iudgement, or a commanding authority ouer other Biſhops, it appeareth, in that writing to ° *Pompeius* of *Stephens* anſwere to his letters, and ſending him a copy of the ſame anſwer, he telleth him, that by reading it, he may more and more note his errour in maintaining the cauſe of Heretiques againſt Chriſtians and the Church of God; and feareth not to pronounce of him, that he writeth many things proudly, impertinently, vnskilfully, improuidently, and contrarie to himſelfe; and, which more is, contemning his preſcription, that heretiques ſhould not be rebaptized, but be receiued with the impoſition of hands onely, he chargeth him with hard, ſtiffe, and inflexible obſtinacie. p *Firmilianus* with the Biſhops of *Phrygia, Galatia, Cilicia*, and other regions neere adioining, aſſembled in a Synode at *Iconium*, conſented with *Cyprian*; and *Firmilianus* writing to him, telleth him of their reſolution, and chargeth *Stephen* with folly, who bragging of the place of his biſhoprique, and pretending to ſucceede Saint *Peter*, on whom the church was founded, yet bringeth in many other rockes, and new buildings of many churches, in that he ſuppoſeth heretiques to be truly baptized, who are out of the communion of the true Church; whereas the church was ſpecially promiſed to be builded on *Peter*, to ſhew that it muſt be but one. And in great diſlike and reprehenſion of *Stephen*, he ſaith, he was not aſhamed in fauour of heretiques to deuide the brotherhood, and to call *Cyprian* the worthy ſeruant of God, a falſe Chriſt, a falſe Apoſtle, and a deceiptfull, and guilefull workeman; whereas all theſe things might much more truely be ſayd of him; and therefore guiltie to himſelfe, *Præuenit, vt alteri super mendacium obiceret, quæ ipſe ex merito audire deberet*; that is, By way of preuention, he falſely and lyingly obiected thoſe things to another, which

° *Epiſt.74.*

p *Firmilianus in epiſt.75 inter epiſt. Cyprian.*

which himselfe truly and deseruedly might haue had obiected to him by others.

Such and so great were the oppositions of *Cyprian* and his consorts, against *Stephen* and his adherents, in the matter of rebaptization; whereupon [q] *Bellarmine* saith, it seemeth that *Cyprian* sinned mortally, in that he obeyed not the commaundement of *Stephen*, nor submitted his iudgement to the iudgement of his superiour.

q *De Pont. Rom. lib. 4. cap 7.*

That he erred in the matter of rebaptization, we willingly confesse; but, that he knew not the power, authoritie, and commission of the Bishop of *Rome*, or that he would euer haue dissented from him, or opposed himselfe against him in a question of faith, if he had thought his power to be vniuersall, and his iudgement infallible, we vtterly deny. For then he should not onely haue erred in the matter of rebaptization, but haue bene a damnable heretique, and haue perished euerlastingly; whereas yet the Church of God hath euer reputed him a holy Bishop, and a blessed Martyr. Thus hauing examined the testimonies of *Cyprian*, vsually alleaged, for, and against the supremacie of the Pope, let vs proceede to the rest of *Bellarmines* witnesses.

The next that followeth is *Optatus*, out of whom it is alleaged, that [r] there was one Episcopall Chaire in the whole Church appointed by Christ. But because this is the same which was formerly alleaged out of *Cyprian*, and alreadie answered in the answers to the allegations brought out of him, therefore without farther troubling of the Reader I referre him to that which went before.

r *Optat. lib. 2. contra Parmenian.*

The next vnto *Optatus* is *Ambrose*, out of whom three seuerall places are produced; in the first, his words are these, as *Bellarmine* citeth them. [s] *Though the whole world be Gods, yet the Church onely is called his house, the gouernour whereof at this day is* Damasus. For answer hereunto we say, that this testimonie rather witnesseth their forgerie, then confirmeth their error. For the commentaries attributed to *Ambrose*, wherein these words are, are not his; and besides, this addition, (*the gouernour whereof at this day is* Damasus) may be thought to haue bene put in, in fauour of their fancie touching the Papall vniuersalitie of iurisdiction; it is so sudden, causeless, and abrupt. In the second place, *Ambrose* [t] reporteth of *Satyrus*, that before he would receiue the sacrament of the Lords body, he asked of the Bishop, by whose hands he was to receiue it, whether he held communion with the Catholick Bishops, & namely, with the *Romane* Church? To the inference of our Aduersaries, & the conclusion they seeke to deriue and draw from these words in fauor of the Papacie, I haue answered [u] elsewhere, whither I referre the Reader. Wherefore let vs come to the third and last place of *Ambrose*; His words are, [x] *We follow the type and forme of the Romane church in all things*; and againe, *I desire to follow the Romane church in all things.*

s *Ambr. in 3. cap. 1. ad Tim.*

t *Ambros in Orat. in Satyrum.*

u Booke 3. chap. 41.

x *Ambros. de Sacramentis, li. 3. cap. 1.*

Surely,

Surely, this place of all other most clearly confuteth the errour of the *Romanists*, touching the infallibilitie of the iudgement of the *Romane* Church, and Bishop, and the necessitie of absolute conformitie with the same.

For in this place S. *Ambrose* sheweth, that in the church of *Millaine*, whereof he was Bishop, the manner in his time was, that the Bishop girding himselfe about with a towell in imitation of Christ, did wash the feete of such as were newly baptized; and after great commendation of the same custome, obiecting to himselfe that the *Romane* church had it not; first he saith, that perhaps the church of *Rome* omitted this washing, because of the difficultie, and great labour in performing it, by reason of the multitude of those that were baptized. Secondly, whereas some layde in defence and excuse of the omission of this washing in the *Romane* church, that it is not to be vsed as a mysticall right in the regeneration of them that are new borne in Christ, but in the ciuill entertainement of strangers (the offices of humilitie, and ciuill courtesie, being verie farre different from the mysteries and sacred rights of sanctification) he reproueth them for so saying, and endeauoreth to shewe, that this kinde of washing is a sacred and mysticall right, tending to the sanctification of them that are newly baptized, and that out of the words of Christ, to *Peter*; *Vnlesse I wash thee, thou shalt haue no part in me*; and then addeth the words alleaged by *Bellarmine*, *I desire in all things to follow the* Romane *Church, but notwithstanding we also are men, and haue our sense and iudgement: and therefore what we find to be rightly obserued any where else, we also rightly obserue and keepe: we follow the Apostle* Peter, *we cleaue fast vnto his deuotion; and hereunto, what can the Church of* Rome *answer?* Whereby we may see with what conscience these men alleage the testimonies of the Fathers.

Ambrose saith, Other men haue iudgement to discerne what is fit to be done, as well as the *Romanes*; that if any where else they finde better obseruations, then in the church of *Rome*, they may lawfully embrace them; that Saint *Peter* Bishop of *Rome* was author of his assertion, and that the church of *Rome* hath nothing to answere in her owne defence, or whereby to iustifie her omitting of this sacred washing: and they produce his testimonie to proue, that he thought it necessarie to be like in all things to the church of *Rome*.

Neither doth *Bellarmines* answer, that he thought it necessarie to follow the church of *Rome* in all things necessarie to saluation, though he dissented in this obseruation, satisfie vs, seeing he thought this obseruation necessarie to the perfect regeneration of the baptized, and consequently to saluation, as appeareth in the place it selfe.

Wherefore when *Ambrose* saith of himselfe, and those of *Millaine*, that they follow in all things the type and forme of the *Romane* church, it

is not to be vnderstood without al limitation; but that as other daughter-churches do follow the customes of their mother-churches; so the church of *Millaine* conformeth her selfe to the church of *Rome* in all things, so far forth as she can perswade her selfe it is fit and right so to do: otherwise, out of her iudgement and discretion receiuing from other churches that which they haue in better sort then she: euen as *Gregorie* Bishop of *Rome* y professed, that he was not ashamed to learne of those churches that were meaner then his owne.

y *Greg. Epist lib. 7. ep. 63.*

From *Ambrose* the Cardinall passeth to *Hierome*, out of whose writings he produceth two testimonies. The first, out of his Epistle to *Ageruchia, de Monogamiâ*; the other out of his Epistle to *Damasus* touching the vse of the word *Hypostasis*. The first of these two testimonies might well haue bene spared. For what can any man inferre from this that *Hierome* saith, he did helpe *Damasus* in writing answeres to the Synodall consultations of the East and West? was there euer any man that doubted of the consulting of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Bishops by the Synodes of the East and West, in matters concerning the faith, and state of the vniuersall Church? Or may it be concluded from hence, that the Pope hath an absolute supreme power in the Church? Surely, I thinke not. Wherefore let vs passe to the second testimonie. *Ego*, saith *Hierome* to *Damasus*, *nullum primum nisi Christum sequens, beatitudini tuæ, id est, Cathedræ* Petri, *communione consocior: super illam petram ædificatam Ecclesiam scio. Quicunque extra hanc domum agnum comederit, profanus est: Si quis in arcâ Noæ non fuerit, peribit regnante diluuio*; that is, I following no first and chiefe but Christ, am ioyned in communion to your blessednesse, that is, to *Peters* chaire. Vpon that rocke I know the Church to be builded: whosoeuer shall eate the Paschall Lambe out of this house, he is a profane person: If any man shall be out of *Noahs* arke, he shall vndoubtedly perish, when the floud preuaileth and drowneth all.

It is true, that z *Cyprian* hath obserued in his Epistle to *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, that therefore almightie God appointed a great number and companie of Bishops ioyned together by the glew and bond of vnitie, that if some fall into heresie, and seeke to wast the flocke of Christ, the rest may gather the dispersed sheepe into the fold againe; and therefore euen as if one hauen be dangerous, they that saile will seeke to another more safe; and if one Inne vpon the way be possessed by theeues and wicked persons, wayfaring men will turne into another; so in the Church, when the Pastors of one part of it are infected with errour and heresie, men must flie to them that are right-beleeuers in other parts.

z *Cyp. Epist. 67.*

This was the case of *Hierome*, as it appeareth by this his Epistle: He liued at the time of the writing of it in the East parts, where *Arrianisme* had strangely and dangerously preuailed, but the West churches were sound. He was vrged to confesse and acknowledge, that there are three

Hypoſtaſes or ſubſiſtences in the Godhead.

This forme of ſpeaking he ſuſpected, as fearing ſome ill meaning, eſpecially becauſe he ſuſpected them that tendered it to him; and therefore flieth for direction to *Damaſus* and the Weſterne Biſhops. For it appeareth that he ſought the reſolution of them all, though the manner was to write onely to the chiefe amongſt them. Let vs here therefore what it is that he ſaith, and what the *Ieſuite* inferreth from his ſaying. He admitteth, ſaith *Bellarmine*, no originall teacher but Chriſt: yet is ioyned in communion with *Damaſus*, that is, with *Peters* chaire, and profeſſeth, that vpon that rocke the Church was builded. Therefore he acknowledgeth the vniuerſalitie of Papall power and iuriſdiction. This argument of the Cardinall is too weake to proue the intended concluſion. For though there be no queſtion but that in a true ſenſe the Church may be ſaid to haue bene builded on *Peters* chaire, that is, vpon his office and Miniſtery, yet it will not follow that they who ſucceed him in that chaire haue vniverſality of power & iuriſdiction: ſeeing [a] *Hierome* himſelfe teacheth, that the Church is builded as well vpon the reſt of the Apoſtles, as vpon *Peter*, and conſequently that their chaires are that rocke, vpon which the Church is builded, as well as *Peters*. And yet beſides all this, [b] *Gregory* ſheweth, that *Peters* chaire being but one, is in three ſeuerall places, and three Biſhops do ſit in it. For *Peters* chaire is at *Alexandria*, where he taught & ruled by *Marke* his ſcoller; at *Antioch*, where he remained for a time; & at *Rome*, where in his body he yet ſtill abideth, expecting the ſecond comming of Chriſt. Vpon this chaire as on a rock the Church is builded. But this chaire and throne implieth not only the office and miniſtery of them, who moſt ſpecially ſucced *Peter*, as the Biſhops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, but of ſuch other alſo, as in ioynt commiſſion with them gouerne the Church. Whereupon, according to the phraſe of Antiquity, the iudgement of the *Romane* Sea, and the iudgement of the Biſhop of *Rome* with his fellow Biſhops of the Weſt, is all one. But ſome man will ſay, that *Hierome* pronounceth him to be a profane perſon that eateth the lambe out of this houſe, ſpeaking of the Church of *Rome*: therefore he thinketh all men & Churches bound for euer to hold communion with the *Romane* Church. For anſwere to this obiection, firſt we ſay, it may very probably be thought, that by the houſe he ſpeaketh of, out of which the Lambe may not be eaten, he meaneth not particularly the *Romane* Church, but the true Catholique Church of Chriſt, which is equally builded vpon all the Apoſtles, in reſpect of the ſame firmeneſſe found in them all; but more ſpecially vpon *Peter*, as in order and honor the chiefeſt of them; and then there is no queſtion but all men are bound for euer to adhere to this church, and to eate the Lambe within the wals of this houſe. That this is the meaning of *Hierome*, the very forme of his words do perſwade vs. *I am ioyned* (ſaith he) *to* Peters *chaire. vpon that rocke the church is builded, &c.*

[a] *Hierome. lib. 1. contra Iouinian.*

[b] *Gregor. Epiſt. lib. 6. Epiſt. ep. 37.*

Sed Cathedra vbi

[c] *Vide apud Binnium Epiſtol. Nicholai, Ignatio Conſtantinopolitano. tom. 3. concil p. 2. page 879. & alteram Epiſt. eiuſdem, page 889 et orat. Baſilij Im, cratori, p. 816*

of this house (of the Church, doubtlesse) the Lambe may not be eaten. Now by the name of the Church immediatly going before, is meant the vniuersall Church: therefore by this house we must vnderstand that great house, within the wals wherof the whole houshold of faith is contained. Secondly we say, that if he speake of the *Romane* or West Church particularly, he may be thought to meane, not that he shall perpetually & alwaies be iudged a profane perso̅ that eateth the Lambe without the wals of that house: but things so standing as they did when he wrote, no other partes of the Church being sound, safe, and free from heresies, but the Westerne parts only. Which made him say, he knew not *Paulinus*, who was then Bishop of *Antioch*; within the compasse of whose Patriarchship he liued, because there was question as well of his faith, as of the lawfulnesse of his ordination: For otherwise he ought to haue knowne him, sought to him, and respected him. Thirdly, we say it is more then probable, that the whole west Church shall neuer lose or forsake the true profession, and that therefore he may rightly be iudged a profane person that eateth the paschal Lambe out of the communion of the same; though sometimes the Bishop of *Rome* in person be an heretique, other of his colleagues continuing faithful. And that *Hierome* was of opinion, that the Bishop of *Rome* may become an heretique, it is most cleare and euident, in that [d] he saith, that both *Liberius* and *Felix* were *Arrian* heretiques. Thus haue we answered whatsoeuer may be alleaged out of *Hierome* for the Papacie, and shewed the weakenes of those allegations. Now let vs see what authorities may be brought out of his writings against the absolute supreme power of Popes. First, he saith, if we seeke authority, [e] *Orbis maior est vrbe.* The world is greater then the greatest citty in the world, and the whole Church is of greater authority then the particular Church of *Rome:* And thereupon reprehendeth the negligence or errour of the Church of *Rome*, in permitting contrary to the manner of other Churches, Deacons to grow so insolent, as to dare to sit in the presence of the Presbyters when the Bishop was away; as also in ordaining Presbyters vpon the commendation of Deacons; So that hee blamed not the Deacons only, as [f] *Bellarmine* vntruely saith, but the *Romane* Bishop, to whom the ordaining of Presbyters pertained. Neither wil it follow, that the insolency of the Deacons presuming to sit in the presence of Presbyters, was vnknowne to the Bishop, or not allowed by the Church, as *Bellarmine* collecteth, because they are said so to haue done, when the Bishop was away. For that circumstance rather insinuateth that though they had not cast off all respect to the Bishop, yet they had forgotten their duty towards the Presbyters, then that this their presuming was vnknowne to the Bishop. Secondly, he pronounceth that [g] *wheresoeuer a Bishop bee, whether at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or Rhegium, at Alexandria or Tanais, he is of the same merit, and the same Priesthood; the power of riches, & the humility of poore estate not making a Bishop higher or lower.*

d *Hieronym. in Catalog. Script. in Fortunatianum & Acacio.*

e *Hierome ad Eugrium.*

f *Bel. de Pont. lib. 2. cap. 16.*

g *Hierome vbi supra.*

To this place *Bellarmine* answereth, that all Bishops are equall in the power of order, but not of iurisdiction. But it is certaine, *Hierome* thought all Bishops equall, not onely in the power of order, but of iurisdiction also. For Metropolitanes in his time, though in order and honour greater then the rest, were bound to follow what the greater part of the Bishops of the prouince consented on, and might do nothing but as the greater part should resolue; howsoeuer in processe of time, by positiue constitution, the Metropolitanes limited and directed by, Canons were trusted with the doing of many things by themselues alone, rather then the Bishops would be troubled with often meeting in Councels.

But saith *Bellarmine*, it cannot be that *Hierome* should thinke all Bishops equall in the power of iurisdiction, seeing without all question the Bishop of *Alexandria*, hauing vnder him three great prouinces, was greater in iurisdiction then the Bishop of *Tanais*, who had vnder him onely one poore little citie. For answer hereunto we say, that Patriarches haue no more power ouer the Metropolitanes subiect to them, then the Metropolitanes haue ouer the Bishops of the prouince; and that therefore howsoeuer the extent of their power reach farther, yet proportionably it is no greater then the power of Metropolitanes within their narrower precincts and compasse; and that the Metropolitane originally is not greater in the power of iurisdiction, then any other Bishop of the prouince, howsoeuer he haue a preëminence of honour, and sit as a president among the Bishops meeting to performe the acts of iurisdiction, and by common consent to manage the affaires of the prouince: so that, notwithstanding any thing the Cardinall can say to the contrarie, the testimonies and authorities of *Hierome* stand good against the Popes proud claime of vniuersall power.

Wherefore leauing *Hierome*, who witnesseth not for them but against them, let vs heare whether *Augustine* will say any thing for them. Out of *Augustine* sundry things are alleaged: as first, that he saith, [h] *The principalitie and chieftie of the Apostolicall chaire did euer flourish in the* Romane *church*: and secondly, that to *Bonifacius* he saith, [i] *Thou disdainest not to be a friend of the humble, and those of meane sort; and though thou sit in higher place, yet thou art not high minded:* And againe, [k] *The watch tower is common vnto all that are Bishops, although thou hast a higher roome in the same.* Surely it is strange to what purpose these places of *Augustine* are alleaged. For we neuer denied a principalitie or chieftie of order and honor to haue belonged anciently to the Bishops of *Rome*, whilest they rested contented therewith, & sought not to bring all vnder them by claime of vniuersall power: and this is all that can be collected out of *Augustine*. But (saith *Bellarmine*) in his [l] Epistle to *Optatus*, speaking of a meeting of Bishops at *Cesarea*, he saith, an ecclesiastical necessity laid vpon them by the reuerend Pope *Zozimus* Bishop of the Apostolical See, drew them thither; therfore he thought the

h *August. Epist.* 162.

i *Idem lib.* 1. *ad Bonifac. cap.* 1.

k *Ibidem.*

l *Epist.* 157.

the Bishop of *Rome* superiour vnto other Bishops, not in order and honour onely, but in power of commanding also.

For answer hereunto, first we say, that a great part of *Africa* was within the precincts of the Patriarchship of *Rome*, and that therefore the Bishop of *Rome* might call the Bishops of those parts to a Synodall meeting, as euerie Patriarch may do the Bishops vnder him, though he had no commanding power ouer all the world. Secondly, that in a matter of faith concerning the whole state of the Church, *Zozimus* as in order and honor first amongst Bishops, might vrge them by vertue of the Canons appointing such meetings, to meete together in a Synode for the suppressing of such heresies as he found to arise amongst them, and might iustly threaten, if they should refuse so to do, to reiect them from the communion of the Bishops and churches adhering to him, and thereby lay an Ecclesiasticall necessitie vpon them, without any claime of vniuersall power.

Neither doth the next place (wherein [m] *Augustine*, and the Bishops assembled in the Councell of *Mileuis*, desire *Innocentius* to concurre with them in suppressing the heresies of the *Pelagians*, which sought to spread themselues into all parts of the world, and to vse his pastorall care and diligence for the preuenting of the daungers of the weake members of Christ) yeeld any better proofe, that they reputed him vniuersall Bishop. For what do they here attribute to the Bishop of *Rome*, that [n] *Cyprian* writing to *Stephen* in the case of *Martianus* Bishop of *Arle*, doth not assume to himselfe and other his colleagues, saying of himselfe and them, that they are bound to vse all diligence to gather together, and call backe the erring sheepe of Christ, to apply the medicine of fatherly pietie for the curing of the wounds and hurts of such as are fallen, to recollect and cherish all the sheepe that Christ purchased with his precious bloud; and to know that though they be many Pastours, yet they feede but one flocke.

m *Epist. 92. ad Innocentium*

n *Cypr. epist. lib. 3. ep. 13.*

But, saith *Bellarmine*, why do they not rather write to the Patriarch of *Hierusalem*, to the Metropolitane of *Palæstina*, or to the Primate of *Africa*, in which parts of the world *Pelagiani me* specially seemed to preuaile, then to the Bishop of *Rome*, if they did not thinke him to haue an vniuersall power?

Surely, this question of the Cardinall sheweth that either he knoweth not, or careth not what he writeth; for the cause of *Pelagius* had bene often heard and examined by Synodes of Bishops in *Palæstina*; and the [o] Primate of *Africa* with his *Africane* Bishops did write to *Innocentius* as well as *Augustine*, and those assembled in the Councell of *Mileuis*; as well to informe him of the guilefull fraudulent, and slipperie dealings of *Pelagius*, that he might no way be induced to fauor him, (as some feared not to giue out that he did) as also that he might be perswaded to put to his helping

o *Vt patet. ex epist. August. supradict.*

ping hand for the suppressing of this heretique, who though condemned by many Synodes, ceased not to flie from place to place, seeking to spred his heresies, and therefore there was no cause that they should write to either of these. Thus haue our Aduersaries found nothing in *Augustine* and the *Africanes*, that any way fauoureth the Popes proud claime of vniuersall power. Neither do the rest of the witnesses who are next brought forth to giue testimonie for the Pope, depose any more to the purpose then the former haue done. For that *Prosper* saith, p *Rome* the Sea of *Peter* being made the head of Pastorall honour to the world, holdeth by religion whatsoeuer it possesseth, not by force of armes; and q that by reason of the principalitie of Priestly or Bishoply dignitie, it became greater in respect of the high tower of religion, then the throne of princely power; that *Victor Vticensis* r calleth the church of *Rome* the head of all churches; and *Hugo de S. Victore* saith, s the Apostolique See is preferred before all the churches in the world; is no more then that which we euer granted. For they all speake of a chiefetie and principaltie of order and honour, and not of absolute commanding power. And the place which our Aduersaries bring out of *Vincentius Lirinensis* t to proue the Pope to be head of the world, is strangely mis-alleaged. For hauing spoken of the leuers of *Felix* the Martyr, and holy *Iulius* Bishop of *Rome*, he addeth, that blessed *Cyprian* was produced out of the South, & holy *Ambrose* out of the North, that so not only *Caput orbis*, the head of the world, but the sides of it also might giue testimony to that iudgement, by the head & sides of the world vnderstanding the partes of the world, whence these witnesses were produced, and not the witnesses themselues: So that there is no more reason to inferre from hence, that the Bishop of *Rome* is head of all the world, then that *Cyprian* and *Ambrose* were the sides of the world. Neither doe the testimonies of *Cassiodore* u who attributeth to the Bishop of *Rome* a generall care of the whole Christian world, and *Beda* who saith, x *Leo* exercised the Priestly office in the Christian world, make any more for proofe of the Popes vniuersall iurisdiction then the rest that went before. For their sayings argue not an absolute vniuersal commanding power ouer all, but such a care of the whole, as beseemeth him that is in order and honour the chiefe of Bishops, from whom all actions generally concerning the Christian Church, are either to take beginning, or at least to be referred before finall ending, that so his aduice may be had therein.

And surely howsoeuer *Anselmus* y saith, the custody of the faith of Christians, & the regiment of the Church is committed to the Bishop of *Rome*; and *Bernard* z writeth of him, that he is chiefe of Bishops, heire of the Apostles, in primacie *Abel*, in gouernement *Noah*, in Patriarchicall honour *Abraham*, in order *Melchizedek* in dignity *Aaron*, in authority *Moses*, in iudgement *Samuel*, in power *Peter*, and in vnction Christ; that others haue particular flocks assigned to them, but that his charge hath no limits, with such

p *Prosper lib. de ingratis*

q *Idem lib. 2. de vocatione gentium cap. 6.*

r *Lib. 2. de persec. Vandalica.*

s *De Sacrament. lib 2. part. 3. cap. 25.*

t *Vinc. Lirinens. in suo commonit.*

u *Cassiod lib 11. Epist. 2. ad Ioannem Papam.*

x *Beda hist. gent. Anglor. lib. 2. cap. 1.*

y *Ans. de incar. verbi. cap. 1.*

z *Bern lib 2. de consideratione.*

such like Hyperbolical amplifications of the Popes greatnesse, sauoring of the corruption of those late times wherein he liued; yet wil it neuer be proued, that either he or diuers others speaking as he did, were of the Papall faction, or beleeued that the Pope hath that vniuersall power & iurisdiction, that is by the *Iesuits*, and other *Romanists* at this day giuen vnto him. For as *Iohn Bacon* [a] a learned schooleman, and countriman of ours, hath fitly noted, some attributed all those things whereof *Bernard*, and *Anselmus* speake to the Pope, as thinking all fulnesse of Ecclesiasticall power and iurisdiction to be originally found in him, and that by himselfe alone he might doe all things in the gouernement of the Church, and all other were to receiue of his fulnesse; which is the opinion of our aduersaries at this day: Other attributed these things vnto him, not as hauing all power in himselfe alone, but as head and chiefe of Bishops, together with their ioint concurrence and assent: So that he had power to iudge of the faith, to determine controuersies in religion, as Patriarch of the West, with the ioint consent of his Westerne Bishops, and as prime Bishop of the world with an Oecumenicall Synode, wherein he was to sit as an honorable president and moderatour, pronouncing according to the resolution of the Bishops, and not absolutly disposing things according to his owne liking. Neither is it to be doubted but that very many followed this latter opinion, & consequently neuer gaue that fulnesse of power to the Pope that is now claimed, howsoeuer they attributed that vnto him as president of Ecclesiastical meetings, which rested not in him alone, but in the whole meetings and Assemblies; as it is an ordinary thing to attribute that to the president of any company that is done by the whole company: and as all the great actions of State are attributed to the Duke of *Venice*, whereas yet he can doe nothing but as he is swayed and directed by the noble Senatours of that State.

[a] *Iohn Bacon sup. Sen. prolog. quæst. 10. art. 2.*

Chap. 37.

Of the pretended proofes of the Popes vniuersall power, taken from his intermedling in ancient times in confirming, deposing, or restoring Bishops deposed.

Hauing examined the testimonies of Councels, Popes, & Fathers *Greeke* and *Latine*, brought to proue the vniuersality of Ecclesiastical power claimed by the Pope, and found their insufficiency and weakenesse; let vs proceed to see, by what other proofes our Aduersaries endeauor to dmonstrate and confirme the same. The absolute, supreme power of Popes, they labour to proue, by the authority they exercised ouer other Bishops; by their lawes, dispensations, and censures; by their Vicegerents which they appointed in places far remote from them; by Appeales brought vnto them; by their exemption from being subiect to any iudgement; and

by the names and titles that are giuen vnto them. Of all these I will entreat in order, and first of the authority the Bishops of *Rome* are supposed to haue exercised ouer other Bishops, in confirming, deposing, or restoring them.

a *Bellar. de Pont. lib. 2. cap. 18.*

Of confirmation [a] *Bellarmine* bringeth some few examples, but such as will neuer confirme the thing he desireth to proue.

b *Conc. Chalced. Actione 7.*

For touching the confirmation of [b] *Maximus* in the Bishopricke of *Antioch*, which is the first example that he bringeth first, it was not any confirmation of himselfe in his Bishoply office, but onely the determining of certaine differences betweene him and *Iuuenall*, about their limits, and the confirmation of the same end and conclusion: Secondly, this end was not made by *Leo* alone, but by the whole Councell of *Chalcedon*. Neither is the second proofe, that the confirmation of the chiefe Bishops of the world pertained anciently to the Pope, any better then this. For these are the circumstances of that [c] *Leo* writeth, whom *Bellarmine* citeth in the second place, as challenging the right of confirming the Bishop of *Constantinople*.

c *Leo Epist. 54. ad Marcianum.*

Anatolius the Bishop of *Constantinople*, ambitiously aspired to be greater then was fit, as *Leo* thought: *Leo* writeth to the Emperour in reprehension of his presumption; and saith, that he might haue forborne thus ambitiously to aspire higher, seeing he obtained the Bishopricke of *Constantinople* by the Emperours helpe, and his fauourable assent. The fauour that *Leo* speaketh of, was in that *Anatolius* not hauing passed through the lower degrees of Ecclesiasticall Ministery, was somewhat irregularly preferred to be Bishop of so great a citty, which he was content to winke at, at the Emperours entreaty. And as the manner was that the foure Patriarches should (vpon notice giuen of their due ordination, & Synodall letters containing a profession of their faith) mutually giue assent one to another before they were accoũted Patriarches, & fully possessed of their places: by his alowance, in the same sort as others were to allow of him, as much as in him lay he was content to confirme and make good his ordination, though somewhat irregular and defectiue; which no way proueth that the confirming of the great Bishops of the world pertained any otherwise to the Bishop of *Rome*, then the right of confirming him pertained vnto them.

d *Epist. 84. ad Anastas. Thessalon.*
e *Epist. 87. ad Episc. Afric.*
f *Greg. lib. 4. Epist. 34.*

Yet this is in effect all they can say: For that [d] *Leo* willeth the Bishop of *Thessalonica* to take knowledge of the Metropolitanes chosen in the prouinces subiect to him, as Vicegerent to the Patriarch of *Rome*, and by his assent to confirme their ordination; as likewise, that [e] writing to the Bishops of *Africa*, subiect to him as Parriarch, he telleth them, he is content the Bishop of *Salicen* turned from Nouatianisme, shall keep his place, if he send vnto him the confession of his faith; and that [f] *Gregorie* complaineth, that the Bishop of *Salona* within his Patriarchship was ordained with-

without his priuity and consent, doth no more proue the Pope to bee vniuersall Bishop, then the other Patriarches, without whose assent none of the Metropolitanes subiect to them, might be ordained.

And this was it that so much grieued *Gregory*; namely, that his Bishops (thereby putting a difference betweene such as were subiect to him, in that he was Patriarch of the West, and others) should so despise & contemn him. But let our Aduersaries proue, that either *Gregory*, or any of his predecessours euer challenged the confirmation of Metropolitanes subiect to any of the other Patriarches, and wee will confesse they say something: Otherwise all that they bring is idle and to no purpose, prouing nothing that we euer doubted of. For we know the Bishop of *Rome* had the right of confirming the Metropolitanes within the precincts of his owne Patriarchship, as likewise euery other Patriarch had: & that therefore he might send the Pall to sundry parts of *Greece*, *France*, and *Spaine*, as *Bellarmine* alledgeth, being all within the compasse of his Patriarchship, and yet not bee vniuersall Bishop, as *Bellarmine* would willingly from hence inferre.

Wherefore seeing our aduersaries haue so little to say for the Popes right of confirming Bishops, let vs proceed to see what proofes they can produce of his power and authority in deposing them.

Their first allegation is touching g *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, deposing as they suppose *Martianus*, Bishop of *Arle* in *France*, who had ioyned himselfe with *Nouatianus*, denying reconciliation, & the Churches peace to such as hauing fallen and denied the faith, afterwards repented and turned againe vnto God. g *Cyprian. lib. 3. Epist. 13.*

This allegation is too weake to proue their intended conclusion: For it is most certaine by all the circumstances of the Epistle of *Cyprian* cited by *Bellarmine*, that *Stephen* the Bishop of *Rome*, did not depose *Martianus* by himselfe alone: and therefore *Cyprian* doth not say to *Stephen*, therefore hath God appointed thee to be ouer all Bishops, that if they fall into heresie, or faile in the performance of their duty, thou mightst set all right againe: but, *therefore hath God appointed a great number of Bishops, that if any one of that company and society fal into heresie, and begin to teare, rent, and waste the flocke of Christ, the rest may helpe, and as good and pittifull Pastours gather the scattered sheepe of Christ into the fold againe*: Neither doth he say to *Stephen*, that he should suspend *Martianus*, but *that hee should write to the Bishops of France to do it*, and not to suffer him any longer to insult vpon the company of Catholique Bishops, for that hee was not yet suspended, and reiected from their communion.

But some man perhaps will aske why *Cyprian* desireth *Stephen* to write to the Bishops of *France*, and writeth not himselfe, as if the power of deposing *Martianus* were no more in *Stephen* then in himselfe.

Surely there may be three reasons giuen of his so doing: the first, because

cause he was neerer to them then *Cyprian*. The second, because he as Patriarch of the West, with his Bishops, was more likely to preuaile then *Cyprian* with his *Africanes* alone. The third, for that (as *Cyprian* himselfe obserueth in the end of this Epistle) it more concerned him then any other to maintaine the reputation of *Lucius* and *Cornelius* his predecessours, and to oppose himselfe against *Martianus*, who ioyned himselfe with *Nouatianus*, that had schismatically and heretically rent and diuided himselfe from them, and made a schisme in their Church.

Neither doth that which followeth (where he desireth *Stephen* to write vnto him, who is appointed in the roome of *Martianus*, that so hee may know whom to write vnto, and with whom to communicate) import, that he should by himselfe alone cōstitute the Bishop of *Arle*; but that writing to the people to choose, & the Bishops of the prouince to direct them in choosing, & to consecrate him they should choose, hee should require to be certified from them of their proceedings accordingly, that so he might impart the same vnto him. The next proofe that the Pope hath authority to depose any Bishop of the world, deseruing to be deposed, is out of the Epistle of *Nicholas* the first to *Michael* the Emperour of *Constantinople*.

But whosoeuer shall peruse the place, shal finde, that no such thing can be concluded out of it. For the drift of *Nicolas* in that Epistle, is to shew, that the inferiours may not iudge their superiours, as the prouinciall Bishops their Metropolitanes, or the Metropolitanes their Patriarch; but that stil the greater must iudge the lesser. If a Clerke, saith the Councell of [h] *Chalcedon*, haue ought against his Bishop, let the matter be heard in the Synode of the prouince: but if a Bishop or Clerke, haue a complaint against the Metropolitan, let him go to the Primate of the Diocese, or to the Sea of *Constantinople*: So that euer the greater must iudge the lesser, and the lesser may neuer presume to iudge the greater, so long as there is any greater to flye vnto. And therfore *Iohn* of *Antioche* in the Councell of *Ephesus* was reproued, for that being but Bishop of the third Sea, he presumed to iudge *Cyril*, Bishop of the second Sea; & *Dioscorus* Bishop of the second See was condemned in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, for that he iudged *Leo*, Bishop of the first Sea. This he insisteth vpon, to shew, that the Bishops subiect to *Ignatius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, had vniustly proceeded against him: & then to shew, that this their proceeding was strange and new, he saith, there hath scarce bene any of the Bishops of *Constantinople* deposed, whose deposition hath bene holden iust and good, without the concurrence of the Sea of *Rome*.

h Canone. 9.

Now how will this proue that the Pope hath power in himselfe alone to depose all Bishops worthy to be deposed? Is it consequent, that if the Bishops of Patriarchicall Sees may not be iudged by their owne Bishops alone, nor by those that are in degree of honour inferiour to them, and that the Patriarches of higher Sees, with their Bishops, must concurre

with

with the Bishops of those Patriarches that are iudged, and that neuer any Bishop of *Constantinople*, being next in honour to the Bishop of *Rome*, was deposed but by such a Synode, whereof the Bishop of *Rome* was president, that the Bishop of *Rome* hath in himselfe alone the fulnesse of all Ecclesiasticall power? Surely, I thinke not, our Aduersaries themselues being iudges. But *Gelasius* in his Epistle to the Bishops of *Dardania*, saith, the Sea Apostolique by her authority condemned *Dioscorus*, Bishop of the second Sea: therefore the Pope hath all Ecclesiasticall power originally seated in himselfe alone.

Truly this consequence is no better then the former. For by the See Apostolique *Gelasius* vnderstandeth the *Romane* Bishop, and the Bishops of the West subiect to him, who Synodally condemned *Dioscorus*, and yet not without the concurrence of many other Bishops: nor so as that the iudgment was thought perfect, till an [i] Oecumenicall Synode confirmed it, as it appeareth by the course of histories.

i *Vide acta Concilij Chalcedon.*

The next example is the deposition of [k] *Flauianus*, Bishop of *Antioche*, by *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*. But this example might well haue bene spared. For it is most certaine, that *Damasus* did not depose *Flauianus*. The circumstances of the history are these: *Eustathius* that worthy Bishop of *Antioche*, who [l] made that excellent Oration in the praise of *Constantine* in the Councell of *Nice*, and was so earnest and zealous a defender of the true faith against the *Arrians*, being by certaine *Arrians* [m] cast out of his Bishoprique, and banished; vpon the accusation of a lewd woman; charging him to haue committed adultery with her, but afterward confessing shee had wronged him, and that she had bene suborned by those *Arrians*; so to accuse him, *Euladius* was chosen into his place, whom *Eupbronius* succeeded, & after him, *Placitus* obtained the Bishoprique. All these did secretly fauour *Arrianisme* & therfore many, both of the people & Priests, forsaking the publique assemblies, had their priuate meetings, and were called *Eustathians*, for that after the banishment of *Eustathius*, they began thus to assemble together. [n] *Stephen* succeeded *Placitus*, *Leontius Stephen*, and [o] *Eudoxius Leontius*, who [p] obtainining to bee Bishop of *Constantinople*, left the Church of *Antioche* voide: Whereupon the Bishops of the prouince assembled together, and chose *Milesius* to bee Bishop, some of them hoping that hee would fauour *Arrianisme*, and other knowing that he was an Orthodoxe; the error of the one side mis-perswaded of the man, and the true knowledge the other had of him, made both willingly to consent to his election and ordination. But so soone as the *Arrians* perceiued what he was, they deposed him, and sent him into banishment, placing *Euzoius* in his place: which when the people and Priests that were Catholique perceiued, who had long endured the insolencies of the *Arrians*, they diuided themselues, and refused to communicate with him.

k *Bell. ex Theodoret hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 23.*

l *Theodoret. hist. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

m *Ibid. cap 20. 21.*

n *Idem, l. 2. c. 24.*

o *Ibid. cap 25.*

p *Cap. 31.*

After

q Lib. 3. cap. 4. After a while q *Milesius*, in the time of *Iulian*, returneth from banishment; to whom though such Catholiques as diuided themselues vpon dislike of *Euzoius*, presently cleaued; yet would not they that first diuided themselues in respect of *Eustathius*, neither at the first ordination of *Milesius*, though *Eustathius* were then dead, nor now vpon his returne by any meanes be induced to hold communion with him and his; which *Lucifer*, one of them that had bene in banishment with *Athanasius* seeing, & pitying, laboured with them what he could to bring them to vnity. But when he saw they would not be induced to ioyne with *Milesius*, & that *Paulinus* was their leader, he made him their Bishop; which act of his, made the Schisme more dangerous then before, and of longer continuance, then otherwise haply it would haue bene: for it r continued 85. yeares. s *Milesius* perceiuing *Paulinus* to be ordained Bishop ouer them that were diuided from his communion, seemed no whit therewith to bee offended or displeased, but spake peaceably to *Paulinus* desiring him that they might ioyne their flockes, and feede them together; and if, said hee, the throne diuide vs, let me lay the Gospell in it, and then do thou sit in it sometimes, and I will sit in it at other times; and if I dye before thee, thou shalt haue the care and charge of all: if thou dye before me, the care and charge of all shall be deuolued to me.

r Ibid. cap. 5.

s Lib 5. cap. 3.

This counsaile, *Paulinus* would not hearken vnto, and therefore the Emperours officer adiudged the Churches to *Milesius*, and the guiding of the diuided sheepe to *Paulinus*. Whereupon, when *Milesius* dyed, t though *Paulinus* would haue had the place, yet he was refused, because he had refused to hearken to the counsel of *Milesius*; & the Bishops chose *Flauianus*, a man very conspicuous for his great labours, and one that had exposed himselfe to many dãgers for the good of the Church. Yet this ordination greatly displeased the *Egyptians* and *Romanes*. u The reason of which their so great dislike, was for that when there was much contention betweene *Milesius* and *Paulinus*, it was so agreed, that all they that were fit for that Bishoprike, or might in likelyhood be in any hope or expectation of it, should sweare neither to seeke it nor accept it, while either of these liued; nor no way to hinder but that after the death of the one, the other might haue the full & entire gouernment of the whole: of which number it was thought that *Flauianus* was one, & that therefore not without periury, contrary to his vow and oath, he had hindred the reuniting of the diuided parts of the Church.

t Ibid. cap. 23.

u Sozomen. lib. 7. cap. 2. & 11. Socrates. lib. 5. cap. 15.

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x Theodoret. lib. 5 cap. 23.

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Yet long after, many complaints were againe renewed against him to the Emperor by sundry Bishops being at *Rome*, fearing not to taxe the Emperor himselfe for that he suppressed not the tyranny of *Flauianus*: but the Emperour bade them say, what that tyranny was, as if he were *Flauianus*, for that he had vndertaken the defence of him. Which when they refused to doe, professing themselues vnwilling to stand vpon termes with the Emperour, he exhorted them to lay aside their foolish quarrellings, and to reunite the Churches that had long without cause bene diuided: for that *Paulinus* was now dead, and *Euagrius* came vniustly to the Bishoprique; and the ordination of *Flauianus* was so farre forth allowed of, that all the Churches of the East, with the Churches of *Asia*, *Pontus*, *Thracia*, and *Illyricum*, helde *Flauianus* to bee lawfull Bishop of the East.

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sought, was not his holding of his Bishoprique, as *Bellarmine* vntruly reporteth, but the peace and concord of the Churches, diuided about him. Neither was the difference onely betweene him and *Damasus*, but all the Bishops of *Ægypt*, and the West dissented from him likewise: and therefore [a] *Ambrose* sheweth, that the examining of the matter betweene *Eusgrius* and him, was committed to *Theophilus*, and the Bishops of *Ægypt*, and desireth him to make relation of the end he should make, to the Bishop of *Rome*, that he also agreeing thereunto, an vniuersall peace might be concluded. So that nothing can bee concluded out of this history, for proofe of the vniuersal power of Popes: Seeing *Damasus* could neither of himselfe alone, nor with the concurrence of the westerne Bishops depose *Flauianus*, nor by any meanes perswade the Emperour to thrust him out of his place, but was sharply reproued by the Emperour for quarreling with him, and required to be at peace with him, that so the Churches formerly diuided without cause, might be reunited.

a *Ambros. Epist.* 78.

The next instance of the Popes deposing Bishops, is that of [b] *Sixtus* the third, who deposed *Polychronius*, Bishop of *Hierusalem*, if we may beleeue *Bellarmine*: but in truth there was neuer any such thing. The circumstances of the whole proceeding against *Polychronius*, Bishop of *Hierusalem*, (if there be any credit in the report of Pope [c] *Nicholas*, and the acts of the Councell vnder *Sixtus* the third) were these. Two things specially were obiected to him: the one, that he went about to violate the ancient bounds of the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction of Bishops, set and limited by the Fathers, to preferre himselfe before the other principal Bishops, & to make his See the first, whereas in truth it was the last amongst the Patriarchicall Sees; the other that Simoniacally he conferred Ecclesiasticall honours vpon such as would purchase the same. Hereupon the Bishops subiect to him, not willing to proceede against him themselues alone, complained to the Bishop of *Rome*, and shewed him how much hee was wronged by the vndue claimes of this Bishop.

b *Acta Sixti.* 3. *in primo Tomo Conciliorum.*

c *Nicholaus* 1. *in Epist. ad Michael. Imp.*

The Bishop of *Rome* tooke not vpon him to do any thing of himselfe, but called a Synode of the Bishops of the West, and by their aduice, with the concurrence of the Emperour, directed certaine out of the West, authorized by the whole Synode, to goe, and sit in Councell with the Bishops of those parts: who together with them examining the crimes obiected to *Polychronius*, and finding that he was truly charged with them, deposed him from his Bishoprique; so that the Bishop of *Rome* did not depose him of himselfe, but onely called a Synode, (as in such a case it was fit he should) and the Synode deposed him; but in truth it is rather to be thought, that the acts of the Councell vnder *Sixtus* the third, are counterfeit, and of no credite. For [d] *Binnius* sheweth, that there was no such *Polychronius* Bishop of *Hierusalem* in those times, and bringeth many other reasons to disproue the acts of this supposed Councell,

d *Binnius. annot. in illud Concil.*

cell, beſides that the abſurditie in the proceedings bewrayeth them to be counterfeit. For what can bee more abſurd, then that the accuſer of *Polychronius*, making good his accuſation, ſhould bee condemned for accuſing him, and hee firſt condemned; and then preſently vpon ſlender or no reaſons at all, reſtored againe? Thus we ſee how little our Aduerſaries are able to ſay for proofe of the Popes vniuerſall power, exerciſed in depoſing Biſhops. Wherefore let vs now proceede to ſee if they can produce any better proofes of his reſtoring ſuch as were depoſed by others.

The firſt example they bring, is the reſtitutiō of [e] *Baſilides*, a Biſhop in *Spaine*, but they know right wel that the Biſhop of *Rome* did not reſtore him to his Biſhoprique, & that therefore this allegation ſerueth to no purpoſe, but to abuſe the Reader, & to make him beleeue they ſay ſomthing, when they ſay nothing. The circūſtances of the matter concerning *Baſilides*, are theſe, layed downe in *Cyprians* Epiſtles. *Baſilides* & *Martialis*, had defiled themſelues with ſome kind of conſenting to idolatry, & therefore the Clergy and people ſubiect to them, fearefull to communicate with them, write to *Cyprian*, and the *African* Biſhops, for counſaile and helpe: they returne anſwer, that they are to withdraw themſelues from them, and to proceede to the election of new Biſhops.

[e] *Cyprian. lib. 1. Epiſt. 4.*

Heereupon the Biſhops of the prouince comming to the place where *Baſilides* was Biſhop, *Sabinus* was elected Biſhop by the Clergy, & people, with the liking of al the Biſhops of the prouince, & ordained by them Biſhop in the place of *Baſilides*. After this *Baſilides* goeth to *Rome*, miſ-informeth *Stephen* the Biſhop, and ſeeketh by his meanes, & the help of his Biſhops to recouer his place againe: they communicate with him; & ſo as much as in them lyeth, reſtore him to his former place & dignity againe. *Cyprian* condemneth the falſe and ill dealing of *Baſilides*, and reproueth alſo the negligence of *Stephen*, that ſuffered himſelfe ſo eaſily to bee miſled, taxing him, and ſuch as conſented with him, for communicating with ſuch wicked ones; and ſhewing, that they are partakers of their ſins, and that they violate the Canon of the Church, which the Biſhops of *Africa*, and all the Biſhops of the world, yea euen *Cornelius* the predeceſſour of this *Stephen*, had conſented on: to wit, that men ſo defiled with idolatry as *Martialis* and *Baſilides* were, ſhould be receiued to penitency, but be kept from al Eccleſiaſticall honour.

Heereupon he exhorteth the brethren not to be moued, if in theſe laſt times the faith of ſome men bee ſhaken, or the feare of GOD faile in them, or if they hold not peaceable concord with their brethren: for that both the Apoſtle, and the Lord himſelfe foretold, that ſuch thinges ſhould come to paſſe in the laſt times, the world decaying, & Antichriſts reuelatiō drawing on; & cōforteth & encourageth them to hold on in the good courſe they were in, for that the vigor of the Goſpel, & the ſtrength

of

of Christian vertue, & faith, do not so wholly fal away in these last times, ne *non superſit portio Sacerdotũ, quæ minimè ad has rerum ruinas & fidei naufragia ſuccũbat*: that is, that no remnant of Bishops should remaine which should no way sinke or fall in these ouerthrowes of things, & shipwracks of faith, but ful of the feare of God, couragiously maintaine the honor of the diuine maiesty, and the dignity of the Priests. *We know*, saith he, *that when the rest yeelded*, Mattathias *valiantly maintained the law of God; and that* Elias *stood & stroue zealously, when others forsooke the law of his God. Wherefore let them that either violate the Canons, or treacherously behaue themselues, looke to it: there are many, who still retaine a sincere and good minde. What if some haue fallen away from the faith? doth their infidelity make the truth of God of none effect? God forbid. For God is true, and euery man a lyer; and if euery man be a lyer, and God onely true, what should the seruants & Priests of God do, but leaue the errours and lyes of men, and keepe the precepts of the Lord, and remaine in the truth of God? Wherefore, though some of our Brethren, and Colleagues thinke, they may neglect the discipline of God, and rashly communicate with Basilides and Martialis; let it not trouble nor shake our faith, seeing the Spirit of God threatneth such in the Psalmes, saying, Thou hast hated discipline, and cast my words behinde thy backe. If thou sawest a thiefe, thou ranneſt with him, and hadst thy portion with the adulterers.*

These are the circumstances of *Cyprians* Epistle, wherein hee relateth the proceedings against *Basilides* and *Martialis*, and the inconsiderate course holde by the Bishop of *Rome*, hastily communicating with them. whereby we may see how wisely and aduisedly our Aduersaries alledge *Cyprian* to proue, that in ancient times, the Bishops of *Rome* had power to restore such Bishops to their places againe, as were deposed by other. For thus they must reason from this place of *Cyprian*, if they will make any vse of it: *Basilides* and *Martialis* iustly put from their office and dignity, and others rightly and in due sort chosen into their places, flye to *Stephen*, Bishop of *Rome*, hoping by his meanes to procure the reuersing of that which was done against them. Hee, with such as adhered to him, though they could not restore them to their places, yet communicated with them.

Cyprian offended heerewith, chargeth *Basilides* and *Martialis* with execrable wickednesse, for abusing *Stephen*, and mis-informing him: and *Stephen* with intollerable negligence, and vnexcuseable violation of the Canons, for partaking with such wicked persons; and wisheth all his Brethren and colleagues constantly to hold on their course against them, notwithstanding the failing of *Stephen* and his adherents. Therefore the ancient Bishops of *Rome* restored to their places such as were iudicially deposed by others; and were thought by the Fathers to haue power and authority so to do. Which kinde of reasoning I thinke the Reader will not much like of.

Touching

Touching *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Paule* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra*, deposed by the Orientall Synode, their complaints to the Bishop of *Rome*, and other Bishops of the West, of the wrongs done vnto them; how the Bishop of *Rome* with the Westerne Bishops sought to releeue them, with how ill successe, and how little this instance serueth to proue the thinge in question, I haue shewed [f] before: as likewise *Theodorets* desiring *Leo*, with his Westerne Synodes to take knowledge of his cause. So that it is a vaine bragge of *Bellarmine*, that to these, and the like testimonies of Antiquity, nothing is, nor can be answered.

[f] *Supra, chap.* 35.

Chap. 38.

Of the weakenesse of such proofes of the supreme power of Popes, as are taken from their Lawes, Censures, Dispensations, and the Vicegerents they had in places farre remote from them.

HAVING examined the pretended proofes of the illimited vniuersality of the Popes authority and iurisdiction, taken from the power they are supposed to haue exercised in former times ouer other Bishops, by cõfirming, deposing, or restoring them; let vs come to their Lawes, Dispensations, and Censures, and see if from thence any thing may bee concluded. If they could as strongly proue, as they confidently vndertake, that Popes in ancient times made Lawes to binde the whole Christian Church, dispensed with such as were made by generall Councels, and censured all men as subiect to them; of necessity we must bee forced to acknowledge the fulnesse of all power to rest in the *Romane* Bishops. But their proofes are too weake to make vs beleeue any such thing.

For first, touching the decrees of Popes, they did not binde the whole Christian Church, but the Westerne Prouinces onely, that were subiect to them, as Patriarches of the West.

And secondly, they were not made by them, without the consent, and ioynt concurrence of the other Bishops of the West, assembled in Synodes, and sitting with them as their fellow Iudges, with equall power of defining and determining thinges concerning the state of the Church; as appeareth by the Decrees of [a] *Gregory* the first, who sitting in Councell with all the Bishops of the *Romane* Church, (the Deacons and inferiour Clergy-men standing before them) made Decrees, and confirmed them by their subscriptions, the rest of the Bishops and the Presbyters also, who sate in Councel with them, subscribing in the very same sort that *Gregory* did.

[a] *Gregor. li.* 4. *Epist. cap.* 88.

b Leo Epist. 1.

And of Decrees in such sort made, *Leo* speaketh, when he[b] requireth the Bishops of *Campania*, *Picene*, and *Thuscia*, to keepe and obserue the Decretall constitutions of *Innocentius*, and all other his predecessours, which they had ordained as well touching Ecclesiasticall orders, as the Discipline of the Canons, or otherwise to looke for no fauour or pardon. And in the very same sort are the words of [c] *Hilarius* to be vnderstood, when hee saith: That no man may violate either the diuine constitutions, or the Decrees of the Apostolique See, without danger of losing his place. For this hee spake sitting as President in a Councell of Bishops assembled at *Rome*, of thinges decreed by Synodes of Bishops, wherein his predecessours were Presidents and moderators, as hee was now, but not absolute commanders.

c Citat. à Bellar. de Pont. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 19.

d Ibidem.

But [d] *Bellarmine* saith, that Pope *Anastasius* the yonger, in his Epistle to *Anastasius* the Emperour, willeth him not to resist the Apostolicall precepts, but obediently to performe what by the Church of *Rome* and Apostolicall authority shall bee prescribed vnto him, if hee desire to hold communion with the same holy Church of GOD, which is his head. Therefore the Pope had power to command and giue lawes to the Emperour, and consequently had an absolute supreme authority in the Church.

Surely this allegation of the Cardinall is like the rest. For *Anastasius* doth not speake in any such peremptory and threatning manner to the Emperour, but acknowledging his breast to bee a Sanctuary of happinesse, and that hee is Gods Vicar on earth, telleth him in modest and humble sort, that hee hopeth he will not suffer the insolency of those of *Constantinople*, proudly to resist against the Euangelicall and Apostolicall precepts in the cause of *Acatius*, but that hee will force them to performe & do what is fit; & in like humble sort beseecheth him, when he shall vnderstand the cause of them of *Alexandria*, to force them to returne to the vnity of the Church.

The last instance of the Popes Law-giuing power, brought by *Bellarmine*, is the priuiledge granted to the Monastery of Saint *Medardus*, by [e] *Gregory* the first; in the end whereof we finde these words: *Whatsoeuer Kings, Bishops, Iudges, or secular persons, shal violate the Decrees of this Apostolicall authority, and our commandement, shall bee depriued of their honour, driuen from the society of Christians, put from the communion of the Lords body and blood, and subiected to Anathema, and all the wofull curses that Infidels and Heretikes haue bene subiect to, from the beginning of the world, to this present time.*

e Ad finem epist. Gregorij.

A strong confirmatiō of the priuiledges granted is found in these words, but a weake confirmation of the thing in question: for the priuiledges were granted & confirmed in this sort, not by *Gregory* alone out of the fulnesse of his power, but by the consenting voyce of all the Bishops of

of *Italy* and *France*, by the authority of the Senate of *Rome*, by *Theodoricus* the King, and *Brunichildis* the Queene. So that from hence no proofe possibly can be drawne of the Popes absolute power of making lawes by himselfe alone, to binde any part of the Christian Church, much lesse the whole Christian world.

Wherefore let vs passe from the Popes power of making lawes, to see by what right they claime authority to dispense with the lawes of the Church, and the Canons of generall Councels.

The first that is alledged to haue dispensed with the Canons of Councels, is [f] *Gelasius*. But this allegation is idle, and to no purpose. For first, it cannot be proued that by dispensing he sought to free any from the necessity of doing that the strictnesse of the Canon required, but those onely that were subiect to him as Patriarch of the West. f *Gelas. epist. 1.*

And secondly, hee did not dispense but vpon very vrgent cause, and driuen by necessity so to doe; and yet not of himselfe alone, but *with the* concurrence of other Bishops of the West, assembled in Synode.

The other instances that are brought of the dispensations of [g] *Gregory* the first, are nothing else but the instances of the ill consciences of them that bring them. For *Gregory* did not dispense with the *English*, to marry within the degrees prohibited (as the Cardinall vntruly reporteth) but onely aduised *Austine*, not to put them that were newly conuerted, from such wiues as they had marryed within some of the degrees prohibited, in the time of their infidelity, lest hee might seeme to punish them for faults committed in the daies of their ignorance, and to discourage other from becomming Christians. g *Gregor. lib. 12. Epist. 31.*

Neither did he dispense with them of *Sicilia*, for the not keeping of the canon of the *Nicene* councell, requiring prouinciall Synodes to be holden twice euery yeare; but whereas they held not such Councels so much as once in the yeare, he commanded that they should not faile to meet in Councell once at the least euery yeare; seeing the Canons require that these meetings should be twice.

These truly are very weake and insufficient proofes of the Papall power in dispensing with the lawes of the Church, and the canons of generall Councels: and yet these are the best, nay these are all that they can make shew to bring out of all Antiquity.

Let vs therefore proceede to the censures that the ancient Bishops of *Rome* are reported to haue exercised, and see if they proue the vniuersality of power now claimed. The first allegation to this purpose, is the intent of [h] *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, resoluing to haue reiected from his cõmunion all the Churches of *Asia*, for keeping the feast of *Easter* on the same day the *Iewes* did. For, saith [i] *Bellarmine*, howsoeuer *Irenæus* and others disswaded him from executing that hee intended, yet it appeareth his obseruation h *Euseb histor. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 23.* i *Bellar. de Pont. li. 2. cap. 19.*

was right, in that it was afterwards confirmed by the *Nicene* Councell, and that he had authority ouer all, in that hee went about to excommunicate those of *Asia* for dissenting from him in the obseruation of that Feast, and keeping it with the *Iewes*, though hee were content, for the auoiding of some inconueniencies, at the intreaty of *Irenæus* to forbeare proceeding against them.

For answer heereunto we must obserue, that by reason of the custome of those of *Asia*, that kept the feast of *Easter* precisely at the same time the *Iewes* did, there was moued not a little contention throughout the whole world, and many Synods in euery place called. For [k] in *Palestina* a Synode was holden, whereof *Theophilus* of *Cæsarea* and *Narcissus* of *Hierusalem*, were Presidents; another at *Rome*, whereof *Victor* was President; and another, of the Bishops of *Pontus*, whereof *Palmas* as most ancient, was President: and in sundry other places, other Synodes were called.

k *Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 5. cap. 21. 22. 23.*

But the Synode of the Bishops in *Asia*, whereof *Polycrates* was President, stiffely maintained the ancient custome that had long preuailed in those parts, & wrote an Epistle to *Victor*, and those of the *Romane* Church, to iustifie themselues in this behalfe. *Victor* and his Bishops much offended with this their pertinacy (as they construed it) would for this cause, haue reiected them from their communion. But *Ireneus*, with some other of a milder spirit, and better temper, staied them from such rash and violent proceedings; and *Irenæus* wrote his letters to this purpose to the Bishop of *Rome*, & other his colleagues: so that heere is nothing to proue the power of the Pope. For what was resolued on, both touching the right of the obseruation, & the proceedings against thē that disliked it, was resolued by the Synodes of Bishops, and not by *Victor* alone: as likewise *Ireneus* was not alone, but many other ioyned with him in the reprehension of *Victor*, whose number and multitude preuailed much with him, & stayed his proceedings as well as the perswasions of *Ireneus*. And yet did not the Westerne Bishops take vpon them to excommunicate those of *Asia*, as the Cardinall vntruly affirmeth, but only to reiect them from their communion & fellowship; there being a very great difference betweene excōmunication properly so named, and the reiecting of men from our communion or fellowship. For excommunication properly so named, is a resolution to deny the Sacraments to such as are to receiue them of vs, the abandoning of all fellowship with them, and the requiring and commanding of others to refraine from all communicating with them in priuate or publike; & argueth him that so excōmunicateth, to be superior in authority, and greater in place then they are whom hee excommunicateth. But reiecting from communion, or refusing to communicate with men, may be found among them that are equall. So [l] *Cyril* wrote to *Nestorius*, that if he reuoked not certaine dangerous positions, hee would communicate no longer with him.

l *Act. Concil. Ephes. tom. 1. cap. 14.*

So

So the [m] Biſhops of the Eaſt told *Iulius* Biſhop of *Rome*, that if he communicated with *Athanaſius*, they would no longer communicate with him. And ſuch was the proceeding that *Victor* inrended againſt thoſe of *Aſia*; and therefore proueth not that hee was their ſuperiour, or had a commanding authority ouer them. And yet ſurely, howſoeuer it be true, that his manner of obſeruation was better then theirs, whom he diſliked, his intention vpon ſuch an occaſiō to haue made a breach in the Chriſtian Churches, was iuſtly with ſome bitterneſſe reprehended by *Irenæus*, and his brethren. For howſoeuer *Bellarmine* would make the Reader beleeue by alledging that of [n] *Blaſtus*, who vrged the keeping of *Eaſter* with the *Iewes*, and ſought to bring in *Iudaiſme*, that *Victor* had reaſon to bee violent as he was, as perceiuing ſome ill meaning in them that helde the Iewiſh obſeruation; yet farre be it from vs to thinke that *Polycarpus*, and ſo many worthy and holy men, as anciently kept that obſeruation, were any way inclinable to *Iudaiſme*. But this differēce may be thought to haue growne not from any diuerſity of Iudgement touching matters of faith, but for that in ſome places they thought it fit to keepe this feaſt on the Lords day, for very important reaſons mouing them ſo to do; and in other places, though they could haue bene cōtent to haue done ſo likewiſe vpon the ſame reaſons, yet kept they it after the old manner, for the auoyding of the ſcandall of the *Iewes*, for the eaſier winning of them that were not yet gained to Chriſtianity, & the holding of them in the loue & liking of Chriſtian profeſſion, that were already of *Iewes* become Chriſtians. The next inſtance is of [o] *Innocētius* the firſt, who after that he heard of the death of *Chryſoſtome*, whom *Theophilus* had depoſed, & the Emperour *Arcadius* baniſhed, excommunicated the Emperour & Empreſſe, & anathematized *Theophilus* in ſuch ſort that he ſhould vtterly be excluded, & haue no place among Chriſtians. But this report may very iuſtly bee doubted of, the credit thereof reſting onely on the authority of *Nicephorus*. Seeing the ancient [p] *Hiſtorians*, that report the proceedings of *Theophilus* and *Arcadius* againſt *Chryſoſtome*, and his complaints to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and other Biſhops of the Weſt, of the wronges that had bene done vnto him, report alſo the anſwer of the *Romane* Biſhop to haue bene, that he greatly pitty'd his caſe, but ſaw no hope of remedy, nor meanes to releeue him, vnleſſe a generall Councell might bee called, to which purpoſe he would do his beſt with the Emperour; and that *Chryſoſtome* himſelfe wiſhed him not to proceede ſo farre as to reiect them from his communion that were his aduerſaries, for feare of further inconueniences; this being the contention almoſt of the whole world, and the Churches by occaſion heereof euery where brought vpon their knees. Yea all ancient *Hiſtorians* are ſilent, and ſay nothing of this excommunication, but report the * repulſe, which the meſſengers, the *Romane* Biſhop ſent to the Emperour to procure a Councell, receiued, and

m *Sozom. lib 3. cap. 7.*

n *Tertullian. de preſcript. in fine.*

o *Nicephorus. lib. 13. cap. 34.*

p *Vide ſupra 4. cap. 35.*

* *Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 18.*

q *Theodoret* speaking of the iniury done to *Chrysostome*, hath these words. *Alias virtutes authorum illius reuereri cogor; qua de causa animatur, vt ipsorum nomina occultem. lib. 5. hist. Eccl. cap. 34.*

r *Hierome* wrote sundry Epistles to *Theophilus*, full of all due speeche, and turned his 3. Paschall books into Latine. *Vide epistolas Hieron. Tom. 2.*

[*Rhegino lib. 2. Otho. Frisingens. lib. 6. cap. 3. Sigibert. in Chronico. an. 862.*

q *Theophilus* (for ought I know) was euer holden a catholicke Bishop, both by r *Hierome* & others to his dying day; notwithstanding these quarrels betweene him and *Chrysostome*. The excommunication of *Leo* the Emperour, by *Gregory* the third, whereof *Zonaras* writeth in the life of *Leo Isaurius* (which is a third instance of Papall censures, against the great men of the world) proueth not the matter in question: For *Gregory* did not anathematize *Leo* of himselfe alone, but with a Synode of Bishops; neither was he able by his owne authority to stay the Tribute that was wont to be payd to the Emperour, but by his sollicitation procured a confederacy of the *French* and *Germans* against the Emperours of *Constantinople*, and by their meanes staied the Tribute that was wont to be paid; whereupon the *Germanes* and *French* possessed *Rome*, and became Lords of it.

The last example is that of [*Nicholas* the first, excommunicating *Lotharius* King of *France*, and his concubine *Valdrada*, together with the Arch-bishops of *Coleyn* & *Treuers*. But the answer heereunto is easie. For first, this example proueth not the thing in question, to wit, that the Pope hath an vniuersall power ouer all the world, seeing all these were within the Patriarchship of the Bishop of *Rome*. And secondly we say, these circumstances of this proceeding are vntruly reported by *Bellarmine*. For this is the true report which wee finde in *Rhegino* and others. *Lotharius* king of *Lorrayne*, falling in loue with *Valdrada*, which had bene his concubine while he was yet a yong man in his fathers house, began to dislike *Thietberga* his wife.

Heereupon he laboureth with the Bishops of *Treuers* and *Coleyn*, to finde some meanes to put her away. They call a Synode, wherein *Thietberga* is charged to haue committed incest with her owne brother, and thereupon pronounced an vnfit wife for the King. The King thus freed from his wife, professeth hee cannot liue single; they pronounce it lawfull for him to marry another wife, and he taketh *Valdrada* to wife, whom he had formerly kept as his concubine. *Nicholas* the first, Bishop of *Rome*, hearing of this, sendeth into *France* to learne the certainty. The Legates hee sendeth, come to the King to expostulate the matter with him. The King answereth, that he did nothing but what the Bishops of his kingdome in a generall Councell had assured him was lawfull to bee done. Whereupon the Bishops of *Coleyn* and *Treuers* were sent for to *Rome*, and the Pope called a Councell, in which the opinions and proceedings of these Bishops were condemned, and they degraded by all the Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons that were assembled in Councel.

In all which narration there is no circumstance found, that any way proueth the Pope to haue the fulnesse of all Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction; but the contrary rather may from hence be concluded, because nothing is done against these two Bishops, but by a Synode of Bishops assembled by

by their owne Patriarch.

But, saith *Bellarmine*, Pope *Nicholas* excommunicated the King, and *Valdrada* his supposed wife; therefore he is vniuersall Bishop. The former part of this saying is most vntrue; for the Pope did not excommunicate the King, but *Valdrada* onely. And I thinke the excommunicating of one silly harlot, that had so grieuously scandalized the Church of God, and whose cause was iudged before in a Synode, beeing brought thither, and there examined, by reason of the vniust proceedings of the Bishops of *Coleyn* and *Treuers*, against a lawfull Queene, in fauour of her, will neuer by any good consequence proue the Pope to bee vniuersall Bishop; and yet these are all the proofes the Cardinall can bring from the censures the ancient Bishops of *Rome* are reported to haue vsed: and therefore he [t] proceedeth to shew and demonstrate the Amplitude of the Popes illimited power and iurisdiction by the Vicegerents hee appointed in all partes of the Christian world, that were farre remote from him, to doe things in his name, and by his authority.

[t] *De Pontif. li. 2. cap. 20.*

But for answer hereunto, we say, that neither this Cardinall, nor any other can proue, that the Bishops of *Rome* had any such Vicars, Vicegerents, or Substitutes, but onely within the compasse of their owne Patriarchships: and that therefore from the hauing of them, nothing can be inferred for confirmation of their illimited power and authority.

So *Leo* (as we reade in his [u] Epistles) constituted *Anastasius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, his Vicegerent for the parts thereabouts, as other his predecessours had done former Bishops of that Church. Which causing great resort thither vpon diuers occasions, may bee thought to haue bene the reason why the Councell of [x] *Sardica* prouideth that the Clergy-men of other churches shall not make too long stay at *Thessalonica*.

[u] *Leo Epist. 84.*

[x] *Canone 20.*

So the same [y] *Leo* made *Potentius* the Bishop his Vicegerēt in the parts of *Africa*; [z] *Hormisda*, *Sallustius* Bishop of *Hispalis*, in *Bætica* and *Lusitania*; and [a] *Gregory*, *Virgilius* Bishop of *Arle*, in the regions of *France*: all these places being within the compasse of the Patriarchship of *Rome*, as [b] *Cusanus* sheweth. And the same may be sayd of the Bishop of *Iustiniana* the first, who was appointed the Bishop of *Romes* Vicegerent in those parts, vpon signification of the [c] Emperours will and desire that it should be so.

[y] *Epist. 87.*
[z] *Hormisd. in ep. ad Salust.*
[a] *Gregor. lib. 4. ep. 32.*
[b] *Cusan. lib. 2. concord. cathol. cap. 7 ex Dist. 12. cap. Quis nesciat. & dist. 43. cap. Iuxta.*
[c] *Iustinian. Authent. collat. 9. Tit. 6 siue Nouella Const. 131.*

Neither doth the Cardinall proue any other thing, whatsoeuer he maketh shew of. For though *Cyril*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, were the Vicegerent of *Celestinus*, in the cause of *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, yet was he not his Vicegerent in such sort as they were that were within his own Patriarchship, as if he had had none authority of his own but that

onely which *Celestinus* gaue vnto him. But [d] *Celestinus* hauing bene informed by *Cyril* of the impieties of *Nestorius*, and hauing in his Synodes of the West condemned the same, ioyned his authority with the authority of *Cyril*, that so he might proceed against him, not onely as of himselfe, and out of the iudgements of his owne Bishops, but also out of the consenting resolutions of them of the West.

d *Celest. ep. ad Cyril. Act Concil. Ephes. tom. 1. cap. 16. Cyril. epist. ad Nestorium Ibid cap. 14.*

And therefore [e] *Enagrius* sheweth, that at or before the time appointed by the Emperour, *Nestorius* and *Cyril* came to *Ephesus*, where a Councell was to be holden; and that *Iohn* of *Antioche* with his Bishops, being not come, after fifteene dayes stay, *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria*, the greatest of all the Bishops that were present (who also supplied the place of *Celestinus*) with the rest of the Bishops thought good to send for *Nestorius*, and to require him to appeare in the Synode, to answer to the crimes obiected to him. Whereby it is euident, that (*Nestorius* being to be iudged in a generall Councell) *Cyril* being the greatest of the Bishops that were present, (the Bishop of *Rome* neither comming nor sending at the first) was in his owne right [f] President of that Assembly. But the Bishop of *Rome*, who could not come, (but hauing assembled his Bishops in the West, had iudged and condemned him) ioyned his authority with *Cyril*, the principall of the Bishops that were present, that so nothing might bee wanting to the perfection of a generall Councell. So that it is most certaine, that *Cyril* was president of the Councell of *Ephesus*, not as a Vicegerent onely to the Bishop of *Rome*, but in his owne right, though hee had the authority, direction, and consenting concurrence of the Bishop of *Rome*, and all the Westerne Bishops ioyned with the power and authority, which he and the rest of the Bishops present had of themselues.

e *Enagr. lib. 1 cap. 4.*

f *Relat. sanctæ Synodi ad pientiss. Imp inter Epist. Synodales vocat Cyrillum caput congregationum Episcoporum*

And therefore [g] *Leo* saith in expresse wordes, that *Cyril* was President of the Councell of *Ephesus*, as likewise [h] *Photius* and others affirme.

g *Leo Epist. 47.*
h *Photius, de 7. Synodis.*

The same answer may serue for *Acacius*. For [i] hee was not Vicegerent of the Bishop of *Rome*, in hearing and determining the cause of *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* (who was an *Eutychian* Heretique) as hauing none authority of his owne; but there was a ioynt concurrence of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Bishop of *Constantinople*, the later hauing besides his owne right and interest, the full power and authority of the other; and being likewise to vse the helpe of the Emperour for the reducing of the Church of *Alexandria*, to the vnity of the faith againe; in which businesse he failed: for though at first hee condemned *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, yet afterwards he was content to communicate with him. For which cause he was iustly reprehended as not answering the trust that was reposed in him, and as being a fauourer of heretiques and so in a sort an heretique himselfe.

i *Epist. 13. Gelasij ad Episc. Dardan.*

To

To these allegations which we haue already heard, [k] *Harding* in his answer to Bishop *Iewels* challenge addeth another, of a Bishop of *Alexandria* being Vicegerent to the Bishop of *Rome*, out of the Epistle of *Bonifacius* the second, to *Eulalius* or *Eulabius*. But [l] *Bellarmine* refuteth that Epistle, and sheweth that it is counterfeit, and that there neuer was any such *Eulabius*, to whom *Bonifacius* might write; and therefore we will no longer insist vpon the examination of the same, but proceed to the proofes, which our Aduersaries bring from appeales made to *Rome*.

k *Apud. Iuell.* pag. 277.

l *De Pontif. lib. 2. cap 25.*

CHAP. 39.
Of Appeales to Rome.

FOr clearing of the matter of Appeales, we must obserue, that they are of three sorts: Of lay-men, of inferiour clergy-men, and of Bishops. Of the appeales of Lay-men there is no mention in all Antiquitie: and yet now the Bishops of *Rome* reserue all the greater causes euen concerning the Laity to themselues alone, forbidding the ordinarie guides of the Church to intermeddle with them: and very ordinarily admit appeales of Lay-men to the infinite vexation of men, and the great hinderance of the course of all Iustice. Whereas it is most wisely and rightly ordered, each Bishop hauing his portion of the flocke of Christ committed to him, as [a] *Cyprian* obserueth, that they that are committed to their charge should not be permitted to runne hither and thither, but be iudged there, where the things, for which they are called in question, were done, and where the accusers and witnesses may bee present.

a *Cypr. lib. 1. epist. 3.*

Concerning inferiour Clergi-men the holy Bishops in the Councel of *Mileuis* speake in this sort: [b] *It hath seemed good vnto vs, that if Presbyters, Deacons, and other inferiour Clergimen complaine of the iudgements of their owne Bishops, the neighbour Bishops intreated by them, with the consent of their Bishops shall heare them and make an end; and if they thinke good to appeale from their iudgement, it shall not be lawfull for them to appeale, but onely to the Councels of Africa, or to the Primates of their owne Prouinces. And if they shall make their appeale beyond the seas, no man in Africa shall receiue them to the Communion.* This whole Councell *Innocentius* the first approued, as it appeareth by his [c] Epistle, which we find in the booke of the Epistles of S. *Augustine*.

b *Conc. Milenit. canone. 22.*

c *Epist. 93. inter Epistolas August.*

Hereunto, *Bellarmine* [d] saith, some answer with [e] *Gratian*: who addeth to the Canon of this Councell, forbidding appeales to be made beyond the seas, an exception, *vnlesse it be to the Sea Apostolique*. But this exception, saith *Bellarmine*, seemeth not fitting, seeing the *Africanes* made this decree, that men should not appeale beyond the seas, specially in respect of the

d *de Rom. Pont. lib. 2. cap 24.*

e *Gratian 2. quest. 6. cap. placuit.*

the church of *Rome*, and to restraine the making of appeales thither; there neuer being any appeale from the *Africans* to any other church but to the church of *Rome* onely.

f *Contron. 3. de prim. subiect. potest. eccles. quæst. 7. explicat. art.*

g *Canone 17.*

h *Bellar. vbi supra.*

And yet f *Stapleton* answereth the authoritie of this Councell as *Gratian* doth, and that out of *Iulius* and *Fabianus*, Bishops of *Rome*, as he saith. The Councell of g *Sardica* (saith *Bellarmine*) decreed, that the causes of Presbyters and inferiour clergy-men appealing from the iudgements of their owne Bishops, should be determined and ended by the neighbour-Bishops: and Pope *Zozimus*, as appeareth by the sixth Councell of *Carthage*, and the Epistle of the same Councell to *Bonifacius* the Pope, required the same canon to be reuiued. h *Augustine* likewise sheweth, that it was not lawfull for those of the clergie vnder the degree of Bishops, to appeale out of *Africa*. Neither was this the peculiar priuiledge of *Africa* alone. For the Councell of k *Chalcedon* ordained; that if a clergie-man haue ought against another of the clergy, the matter shall be heard by the Bishop, or by arbitrators chosen by both parties, with the Bishops allowance. But if he haue ought against his Bishop, he shall prosecute the same complaint in the Synode of the prouince.

i *August. Epist. 162.*

k *Canone 9.*

l *Iustin. Nouell. Const. 123. ca. 22*

This canon of the Councell of *Chalcedon* the l Emperour confirmed, saying, if any of the clergie complaine against his Bishop for any matter, let the cause be iudged by the Metropolitane, according to the sacred rules, and the imperiall lawes. And if any man appeale from his sentence, let the cause be brought to the Arch-bishop or Patriarch of that diocese, and let him according to the canons, make a finall end.

m *Vt patet ex Epist. Concilij Africani ad Cœlestinum.*

n *Vt supra.*

o *Epist. prædict. Concil. Afric. ca. 105.*

And yet, notwithstanding these canons aboue recited precisely forbidding inferior clergy-men to appeale to *Rome*, we finde that the m Bishops of *Rome* admitted the appeale of one *Apiarius*, iudged & condemned in *Africa*; which caused a great difference betweene the *Africans* and him. Wherupon the Fathers in the Councel of *Africa*, wish the Bishop of *Rome* (as it beseemeth him) to reiect & repel the wicked and vnlawful appeales, as well of Presbyters, as of other inferior clergy-men; seeing the ending and determining of their causes, is by no decree of any Synode denied to the church of *Africa*, & the *Nicene* canons most clearly commit both inferior clergy-men & Bishops to their own Metropolitanes. n *Bellarmine*, to cleare the Pope from intrusion, & to auoid the testimonies & authorities of the holy Bishops and Pastors of the church, which we haue produced to shew the vnlawfulnesse of appeales to *Rome*; answereth first: that though they of the inferior clergy were prohibited to appeale to the Pope, yet he was not forbidden to admit their appeales; which is a most strange answer. For if they in appealing did ill, and violated the canons, he could not but offend, in admitting such their appeales. And therfore o they of *Africa*, tell the Pope, that it beseemeth him to repell such appeales; and that to admit them, is to bring in the smoaky puffe of worldly pride into the church,

profes-

profeſſing, that the ending of ſuch matters belõgeth to the church of *Africa*; and complaining of intollerable wrongs and iniuries done vnto them, when ſuch appeales are admitted; whence it is conſequent, that the Pope may not admit them. Secondly he anſwereth, that the Biſhop of *Rome* admitted not the appeale of *Apiarius*, but heard his complaints, & commanded them of *Africa* more diligently to examine his cauſe: wheras it is moſt plaine and euident, that the Pope vpon his appeale, vnaduiſedly receiued him to his communion, and reſtored him to his degree and place againe.

Beſides that, to heare complaints, and to cõmand a reuiew, is in the iudgment of all men of ſence and vnderſtanding, a kind of admitting of an appeale; ſeeing no ſuch things can be done but by him that hath power to iudge of their iudgement, whom he commandeth to reuiew & reëxamine that they haue formerly iudged. Concerning Biſhops, the [p] Councell of *Chalcedon* decreed, that if a Biſhop haue ought againſt the Metropolitane, he ſhall go to the Primate of the dioceſe, or to the Sea of the princely city of *Conſtantinople*, that there the matter may be examined and heard. And the [q] Emperour confirming the ſame canon, decreed, that if the Biſhops of one Synode haue any matter of variance among themſelues, either for Eccleſiaſticall right, or any other occaſions; firſt the Metropolitane & the other Biſhops of the Synode ſhall examine and determine the cauſe; and if either part diſlike the iudgement, then the Patriarch of that dioceſe ſhall giue them audience according to the Eccleſiaſticall Canons, & Imperiall lawes, neither ſide hauing libertie to contradict his iudgement. This decree of the Emperour [r] *Gregory* the firſt reciteth, & alloweth; only adding, that if there be neither Metropolitane nor Patriarch, then the matter muſt be ended by the Apoſtolicke Sea, which is the head of all churches. So that euen in his iudgement, when there is a Patriarch, no Biſhop may appeale from him to *Rome*, but euery one is bound to ſtand to the end that he ſhall make. The 8 [ſ] generall Councell in like ſort appointeth Biſhops cõplaining of their Metropolitanes, to go to the Patriarch, that he may make an end; and requireth either ſide to ſtand to the end that he ſhall make, ſeeing the more honorable Biſhops out of ſundry Prouinces called together by him, ſit in councell with him. Yet [t] *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius*, & *Celeſtinus* Biſhops of *Rome*, by their agents in the Councels of *Africa* vrged & claimed a pretended right, to admit appeales of Biſhops frõ any part of the world, and from the Canons of the *Nicene* Councell. But the worthy Biſhops there preſent, looking into the decrees of that Councell, and finding no ſuch thing as was alleaged, leaſt haply thoſe coppies of the Councell which they had, might be defectiue, imperfect, or corrupted, ſent to the moſt reuerend Patriarches of *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, for the authenticall and indubitate coppies; but could find no ſuch thing in them, when they came, as was alleaged by the agents of the Biſhop of *Rome*. And therefore they wrote vnto him, and prayed him, no more ſo-

p *Canone 9.*

q *Nouel. 123. cap. 22.*

r *Greg. Epiſt. lib. 11. ep. 54.*

ſ *Canone 26.*

t *Epiſt. citatæ Concil. Afric. ſiue Carthag. 6.*

so easily to admit men comming to him with appeales and complaints, nor to receiue to his communion such as they should excommunicate, because the Nicene Councell hath forbidden all such admission, commiting not onely Lay-men and inferiour Clergi-men * but Bishops also to their owne Metropolitanes: &requiring that Bishops put from the communion in their owne Prouinces, should not be by other, hastily, sodainely, or vnduely restored to the communion. And farther, they besought the *Romane* Bishops to repell as beseemeth them, the wicked appeales of Presbyters, and other inferiour Clergi-men, because no decree of any Councell hath preiudiced the Church of *Africa* in this behalfe, but all the Fathers most prudently and iustly decreed and determined, that all matters should be ended in the place where they arise, seeing no Prouince can lacke the grace of the holy Ghost, whereby the Bishops of Christ may bee able both wisely to see, and constantly to maintaine the right; and especially for that it is lawfull for euery one, that shall mislike the iudgement of them that haue the hearing of his cause, to appeale to the Councels of his prouince, or to a generall Councell; vnlesse haply any man will thinke, that God will inspire the tryall of iustice into one man alone, & that he wil deny the same to a great number of Bishops assembled in Councel: &farther they adde, that these beyond-sea iudgements cannot be thought good, and of force, whereunto the persons of the witnesses necessary for the finding out of the truth, cannot be brought, either in respect of the infirmity of their sexe or age, or by reason of some other impediment. And thus wee see, that the Bishops of *Rome* could not demonstrate their right to receiue Appeales of Bishops, refusing to stand to the iudgements of their owne Metropolitanes and Synodes, out of the *Nicene* Councell, but failed in the issue.

* The Africanes though within the Patriarchship of Rome, disliked the Appeals of Bishops to *Rome*, because they might haue right against their Metropotanes, if they wronged them, in a generall Synode of Africk; wherin the Primate sate as president: for otherwise Bishops wronged by their Metropolitanes, might by the canons appeale to their owne Patriarch.

Yet may we not hereupon charge them with falsification or mistaking, say the worthy [u] Proctors of the *Romane* Church. But we must rather say with counterfeit *Athanasius*, in his Epistle to *Felix*, that the coppies of the *Nicene* Councell were corrupted; or in his Epistle to *Marke* the Bishop of *Rome*, that they were burned; then that we should yeeld any such thing. And yet surely if they were corrupted, they were not burned; and if they were burnt, they were not corrupted; and that the *Arrians* should corrupt the coppies of the *Nicene* Councel in other things, and leaue it inviolable in that part that toucheth them most, and condemneth their heresy, as strange and vnlikely. [x] *Bellarmine* saith, the *Magdeburgians* do laugh at the report of the burning of those coppies of the *Nicene* Councel that were kept at *Alexandria*, and seemeth to confesse they haue reason so to doe.

u *Bell. de Rom. Pont. lib. 2. cap. 25.*

x *Ibidem.*

For (saith he) the supposed burning happened in the time of *Constantius* the Emperour, when as *Athanasius* being driuen from thence, *George* the *Arrian* had gotten into his place (as *Athanasius* testifieth) in his Epi-

stle

stle *ad omnes Orthodoxos*; whereas it may be clearely proued out of the Chronicle of *Hierome*, that *Marke* the Pope was dead at that time. Besides, if *Marke* the Pope had sent the true coppies to *Alexandria* vpon this letter of *Athanasius* (as is pretended) why should not the copies that were found at *Rome*, and they that were brought from *Alexandria* into *Africa*, haue agreed together? How came it to passe that the canon vrged for the Popes aduantage in the Councels of *Africa*, was not found in the coppies sent from *Alexandria*? but that that coppy altogether agreed with the other that came from *Constantinople* and *Antioche*. *Bellarmine* therefore passing by these Epistles, as being of no great credit, alleageth sundrie things mentioned by the Ancient, as decreed by the Councell of *Nice*, which yet are not found in those twentie Canons now extant; to proue that it followeth not, that the Bishops of *Rome* falsified the Councell of *Nice*, because they could not finde the things they vrged in the copies sent out of the East, seeing they might be in some other, as well as those things that are mentioned by the Ancient, which are not found in these twentie canons.

The things alleaged by him out of the Ancient, as decreed by the *Nicene* Councell, which yet are not found in the canons now extant, are in number seuen, whereof some were neither decreed in that Councell, nor reported by the Ancient to haue bene decreed there. For [y] *Hierome* doth not say that the Councell of *Nice* reckoned the booke of *Iudith* among the bookes of the Canon, but onely that some sayd it did; but that it did not, Bishop *Lindan* bringeth very good reasons, as I haue [z] elsewhere shewed.

y *Hier. præfat. in Iudith.*

z Booke 4. Chap. 23.

The like may be sayd of the permitting of clergy-men hauing wiues, to liue with their wiues. For the [a] histories do not say, the Councell passed a decree to that purpose; but that whereas the Fathers of the Councell were about to haue made a decree for the restraining of clergy-men from Matrimoniall societie with their wiues, they were by *Paphnutius* a worthie Bishop and holy Confessor, dissuaded from so doing, and induced to leaue it free as they found it. The obseruation of the feast of Easter vpon the Lords day, is the third instance giuen by the Cardinall. But if *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius* and *Cœlestinus* could haue brought as good proofe, that the decree they vrged was passed in the Councell of *Nice*, as may be brought for the decree touching the keeping of Easter onely on the Lords day, they had neuer bene resisted, though they could not haue found it in the canons. For the order that the Councell tooke for vniformitie in the keeping of this feast, is mentioned in the Epistle of the Councell to the churches of *Ægypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*; and all histories and writers do agree on it.

a *Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 8.*

Touching the hauing of two Bishops in one city, which [b] *Augustine* saith, *Valerius* his predecessor knew not to be forbidden by the Councell of

b *August. epist. 110.*

of *Nice*, when he caused him to be ordained Bishop, and to sit together with him, while he yet liued; it is strange that *Bellarmine* should deny it to be found among the twenty Canons we speake of, when as in the eighth Canon it is expressely prouided, that if a *Nouatian* Bishop returne to the vnitie of the church in any city where there is a Catholique Bishop alreadie, the Catholique Bishop shall looke out for him some place, in his Diocese, that he may be a Chorepiscopus, or shall appoint him to be a Presbyter; that both hee may remaine in the clergie, and that yet there may not seeme to be two Bishops in one citie.

That *Atticus* in the end of the Councell of *Chalcedon* saith, the manner of writing those letters, that were called *Litteræ formatæ*, was deuised in the Councell of *Nice*, no way proueth the thing in question. For we inquire not, what was there deuised, but what was there decreed.

c *Canone* 14.

Lastly, that which the [c] Councell of *Africa* hath, as out of the Councell of *Nice*, that none should celebrate the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, but such as are fasting; and [d] *Ambrose*, that none should be taken into the clergie that haue beene twise maried, might by them be taken vpon vncertaine report, as that touching the booke of *Iudith* was by *Hierome*.

d *Ambros epist.* 82.

But to what purpose doth *Bellarmine* insist vpon these allegations? and why doth he so carefully labour to shew that all the decrees of the *Nicene* Councell, are not comprised within the twentie Canons now extant? Is it because he would thereby make vs thinke, the *Nicene* Councell did decree any such thing concerning appeales, as was alleaged in the Councell of *Africa* by the Popes Agents? Surely no. For he professeth, he thinketh it very probable, that the pretended Canons were neuer made by the *Nicene* Councell, but that they were the Canons of the Councell of *Sardica*; and his reason is, because these Canons are in the Councell of *Sardica*, in the very words alleaged. And it is not likely the Fathers in that Councell would make the same Canons, the Councell of *Nice* did, and no way expresse it, that they did not make new, but renewe such as were made before. Which if it be so, it must needes bee confessed, that the Bishops of *Rome* were deceiued and mistooke, when they alleaged Canons as made in the Councell of *Nice*, that were not made there but in the Councell of *Sardice*.

Yet *Bellarmine* is vnwilling to yeelde so much vnto the trueth, though it be verie mighty and readie to preuaile with him; and therefore rather then hee will confesse any errour or mistaking, hee affirmeth, that both these are to bee esteemed but as one Councell; because many of the same Bishops were present in them both, and confirmed the same faith.

A strange saying doubtlesse, and contradicted by himselfe. For in his

his booke [e] *De Concilijs*, sorting Councels into three rankes, accoun- e *De Concil. lib. 1. cap. 4. 5. & 7.*
ting some wholly reiected, some wholly approued, and some in part reiected, and in part approued; he reckoneth the Councell of *Nice* among those of the second sort, and the Councell of *Sardica* among those of the third sort: because consisting of three hundreth seuentie and sixe Bishops, the three hundreth Occidentall Bishops confirmed the Catholique faith; and they of the East diuiding themselues from them, confirmed the heresie of the *Arrians:* whereas here he will haue it to bee the same with the Councell of *Nice*, for that it was a generall Councell approued, and not reckoned in number the second.

But let vs pardon them this errour and mistaking, and see what it was the Councell of *Sardica* decreed. The words of the Fathers of the Councell are these: [f] *It hath seemed good vnto vs, that if a Bishop shall bee accused, and the Bishops of the same region shall iudge him and degrade him; if hee that is so deposed or degraded, shall appeale and flie to the Bishop of* Rome, *and desire to be heard, if he thinke good to renew the iudgement, let him be pleased to write to the Bishops that are in the next Prouince, that they may diligently enquire into things, and iudge according to truth and equitie. But if he that desireth to haue his cause heard againe, shall moue the Bishop of* Rome *to send a Presbyter from his owne side, let him do what he thinketh fit. And if he shall thinke fit to send some, who being present with the Bishops may iudge together with them, hauing his authoritie from whom they are sent, let him doe as hee pleaseth. And if he thinke the Bishops to be sufficient to put an ende to the matter, let him vse his owne discretion.* f *Concil. Sardic. Canone 3. & 7.*

For the clearing of this matter, and that we may the better discerne the force of this decree; first, we must marke that it was made after the diuision and parting of the Bishops of the East from them of the West, and so by the Westerne Bishops alone, and, as it may seeme, respectiuely to the Prouinces of the West, ouer which the Bishop of *Rome* was Patriarche.

Secondly, that the *Africans* tooke no notice of it; and yet there were Bishops of *Africa* at the Councell, so that in likeli-hood this decree was not confirmed by subsequent acceptation, execution, and practise.

Thirdly, that the Councell of *Chalcedon*, which was absolutely Oecumenicall, and wholly approued, and so of greater authoritie then this, that was not an approued Generall Councell, but in a sort onely, [g] decreeth the contrarie, and referreth the finall determination of all causes of Bishops, to the Primate or Patriarche; which the Emperour also confirmeth, and will haue no man to haue power to contradict the ende which the Primate or Patriarche shall make. g *Canone 9.*

Lastly, that this Canon maketh rather against them that alleage it, then any way for them.

For

For by this Canon all matters must be ended at home, or in the next Prouince to that wherein they arise; and the Pope may not call matters to *Rome* there to be heard, but is onely permitted in some cases to send a Presbyter hauing his authoritie, and to put him in commission with the Bishops of the Prouince, that so he and they ioyntly may reexamine things formerly iudged. If this Canon were now obserued, I thinke, there would not be so great exception taken to the court of *Rome*, in respect of appeales, as now there is.

h *Bernard. lib. 3. de considerat. ad Eugenium.*

h *Quousque* (saith Saint *Bernard* to *Eugenius*) *non euigilat consideratio tua ad tantam appellationum confusionem? Ambitio in Ecclesia per te regnare molitur. Praeter ius & fas, praeter morem & ordinem fiunt: repertum ad remedium, reperitur ad mortem. Antidotum versum est in venenum: murmur loquor & querimoniam communem Ecclesiarũ. Truncari se clamant & demembrari. Vel nulla, vel paucæ admodum sunt, quæ plagam istam aut non doleant, aut non timeant*; that is, How long will it be before thou awake to consider this so great confusion of appeales? Ambition striueth and seeketh busily to reigne in the Church by thy meanes. They are entred, prosecuted, and admitted, beside right and law, besides custome and order. That which was first found out for a remedie, is now found to be vnto death. I do but expresse the murmuring and common complaint of the churches. They cry out that they are mangled and dismembred, and there are few or none found that do not either alreadie grieue at this plague, or feare the smart of this euill. Yet would not the *Africans* admit the Canon of the Councell of *Sardica*, but willed the Pope to send no more any of his clerkes, to dispatch causes at any mans suite.

For that this was to bring in the smoakie puffe of worldly pride into the church, and in very earnest sort besought him not to be too easie in admitting any appeales brought from them. If within a little time after, the Bishops of *Rome* preuailed so farre, as that Bishops were suffered to appeale out of *Africa* to *Rome*, which was the thing claimed by *Zozimus*, but denied vnto him by the *Africans*; it is not to be maruailed at, seeing they still enlarged the extent of their power, till they had ouerthrowne the iurisdiction of all the Bishops of the West, and alienated the affections of all other from them. So that there was a schisme in the church, the other foure Patriarches deuiding themselues from the Bishop of *Rome*, and at their parting vsing these or the like words, as it is reported. i *Thy greatnesse we know, thy couetousnesse we cannot satisfie, thy encroaching we can no longer endure, liue by thy selfe.*

i *Gerson part. 4 serm. de pace & vnitate Græcorum, considerat. 6.*

But here we shall find a very great contrarietie of iudgement among the greatest *Rabbies* of the *Romish* church, touching these *Africans* that thus withstood the claimes of *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius* and *Celestinus*. For k *Harding* against Bishop *Iewels* challenge in the Article of the supremacy, saith, that the whole church of *Africa* withdrew it selfe from the church

k *Harding apud Iuell. pag. 220.*

of

of *Rome* by reaſon of this difference, through the enticement of *Aurelius* Archbiſhop of *Carthage*, and continued in ſchiſme by the ſpace of an hundreth yeares; during which time by Gods puniſhment, they were brought into miſerable captiuitie, by the barbarous and cruell *Vandales*, who were *Arrians*; till at length when it pleaſed almightie God of his goodneſſe to haue pity of his people of that prouince, he ſent them *Beliſarius*, that valiant Captaine, that vanquiſhed and deſtroyed the *Vandales*; and *Eulabius*, that godly Biſhop of *Carthage*, that brought home the *Africans* againe, and ioyned thoſe deuided members to the whole bodie of the Catholique church.

A publique inſtrument containing their ſubmiſſion, being made, and offered to *Bonifacius* the ſecond, by *Eulabius* in the name of the whole Prouince. Which was ioyfully receiued; and whereof *Bonifacius* writeth to *Eulabius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, deſiring him to giue thankes to God for the ſame.

But [l] *Bellarmine* proueth at large, that notwithſtanding this reſiſtance and oppoſition of the *Africans* againſt the claimes of *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius* and *Celeſtinus*, yet there neuer was any apparant breach betweene the *Romanes* and them. And for the Epiſtle of *Bonifacius* the ſecond to *Eulabius*, wherein he ſaith very harſhly (as [m] *Cuſanus* well noteth) that *Aurelius* ſometimes Biſhop of the Church of *Carthage*, with his colleagues began to waxe proude and inſolent againſt the Church of *Rome*, by the inſtigation of the diuell in the dayes of his predeceſſours, (ſo condemning *Auguſtine Alipius*, and two hundreth twentie fiue Biſhops more, aſet on by the diuell to reſiſt the claimes of his predeceſſors) and the Epiſtle of *Eulabius* Biſhop of *Carthage*, wherein he condemneth his predeceſſours, and ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Biſhop of *Rome*) he profeſſeth he greatly ſuſpecteth they are forged and counterfeit.

l *De Pont. l. 2. cap. 25.*

m *De Concord. Cathol. li. 2. c. 15. & lib. eod. c. 37.*

Firſt, becauſe that which is contained in them cannot ſtand with that which is moſt certainely proued and knowne to be true touching the amitie and friendſhip that was betweene the *Romane* Church and *Auguſtine*, *Eugenius*, *Fulgentius*, and other *Africans*, after the oppoſition about the matters of appeales.

Secondly, for that there was no ſuch *Eulabius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* at that time, to whom *Bonifacius* might write, as it appeareth by the Chronologie of *Nicephorus* of *Conſtantinople*.

Thirdly, for that *Bonifacius* in his Epiſtle doth ſignifie that hee wrote in the time of *Iuſtinus* the Emperour; whereas *Iuſtinus* was dead before *Bonifacius* was Biſhop, as appeareth by all hiſtories.

So that we may ſee what groſſe forgeries there haue beene in former times deuiſed onely to abuſe the ſimple, and make the world beleeue, that all Biſhops and Churches ſubiected themſelues vnto the Church of *Rome*.

And how shameleſſe a defender of Antichriſtian tyrannie Doctour *Harding* was, that could not eſcape this cenſure of *Bellarmine* the Ieſuite.

But it is the leſſe to be marvailed at, that he ſhould ſo harden his forehead, as not to bluſh when he brought into the light, and preſented to the view of the world ſuch rotten forgeries, that was not aſhamed to become a proctor of the filthie ſtewes. Wherefore, leauing him and his counterfeit and apocryphall ſtuffe, which hee ſought to vent vnto the world, let vs proceede from the appeales of Lay-men, inferiour Clergymen and Biſhops, to ſpeake of the appeales of the chiefe Primates or Patriarches.

For the clearing of which point, we muſt obſerue, that it is a rule in Church-gouernment, that the leſſer and inferior, may not iudge the greater and ſuperiour. And therefore the Biſhops of the Prouince, may not iudge the Metropolitane, but may onely declare in what caſes he is iudged, excommunicated, ſuſpended, or depoſed, *ipſo facto*, by the ſentence of the Canon it ſelfe, and by ſeparating themſelues from him, and withdrawing themſelues from being ſubiect to him, put him in a lott from his place, and depoſe him.

But otherwiſe, if any Biſhop haue ought againſt his Metropolitane, he muſt go (as I ſhewed before) to the Patriarche, and his Synode to complaine, as to fit and competent Iudges. For againſt the greater perſon we complaine to the greater Iudge we muſt flie.

If a Clerke haue ought againſt a Biſhop, the matter may bee iudged in the Synode of the Prouince; but if Clerke or Biſhop haue any complaint againſt the Metropolitane, the Canon of the Councell of *Chalcedon* prouideth (as I noted before) that they ſhall go to the Primate of the Dioceſe, or to the Sea of the Princely City of *Conſtantinople*.

From whence in like proportion it is conſequent, that though the Metropolitanes and Biſhops ſubiect to a Patriarche, may declare in what caſes he incurreth the ſentence of ſuſpenſion, excommunication, depoſition, or degradation, pronounced by the very Law and Canon it ſelfe, and ſo withdrawe themſelues from his obedience; yet may they not by way of authoritie proceede againſt him, but muſt flie to another Patriarche, who in a Synode conſiſting of his owne Biſhops, and the Biſhops of that Patriarche that is complained of, may iudge and cenſure him, ſo that hee bee a Patriarche, in order and honour greater then hee againſt whom they complaine; ſeeing the leſſer may not iudge the greater. And therefore [n] we finde that in the differences that fell out, betweene *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, and *Iohn* of *Antioche*, *Iohn* was blamed, for that being but Biſhop or Patriarche of the third Sea, hee tooke vpon him to iudge *Cyrill*, that was Patriarche of the ſecond; and hauing but a ſeue

n See theſe thing at large in the Epiſtle of *Nicholas* the firſt to *Michael* the Emperour, Epiſtle 8.

fewe Bishops ioyned with him, to iudge *Cyrill* with many.

So likewise *Dioscorus* was condemned, not onely for fauouring the wicked heresie of *Eutyches*, and his violent proceedings in the second Councell of *Ephesus*; but specially for that being but Bishop of the second Sea hee tooke vpon him to iudge *Leo*, that was Bishop of the first Sea.

And this was that which *Iulius* in his Epistle reported by *Athanasius* in his second Apologie, blamed in the Bishops of the East; namely, that they proceeded to the iudging of Bishops of such Seas, as were *Athanasius* of *Alexandria*, and *Paulus* of *Constantinople*, without making him first acquainted with the same; that so their proceedings might haue taken beginning from him, as beeing in order the first among the Patriarches.

And hence it was, that [o] *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Alexandria* taking himselfe to be Bishop of the second Sea, came to *Constantinople*, and there with other Bishops iudged *Chrysostome*; and that *Chrysostome*, as beeing by vertue of the Canon of the Councell of *Constantinople* made Bishop of the second Sea, and set in order and honour before the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioche*, would haue taken vpon him to iudge some matters concerning *Theophilus*: and in this sort did sundrie Bishops of *Rome* in Synodes consisting of their owne Bishops, and the Bishops subiect to the Patriarche of *Constantinople*, iudge and depose certaine Bishops of *Constantinople*.

[o] *Vide supra, chap. 35.*

Whereupon *Nicholas* the first in his [p] Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour sayth, that scarse any Bishop of *Constantinople* can be found that was orderly deposed and driuen from his Bishopricke, and whose deposition held as good and lawfull, without the consent of the Bishop of *Rome*; and therefore protesteth against the deposition of *Ignatius* as vnlawfull and vniust, for that he was condemned by his owne Bishops: comparing the Synode that deposed him to the second of *Ephesus*, and affirming, that it was much worse then that. For that there *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria* with his colleagues iudged *Flauianus*, though most violently and disorderedly.

[p] *Epist. 8.*

But here there was none of the Patriarches, nor any one Bishop of any the meanest citie, that was not his owne Suffragan.

By that which hath beene sayde it is euident, that the great Patriarches of the Christian Church, are not to be iudged but by some other of their owne ranke in order before them, assisted by inferiour Bishops; that the Bishop of *Rome*, as first in order among the Patriarches, assisted with his owne Bishops, and the Bishops of him that is thought faultie, may iudge any of the other Patriarches; that such as haue complaintes against them, may flie to him and the Synodes of Bishops

[q] *Gelas. epist. 13 ad Episc. Dardanie.*

subiect to him, and that the Patriarches themselues in their distresses may flie to him and such Synodes for relieſe and helpe, though of himselfe alone he haue no power to do any thing.

Wherefore let vs proceede from the distinction and explication of the diuerse and different kinds of appeales, lawfull, and vnlawfull, permitted and forbidden, to examine the allegations of our aduersaries, and to see whether from any allowed practise and approued course of appeales made to *Rome* in the Primitiue church, they can inferre the Vniuersality of Papall power and iurisdiction.

r *De Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 22.*

The first example that r *Bellarmine* bringeth, is very impertinent. For whereas he should proue, that the Bishops subiect to any of the foure Patriarches might lawfully appeale to *Rome*, and that there lay appeales from any part of the world thither; he bringeth forth the testimonie of

s *Leo. epist. 89. ad Episc. Gallia.*

s *Leo* telling the Bishops of *Fraunce*, subiect to him as Patriarche of the West, that of ancient time appeales were wont to be made out of *France* to *Rome*; which no way proueth the Bishop of *Rome* to be vniuersall Bishop, vnlesse we will acknowledge euerie one of the Patriarches to haue beene so too; it being lawfull to appeale vnto them, out of any the remotest Prouinces subiect to them.

t *Epiphan. heres. 42.*

From this ill-chosen example, he proceedeth to a worse of t *Marcion* the heretique, who beeing excommunicated by his owne Bishop in *Pontus*, fled to *Rome* that he might be absolued of the *Romane* Church, as he telleth vs out of *Epiphanius*.

But surely it is most strange, that he can be content thus to abuse himselfe and others. For he knoweth right well, that *Marcion* did not appeale to *Rome*, and that if he had so done, the act of a vile and execrable heretique should not be drawne into example.

The historie of *Marcion* (as we finde it in *Epiphanius*) is this: *Marcion* was the sonne of a Bishop in *Pontus*, he embraced virginitie in his first times, and seemed to liue a retired, solitarie and Monasticall kinde of life; but in the end, casting the feare of God behind his backe, he abused a certaine virgin; and not onely fell himselfe, but drew her also away from the course of vertue and well-doing, into the fellowship of sinfull wickednesse.

Hereupon, he was excommunicated and put out of the Church by his owne father. For his father was a right good and vertuous man, and carefull of the things that concerned his calling: and though after he was put out of his Church, he sought very earnestly to be admitted to penitencie, that so he might be restored to the Church againe; yet his father exceedingly grieued, not onely in respect of his fall, but also in respect of the dishonour and shame hee had brought on him, would by no meanes bee induced to yeelde vnto it. Whereupon hee leste that Citie whereof his father was Bishop, and went to *Rome* in the time

time of the vacancy of that Sea, after the death of *Hyginus*; and after he had ſtayed there a certaine ſpace, and conferred with the Presbyters of that church, he deſired to be admitted to their aſſemblies. But they told him, they could not ſo do without the conſent of his honourable father: For (ſay they) we haue one faith, and one conſent, and we may not contrary our good fellow-miniſter thy father. Which their anſwere when he heard, he was filled with furie and madneſſe; and profeſſed in great rage, that he would rent their church in peeces, and caſt a ſchiſme into it that ſhould neuer haue end.

This is the narration we find in *Epiphanius* concerning *Marcion* his going to *Rome*. Wherein there is nothing that any way proueth, that it was alwayes lawfull to appeale from all other Biſhops to the Biſhop of *Rome*.

For firſt, it doth not appeare that *Marcion* went thither to complaine of his father, but being put from the communion by him, and not obtaining reconciliation by any intreaty, as a runnagate he ſought to other places, and among other went to *Rome*, hoping there to be receiued into the church. But the guides of that church knowing the Canon, which forbiddeth one church to admit them, another hath reiected and caſt out, vtterly refuſed to permit and ſuffer him to communicate with them.

And ſecondly, if he had gone to *Rome* by way of appeale, it would moſt ſtrongly ouerthrow all ſuch courſes, and proue that the *Romane* Biſhop may not reuerſe and make voide the Acts and proceedings of other Biſhops, ſeeing the gouernours of the *Romane* church at that time, freely profeſſed vnto *Marcion*, and told him peremptorily, that it was not lawfull for them to admit him to their communion without his fathers conſent, by whom hee was excommunicated. But the truth is, he did not ſeeke by their authoritie, as ſuperiors, to reuerſe his fathers cenſure, and iudgement, or to be reſtored to the communion of that church, out of which he was reiected (which had bene to appeale:) but beeing in *Rome*, deſired onely to be admitted to ioyne in prayers and other exerciſes of religion with them of that church; which yet (as *Epiphanius* reporteth) was denied vnto him.

The next example is of [u] *Fortunatus* and *Felix* in *Africa*, depoſed by *Cyprian* (as *Bellarmine* would make vs beleeue) and appealing to *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome* for releeſe. But there is no word of trueth in that which this Cardinall writeth. For theſe men did not go to *Rome*, to complaine that they were vniuſtly depoſed (as he vntruely reporteth) but theſe are the circumſtances of the matter, as we may reade in the Epiſtles of *Cyprian*.

u *Cyprian. lib. 1. epiſt. 3.*

A company of wicked ones hauing made *Fortunatus* (one of the Preſbyters that were ſuſpended by *Cyprian*, and a great number of other Biſhops) a Biſhop in oppoſition to *Cyprian*, haſten to *Rome*, to *Cornelius* with

with false reports of the number of Bishops that concurred in the ordination of *Fortunatus*; that so he might be induced to admit of him, as a true Bishop, and to hold communion with him. Which when *Cornelius* wisely refused to do, he feared not to threaten grieuous things vnto him.

With the suddennesse and strangenesse whereof *Cornelius* much moued, maruailed greatly that *Cyprian* had not before certified him of this schismaticall ordination, that so he might haue bene the better prepared. Whereunto *Cyprian* answered: That it was not necessarie to be so carefull about the vaine proceedings of heretiques; that he had before giuen him the names of such Bishops as were found, to whom, and from whom he might write and receiue letters. And that howsoeuer false and ill dealing by hast and preuention thinketh to gaine all, yet that is but for a little time, till truth ouertake it, and discouer it, euen as the darknesse of the night continueth till the Sunne arise.

And farther he sheweth, that these schismaticall companions had no reason to make such hast to *Rome*, to publish it and make it knowne, that they had set vp a false Bishop against a true. For that either it pleased them that they had so done, and then they continued, and went forward in their wickednesse; or they repented of that they had done, and then they knew whither to returne, and needed not to haue gone to *Rome*. *For* (saith he) *whereas it is agreed among vs, and it is both iust and right, that euery man shall be heard there where his fault was committed; and all Pastors haue a part of the flocke of Christ assigned to them, which euerie one is to rule & gouerne, as being to giue an account vnto the Lord of his actions; it is not fit, nor to be suffered, that they ouer whom we are set should runne vp and downe, and by craftie and deceiptfull rashnesse shake in sunder the coherent concord of brethren, but that they should haue their causes handled where they may haue both accusers and witnesses of their crimes. Vnlesse, a few desperate and wicked companions do thinke, the Bishops of* Africa *that iudged them, haue lesser authority then others.*

A more cleare testimonie or pregnant proofe against appeales to *Rome* then this, cannot be had. And yet this is one of the principall authorities, the Cardinall bringeth to proue the lawfulnesse of appeales to *Rome*.

To the next place alleaged out of[x] *Cyprian*, touching *Basilides* and *Martialis* Bishops of *Spaine*, I haue answered[y] alreadie, and made it most cleare, that nothing could be alleaged more preiudiciall to the Popes claimes, and more for the aduantage of the truth of that cause, which we defend.

x *Lib. 1. epist. 4.*
y *chap 37.*

So that it seemeth our Aduersaries haue turned their weapons against themselues, and whetted their swords, and made readie their arrowes, to wound themselues to death.

How the facts of *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome*, *Flauianus* and, *Theodoret*, appealing

pealing to the Bishop of *Rome* with his Westerne Synodes, for relieſe and helpe, when they were oppreſſed and wronged by the Eaſterne Biſhops, proue not the illimited and vniuerſall power of the Pope, I haue at large ſhewed [z] before, to the ſatisfaction (I doubt not) of all indifferent Readers.

z *Supra, chap. 35. & 37.*

And therefore there remaineth but onely one allegation of *Bellarmine* touching appeales to be examined. [a] *Gregory* the firſt (ſaith he) put *Iohn* the Biſhop of *Iuſtiniana* the firſt, from the communion, for that he preſumed to iudge the Biſhop of *Thebes* hauing appealed to *Rome*. The caſe was this.

a *Epiſt. lib. 2. ep. 6.*

The Biſhop of *Thebes* wronged by his fellow-Biſhops, made his appeale to *Rome*. Hereupon *Iohn* Biſhop of *Iuſtiniana* the firſt, who was the Biſhop of *Romes* Vicegerent for certaine Prouinces neare adioyning, was appointed by the Emperour to heare the cauſe; which he did accordingly. But without all indifferencie, and (in ſort) contrarie to the Canons; and though vpon the diſcerning of his vniuſt and partiall proceeding an appeale were tendered to him, yet gaue he ſentence againſt the poore diſtreſſed Biſhop. *Gregory* hearing hereof, putteth him from the communion for thirtie dayes ſpace, inioyning him to bewaile his fault with ſorrowfull repentance and teares.

Truly this allegation maketh a very faire ſhew at the firſt ſight. But if we remember that the Biſhop of *Iuſtiniana* the firſt, and the diſtreſſed Biſhop of *Thebes*, wronged by him, were within the Patriarchſhip of *Rome* (as [b] *Cuſanus* ſheweth they were) you ſhal find it was no more that the Biſhop of *Rome* did, then any other Patriarch in like caſe might haue done, within his owne precincts and limits.

b *Cuſan. lib. 2. Concord. Cathol. cap. 7.*

Neither can the Cardinall euer proue that the Biſhop of *Rome* had any ſuch Vicegerent as the Biſhop of *Iuſtiniana* the firſt was, but onely within the compaſſe of his owne Patriarchſhip. But (ſaith he) it was a *Greeke* Biſhop, that *Gregory* thus proceeded againſt. It is true, it was ſo. But what will he inferre from thence? Is it not knowne that many *Greeke* Biſhops were ſubiect to the Biſhop of *Rome*, as Patriarche of the Weſt? was not the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* a *Greeke* Biſhop? and yet I thinke no man doubteth, but that he was within the compaſſe of the Patriarchſhip of *Rome*, as many other alſo were, howſoeuer in time they fell from it, and adhered to the Church of *Conſtantinople*, after the diuiſion of the *Greeke* and *Latine* Churches.

Chap. 40.

Of the Popes ſuppoſed exemption from all humane Iudgement, as being reſerued to the Iudgement of Chriſt onely.

OVR Aduerſaries finding their proofes of the Popes illimited power, taken from ſuch appeales as were wont in auncient time to be made to *Rome*, to be too weake, flie to another, wherein they put more confidence; which is his exemption from all humane Iudgement, Chriſt (whoſe Vicar he is) hauing reſerued him to his owne iudgement onely.

If this exemption could be as ſtrongly proued, as it is confidently affirmed, it would be an vnanſwerable proofe of the thing in queſtion. But the proofe hereof will be more hard, then of the principall thing in controuerſie betweene vs.

a *Bellar. lib. 2. de Pont. Rom. cap. 30.*

Touching this point, I find [a] great contrarietie of opinions among Papiſts, as men at their wits ends, not knowing what to affirme, nor what to denie. For firſt, there are ſome among them that thinke that the Pope though he violate all lawes diuine and humane, though he become publickly ſcandalous, and therein ſhew himſelfe incorrigible, yea though he be a profeſſed and damnable heretique; yet neither is depoſed *ipſo facto*, by the ſentence of the Canon, nor may be depoſed by all the men in the world. Which opinion if we admit to be true, the condition of the church, the beloued ſpouſe of Chriſt and mother of vs all, is moſt wofull and miſerable, in that hereby ſhe is forced to acknowledge a deuouring wolfe, making hauocke of the ſheepe of Chriſt redeemed with his precious bloud, to be her Paſtor and guide.

Secondly, ſome are of opinion, that the Pope if he become an open and profeſſed heretique is depoſed *ipſo facto*, by the ſentence of the Canon, and that the church may declare, that he is ſo depoſed.

Thirdly, there are that thinke that an hereticall Pope is not depoſed *ipſo facto*, but that he may be depoſed by the church.

Fourthly, many worthy Diuines in the *Romane* church heretofore haue beene of opinion, that the Church or generall Councell may depoſe the Pope, not onely for hereſie, hut alſo for other enormous crimes. Of this opinion was Cardinall [b] *Cuſanus*, Cardinall [c] *Cameracenſis*, [d] *Gerſon* Chauncellour of *Paris*, *Almaine*, and all the *Pariſians*, with [e] all the worthy Biſhops and Diuines in the Councels of *Conſtance* and *Baſill*. Yet the Papiſts at this day for the moſt part diſſike and condemne this opinion, and acknowledge no depoſition of any Pope how ill ſoeuer, vnleſſe it be for hereſie. And *Bellarmine* (to make all ſure) telleth vs farther, that the church doth not by any authoritie depoſe an hereticall Pope, but whereas he

b *De Concord. Cathol. lib. 2. c. 17.*
c *Camerac. in Concilio Conſtant.*
d *Gerſ. de auferibilit. Pape. conſider. 16.*
e *Vid act. Concil. Conſtant. & Baſilienſ.*

he is deposed *ipso facto* in that hee falleth into heresie, onely declareth the same; and thereupon largely refuteth the opinion of Cardinall *Caietane*, f who thinketh that the Pope when he falleth into heresie, is not deposed *ipso facto*, but that deseruing to be deposed, the Church doth truly, and out of her authority depose him.

f *Caiet. in tract. de authorit. Pap. & Consil. 20. & 21.*

First, because (as he saith) if the Church or Councell may depose the Pope from his Papal dignity, against his will, for what cause soeuer, it will follow, that the Church is aboue the Pope, which yet *Caietane* denieth. For as it will follow, that the Pope is aboue other Bishops, and of more authority then they, if he may depose them; so if the Councell of Bishops may depose the Pope, they are greater then he.

Secondly, he saith, to be put from the Papacy vnwillingly is a punishment, so that if the Church may depose the Pope, though vnwilling to leaue his place, it may punish him, and consequently is aboue him. For hee that hath power to punish, hath the place of a Superiour and *Iudge*.

Thirdly, he that may retaine and limit a man, in the vse and exercise of his ministery and office, is in authority aboue him; therefore much more he that may put him from it.

By these reasons it is clearely demonstrated and proued, that if the Church or generall Councell haue authority in case of heresie to depose the Pope, at least in some sort, it is of greater authority then the Pope. And therefore to auoid this consequence (as g *Gerson* rightly noteth) they that too much magnifie the greatnesse and amplitude of Papall power, say, that an hereticall Pope, in that he is an heretiticke, ceaseth to be Pope, & is deposed by almighty God. So that the Church doth not by vertue of her authority and iurisdiction depose him, but onely denounce and declare that he is so deposed by God, and to be taken for such a one by men, and not to be obeyed.

g *Gerson loco supra citato.*

This they endeuour to proue, because all h *Heretickes are condemned by their owne iudgement*, as the Apostle speaketh, and stay not as other euill doers, till the Church cast them out, but voluntarily depart of themselues from the fellowship of Gods people, and cut themselues off from the vnity of the body of the Church; thereby ceasing to be members of it, and consequently losing all authority and command they formerly had. For the clearing of this point, we are to obserue, that there are some who run into errours so directly contrary to all Christianity, and the sence and iudgement of all Christians, that by the very proposing thereof, they abandon and driue from them all such as dissent; and are abandoned of all.

h Titus. 3. 11.

Secondly, there are some that runne not into errours so directly contrary to the sence and iudgement of all Christians as the former, but with such fury, madnesse, and pertinacy, that they vtterly reiect, forsake, and depart

depart from all such as do dissent, or are otherwise minded.

Thirdly, there are some, who though they be not carried with such violent fury into errour, as to condemne, reiect, and depart from all that dissent, yet they runne into old heresies formerly condemned, and so by force of the former condemnation, are reiected and put out of the lap and bosome of the Church.

Fourthly, there are some who fall into hereticall and dangerous errours, but neither directly contrary to the common sence of all right beleeuing Christians, nor formerly condemned by the consenting voice of the whole Church of GOD; nor with such pertinacy, as either to refuse to communicate with them that thinke otherwise, or to seeke to depriue, depose, degrade, or otherwise violently vexe and molest them that are vnder them, for not consenting to them in their errour.

The three former sorts of men falling into errour and heresie, voluntarily cut themselues off from the vnity of the body of the Church, depart from the fellowship of Gods people, and *ipso facto* cease to bee members of the Church, and lose all authority and command they formerly had. So that they neede not the Churches censure or sentence to cast them out, departing of themselues; but it sufficeth that their breaches and diuisions from the maine body of the Christian Church, be published and made knowne, that so they may be auoided.

i *Act. Concil. Ephes. Tom. 1, cap. 19.*

So i *Caelestinus* in his Epistle to *Iohn* of *Antioch*, saith, that if any one haue bene excommunicated, or depriued by *Nestorius*, or any of his adherents, since the time they first began to publish their impieties, hee still continueth in the communion of his Churches, neither doth hee iudge him to be remoued from his place: and the like he hath in his k Epistle to the Clergie of *Constantinople*.

k *Ibidem.*

But the fourth sort of men erring, doe not cease to be members of the Church, nor lose their places by so erring, till both the point of doctrine wherein they are deceiued be tryed and examined, and by lawfull and highest authority found faulty; and their pertinacy such, as rather to suffer themselues to be reiected, and put from the communion of all that are otherwise minded, then to alter their iudgements. l *Cyprian* fell into an hereticall opinion, that the Baptisme of Heretickes is voyde, and that all that haue bene baptized by heretickes, are to be rebaptized.

l *August. lib. de Baptism. cap. 18.*

Yet because this point was not examined and condemned in a generall Councell, nor his pertinacie therein vpon such examination & condemnation, found such, as rather to suffer himselfe to be reiected from the communion of all them that thought otherwise, then to giue way and alter his iudgment, hee was no hereticke, neither did hee lose his place of ministery

ministery in the Church of God.

The question therefore is, whether if the Pope fell into such an errour, as that of *Cyprian*, by which he doth not actually, and *ipso facto* diuide and cut off himselfe, the Church may examine it, and iudge him to bereiected and put from the communion, if he alter not his iudgement. If they say it may, then hath the Church power to iudge a Pope that is not an Hereticke. For hee is not an hereticke till after such determination, he chooseth rather to be reiected from the communion of the faithfull, then to alter his iudgement. If it may not iudge the Pope so erring, then might the Popes in former times haue taught rebaptization with *Cyprian*; the errour of the *Chiliastes*, with sundry of the Fathers: *that all right beleeuers, how wickedly soeuer they liue, shall in the end be saued*; with some of the Ancient, that the iust shall not see God till the resurrection, and the like: and yet the Church haue had no power to force them to forsake and condemne such errours, or to cease from perswading and inducing men, both by doctrine and example to erre in like sort. And then we may runne into their errour, who thinke, that though the Pope be an hereticke, yet he is neither deposed *ipso facto*, nor may bee deposed, but that the Church must acknowledge a deuouring wolfe making hauock of the flocke of Christ, to be her Pastor; which *Bellarmine* himselfe thinketh to be very absurd.

Thus then we see, that all who fall into heresies, doe not cut off themselues from the vnity of the body of the Church, nor lose the iurisdiction and authority they formerly had, *ipso facto*, as the Papists (to auoyde the deposing of Popes by the authority of the Church) seeme to imagine; but that many doe so fall into heresies, that they goe not out of themselues till they bereiected and cast out.

But howsoeuer our Aduersaries must not defend, that Popes falling into heresies are deposed *ipso facto*, (for if they doe, they ouerthrow the whole building and fabricke of Popery) the constant opinion of almost all later Papists is, [m] that howsoeuer the Pope may personally erre and fall into heresie, or become an Hereticke, yet the prouidence of GOD ouer him is such, (becausse hee is Christs Vicar, *Peters* Successour, heire of the Apostles, and head of the vniuersall Church) that hee cannot define or decree any heresie, or prescribe vnto all Christians to beleeue amisse. Which conceit cannot stand, but falleth to the ground, and is clearly ouerthrowne, if the Pope, by becomming an hereticke, bee deposed *ipso facto*. For doubtlesse if the Pope becomming an hereticke, *ipso facto* cease to bee Pope, and to be so much as a member of the Church, then doth not the praier of Christ, for the not failing of *Peters* faith extend to him any longer, neither is hee any longer any way priuiledged, by vertue of his succeeding

m *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 3. Stapleton. Relect. Contron. 3 quæst. 4.*

succeeding blessed *Peter*, but that hee may runne into all extremities in most damnable sort, seeke to subuert the faith, to force all to beleeue as he doth, & define and determine that all shall professe the same doctrine of Diuels, that himselfe doth; seeing when God forsaketh him, and purteth him out of his protection, the Diuell entreth into him as hee did into *Iudas* the traytor. And how violent and strange the mouings of the euill spirit are, we are not ignorant; for [n] *sometimes he casteth them that are possessed by him into the fire, and sometimes into the water*: sometimes into one extremity, and sometimes into another. Wherefore either the Papists must confesse, that the Pope may define for heresie, & then al their religion is ouerthrowne; or else they must acknowledge, that hee is not deposed *ipso facto*, by becomming an hereticke, but that he is to be deposed by the authority of the Church, and so make the Church of greater authority then the Pope; and then they are in worse case then before. For then, as the Church by her authority censureth him for heresie, lest hee subuert the faith, misse-leade the people of God, and ouerthrow religion; so she may likewise censure him in other cases for auoyding of the like danger. Seeing such may be his prodigious and hellish conuersation, and his execrable corruption and violence in doing wrong, in peruerting iustice, in turning iudgement into wormewood, in violating all lawes and canons, in ouerthrowing the iurisdiction of al other Bishops, and in making a scorne of all religion, as may be as hurtfull to the Church as heresie.

n Mark, 2. 22.

Now that wee speake not of an impossible or strange thing, or neuer heard of before, when wee speake of monsters, prodigious, and hellish monsters intruding themselues by sinister meanes into the holy chaire of blessed *Peter*, let the Reader peruse the [o] Histories written of the Popes, by their owne friends, and by the louers of the Church of *Rome*, which are full of the villanies of this kinde of men, in which nothing is more ordinary, or more often repeated then those honorable titles of most wicked Popes, *Monstra, teterrima monstra*: monsters, most hydeous and ougly monsters. Let him cast his eyes vpon the 50 Popes mentioned by [p] *Genebrard* (that vassall of the Pope, and sworne enemy of all honest and good men) which are by him acknowledged to haue bene monsters, and Apostaticall, rather then Apostolicall; and among them vpon that monster of monsters, *Iohn* the 12. then whom a more vglier hell-hound neuer breathed vpon the earth, and who seemed to be a very Diuell incarnate.

o *Platina. in Ioanne 10. Benedicto 4. Sergio 3. & Christophor. 1. Sigon. de Regno Italiæ li. 6. in vita Formosi.*

50 Popes pontif.

p *Genebr. Chronol. lib. 4. Saeculo 10.*

Wherefore let vs passe from the case of heresie, to see whether the Pope may not bee deposed for other enormous crimes publikely scandalous.

The chiefe and principal reason brought by our Aduersaries, to proue that he may not bee iudged of any whatsoeuer hee do, is because hee hath soueraigne authority ouer all, and is Prince of the whole Church.

But this reason (as q *Bellarmine* confesseth) is *Petitio principij*, that is, a grosse begging of that which is in question; and besides, they who bring this proofe, run round in a circle, and make themselues giddy by sophisticall circulation. For thus they dispute. q *de Rom Pont. lib. 2. cap. 26.*

The Pope hath an absolute soueraignty ouer all, and is Prince of the whole Church, because no man may iudge him; and if any man doubt, whether he may be iudged or not, they proue full wisely that he may not; because he hath an absolute soueraignty. Wherefore the Cardinall leaueth the prouing of this point by reason, and vndertaketh to demonstrate the same by authorities. But they are such as are not much to be esteemed. For either they proue not the point in question, or else they may iustly be suspected of forgery and corruption.

The first testimony hee alledgeth, is out of the councell of *Sinuessa*, which was called (as it is supposed) by the Clergy of *Roue*, in the time of *Diocletian* the Emperour, to examine the fact of *Marcellinus*, that had sacrificed vnto idols. Of the acts of this Councel, *Binnius* in his Annotations vpon the same, in the first Tome of the Councels, saith: That very many of the best learned Diuines, do thinke them to be meere counterfeits, and of no esteeme or credit, and that they were but the deuice of the *Donatists*, seeking to blemish the blessed memory of *Marcellinus*, whom all antiquity much esteemed and honoured.

Whereupon Saint r *Augustine* saith, that certaine *Donatists* obiected the fall of *Marcellinus* to the Catholickes, but that they could neuer yet proue any such crime to haue bene committed by him, as they charged him with. Howsoeuer there are many most strong and forcible arguments to proue, that the acts of this Councell are meere forgeries. r *Aug. de vnico Baptismo contra Petilian. l. 1. c. 16*

For first, whereas this Councell is said to haue bene holden at *Sinuessa*, in a certaine vault or caue vnder the ground, that was named the vault or caue of *Cleopatra*, there is no History, nor no Writer that mentioneth any such caue, nor any man that can tell of any the least memoriall of any such thing. Neither doth that answer satisfie men, that many famous cities haue bene made desolate by Earth-quakes, and many mountaines and plaines haue changed both their situation, place, and name. For howsoeuer they lost their old names, and are called by new, yet their old names remaine still in those ancient Writers, wherin formerly they were; but the name of this caue or vault cannot be found in any ancient Writer whatsoeuer.

Secondly, it is very strange, that in the time of *Diocletian*, when the persecution was hottest, and the flame of that fire consumed and wasted all that came neere it, three hundred Bishops should be assembled together, and meete in such a caue, whereinto they could not all enter; and so hide themselues, but onely 50 at a time, leauing the rest abroad to bee spied and apprehended: then which, what can bee more vnlikely?

For

For they are reported to haue made choice of a caue to meete in, that by hiding themselues they might decline the fury of their bloudy enemies, and yet this caue is described to haue bene in a citty, and of so small receipt and narrow compasse, that onely 50. could enter into it at a time. So that 250. were alwaies in open view abrode in the citty.

Thirdly, in the accusation that is brought against *Marcellinus*, it is sayd, that *Diocliſian* brought him into the Temple of *Vesta* and *Ifis*, and that hee caused him to sacrifice to *Saturne* and *Iupiter*; whereas it is certaine that diuers Gods and Goddesses among the heathen had their diuers Temples, so that they neuer vsed to sacrifice to *Iupiter* in the Temple of *Vesta*, or to *Vesta* in the Temple of *Iupiter* or *Mars*.

Fourthly, the Author of the *Pontificall*, saith, *Marcellinus* did sacrifice, and a few dayes after repenting of that he had done, was martyred. Now how 300. Bishops in so fewe dayes could bee brought together, I thinke neither the Authors nor the patrons of these forgeries can easily tell vs.

These and the like reasons, are brought by Cardinall [f] *Baronius* and others, who (thinking that to acknowledge that *Marcellinus* did sacrifice to idols, doth more disaduantage their cause, then any thing decreed in it doth helpe it) incline to say, that the acts of this Councell are counterfeit, and that all these thinges were deuised by the enemies of the Sea Apostolicke. But others thinking that the fact of this Pope may bee excused, and supposing that the Decree of this Councell, that *the first Sea is to bee iudged of none*, may much helpe their helplesse cause: and [g] for that otherwise they shall bee driuen to discredit it, their *Martyrologyes*, and their *Breuiaries*, and Pope *Nicholas* the first, who vrgeth the saying of these suppoſed Bishops in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour, admit this Councell as if it were of credit, and vrge the authority of it, to confirme thinges questioned betweene them and vs; though they bee not able to answer the reasons of the other side, to the satisfaction of any indifferent man; for this is the manner of these Iesuited Papists, to reiect or admit nothing otherwise, then as they thinke it may make for them or against them.

[f] *Baron. Annaſ. Tom. 2. anno. 303.*

[g] *Binnius annot. in Concil. Sinueſſ. num.*

But to leaue them thus striuing and contending one with another, and to come to the saying alledged by *Bellarmine* out of this supoſed Councell, it no way maketh for them, but against them, and cannot stand with the groundes of their owne Diuinity, vnleſſe they will be of their opinion, who thinke that the Church must endure an hereticall Pope, and that hee must bee still taken to bee a Sheepheard of the sheepe of Christ, though as a deuouring Wolfe, he make hauocke of the flocke of Christ. For is not infidelity as badde as hereſie? And did not *Marcellinus* as much endanger the Church of *Rome*, and the religion of Christians in

making

making friendship with *Diocleſian*, by ſacrificing to his idols, as *Liberius* did by ſubſcribing to the *Arrians* wicked proceedings againſt *Athanaſius*, and communicating with heretickes? Was it lawfull for the Clergy of *Rome*, vpon the knowledge of *Liberius* his fact to depoſe him, and might not the ſame Clergy aſſiſted with three hundred Biſhops, iudge and depoſe *Marcellinus*? But heere wee may ſee the partiality of theſe Papiſts, and that they write without all conſcience. For *Bellarmine* [u] being to iuſtifie *Felix* to bee a true Pope, who poſſeſſed the place while *Liberius* liued, ſaith, that in his entrance hee was a Schiſmaticke (*Liberius* yet liuing, and continuing a catholicke Biſhop:) but that after the fall of *Liberius*, for which the Church did lawfully depoſe him, hee was by the ſame Church admitted and taken for a true Biſhop. Yea though *Liberius* were not in heart an Hereticke, but was preſumed to be an Hereticke, onely becauſe hee made peace with the *Arrians*, and ſo was an hereticke in his outward courſes and acts, of which men are to iudge, and not of the heart.

u *De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 9.*

And yet touching [x] *Marcellinus*, hee ſaith, hee thinketh hee loſt not his Popedome, nor might not be depoſed from it for that moſt execrable externe act of idolatry and infidelity, becauſe it might be thought he did it out of feare. Shall the vncertaine coniecture of the motiue that made him do ſo vile an act, excuſe him from being proceeded againſt, as an infidell that doth the workes of an infidell? and ſhall not the like coniectures ſtay the proceedings againſt men as heretickes, vpon their outward concurring with heretickes in ſome thinges? Shall feare excuſe *Marcellinus*? and ſhall not the impatience of *Liberius* (no longer able to endure ſuch intollerable vexations as he was ſubiect to) excuſe him? was it not as ſtrongly preſumed, that impatience moued the one to do that he did, as feare the other? Yes ſurely much more. For if wee may beleeue the acts of this faigned Councell, *Marcellinus* was rather wonne with flattery and faire promiſes, then forced with terrours, the Emperour ſeeking to winne him with kindneſſe, and not to force him with ſeuerity and extremitie, being perſwaded by *Alexander*, and *Romanus* ſo to doe. For that if hee could inſinuate himſelfe into the affection of the Biſhop, and aſſure him vnto himſelfe, hee might thereby eaſily gaine the whole citty.

x *Ibid. cap. 8.*

Thus hauing examined the firſt teſtimony produced by the *Romaniſts* to proue that the Biſhops of the *Romane* Sea may not be iudged, & found it to be of no credit, let vs ſee if the next will be any better.

The next is taken out of the *Romane* Councel vnder Pope *Sylueſter*, conſiſting of 284. Biſhops, wherein we find theſe words: [y] *Neq; ab Auguſto, neq; à Regibus, neq; ab omni Clero, neq; à populo iudicabitur prima ſedes*: that is, The firſt Sea ſhall not be iudged, neither by *Auguſtus*, neither by Kinges, neither by the whole Clergie, neither by the people.

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Before

Before we come to answer this authority we must obserue, that many things are most fondly and fabulously deuised & attributed to this *Sylueſter*, vnder whom this imagined *Romane* Councel is supposed to haue ben holden. For whereas [z] *Euſebius* [a] *Zozomen*, and other Hiſtorians of credit report, that the conuerſion of *Conſtantine* the great was partly out of thoſe good leſſons he had learned of his father, and partly by a ſtrange apparition of the ſigne of the Croſſe, with an inſcription in it: *In hoc vince*, that is, in this ouercome, appearing to him in the aire when preparing himſelfe to the warre against *Maxentius*, he carefully bethought himſelfe to what God hee ſhould betake him, and whoſe helpe among the Gods he ſhould ſpecially ſeeke; and partly by a viſion of Chriſt appearing to him; whereupon hee ſent for the Prieſts of that God that had ſo manifeſted himſelfe vnto him, and learned of them what God hee was. Thoſe fond men, [b] that publiſhed the faigned acts of *Sylueſter*, report, that *Conſtantine* after many horrible murthers of his neereſt Kinſmen, and the parricide of his owne ſonne *Criſpus*, being ſtricken with leproſie, was wiſhed by the Sooth-ſayers to whom he ſought for counſell and aduice, to take the bloud of Innocents, and to bathe himſelfe in it for the curing of his leproſie; but that diſcouraged from the effuſion thereof by the piteous cries of their tender mothers, hee bethought himſelfe better, and ſought expiation of his grieuous crimes, which all other denying to him, for ſo grieuous offences, *Hoſius* of *Corduba* told him, that the Chriſtians could purge him, & *Peter* and *Paul* appearing to him, told him, he muſt recall *Sylueſter* out of his hiding place, whither he was gone for feare, and ſeeke Baptiſme of him; and that then he ſhould be purged both from the impurity of his ſoule and body, which accordingly was done, and he recouered.

In thankfull requitall whereof he caſt downe the Temples of the falſe Gods, builded many Chriſtian Churches, and gaue to *Sylueſter* the citty of *Rome*, with all *Italy*, and many other prouinces beſides, making him temporall Lord of all thoſe places. Whereas it is moſt certaine, that *Conſtantine* was not baptized till a little before his death, as it appeareth by [c] *Euſebius*, by [d] *Hierome*, and by the Synodall Epiſtle of the Councel of *Ariminum*, written to *Conſtantius*, reported by [e] *Theodoret*, [f] *Socrates*, and [g] *Zozomen*; and as certaine, that *Conſtantine* was a Chriſtian Emperour, before *Sylueſter* was Biſhop. For [h] in the dayes of *Melchiades* his predeceſſour, hee tooke notice of the differences among Biſhops, in reſpect of *Cecilianus*, and reſted not till he had compoſed them; profeſſing that he ſo honoured the catholicke Church, that he could not endure any ſchiſme to be in it.

Notwithſtanding the ſame authors of lyes go forward, and tell vs, after the Baptiſme of *Conſtantine* by *Sylueſter*, of a Councell holden at *Rome*, by the ſame *Sylueſter*, conſiſting of 284. Biſhops, brought thither, and maintained

z *Euſeb. de vita Conſtantini. lib. 1. cap. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.*

a *Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

b *Vide Acta Sylueſtri quæ extant in epiſt. quædam decretali, Tomo. 2. Epiſt. Pontif. item actio 1. Concil. Niceni 2. & Baronium anno 324. num. 32. & Seq. & Binnium in notis in vita Sylueſtri.*

c *Euſeb. lib. 4. de vita Conſtantini. cap. 61. 62.*

d *Hieronym. in Chrono.*

e *Theodor. hiſt. lib 2. cap. 26.*

f *Socrates lib. 2. cap. 29.*

g *Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 17.*

h *Euſeb. hiſt. lib. 10. cap. 5.*

maintained there at the Emperours charges. But there are many thinges that bewray it to be meere counterfeit.

For first, it hath a fenceleſſe title, for it is named another *Romane* Councell vnder *Sylueſter* the first, whereas no man can tell of any beſides this.

Secondly, it is fronted with a briefe Epilogue in ſteed of a Preface.

Thirdly, there is ſcarcely any ſence to be made of any one ſentence throughout the whole.

Fourthly, it is ſaid to conſiſt of 139. Biſhops out of the citty of *Rome*, or not farre from it, and the reſt out of *Greece*; whereas all men know the citty of *Rome* had but one Biſhop, ſo that it was fenceleſſe to ſay, there were in that Councell 139. Biſhops out of the citty of *Rome*, or not farre from it. And beſides, all men ſee, how ſilly a thing it was to muſter ſo many names of Biſhops without ſpecifying the places wherof they were Biſhops.

Fifthly, whereas it is ſaid to haue conſiſted of 284. Biſhops out of the citty of *Rome*, and places neere to it, and out of *Greece*, as if it had bene a generall Concell; it is ſtrange that the Hiſtories reporting farre meaner Councels then this is ſuppoſed to haue bene, ſhold neuer make any mention of this, nor the occaſion of calling it.

Sixthly, whereas the ſuppoſed Fathers of this Councell, doe condemne (though in very fenceleſſe manner) certaine vnknowne heretickes, it is ſtrange they ſhould make no mention of the *Arrians*, who were famous, and * at that time troubled all the Eaſt.

* This Councell was holden after the ending of the *Nicene* Councell, if we may beleeue the Epilogue before it.

Seuenthly, the end why theſe ſuppoſed Fathers met, was ridiculous. For thus it is expreſſed, [i] *Vt Eccleſiæ regiæ non vaticinentur, ſed ſit firma, & claudat oſtium propter perſecutorem.* Or as another Edition hath it: *Vt Eccleſia regia non vacilletur, ſed ſit firma, & claudat oſtium propter perſecutorem.* For why ſhould theſe good men forbid the kingly Churches to prophecy? or why ſhould they feare the ſhaking or tottering of them? or ſhut the doore for feare of the perſecutor, after *Conſtantine* was become a Chriſtian, baptized by *Sylueſter*, and in requitall of his kindneſſe had giuen him all the Empire of the Weſt?

i *Cap.* 1.

Laſtly, whereas the manner of Councels was, that the Biſhops ſate round in a compaſſe, the Presbyters ſate behinde them, and the Deacons ſtood before them, the [k] Councell of *Carthage* forbiddeth a Biſhop to ſit, and to ſuffer a Presbyter to ſtand; and [l] *Hierome* ſheweth, that euen in *Rome* the manner was, that Presbyters did ſit, and Deacons ſtand: heere it is noted, that none ſate but Biſhops.

k *Concil. Carthag. 4. Canone 34.*

l *Hierony. Epiſt. 85. ad Euagrium.*

Theſe things being obſerued touching the credit of this Councell, let vs come to the Decrees of it, by which the Pope would exempt himſelfe from all iudgement of men, whatſoeuer villanyes hee ſhould chance to commit.

Thus then the Decrees of this ſacred Synode are paſſed in fauour of

m Cap. 19. the Pope. Fist it is decreed, m *that no Presbyter à die onus Presbyterij* (latine fitter for Hog-heards then Bishops) *shall marry, and that if he do, he shall lose his honour for 12. yeares.*

n Cap. 19. & 20. Secondly, it is ordered thus: n *That if any one shall doe against this present hand-writing, hee shall be condemned for euer. For let no man iudge the first Sea: for neither shall the Iudge be iudged of Augustus, nor of all the Clergy, nor of Kings, nor People.* These senceless Decrees of a faigned and ridiculous Synode our Aduersaries (such is their pouerty in this cause) bring forth, as good authorities for the Pope. But I thinke the reader will not much be moued with thē, vnlesse it be to pitty those that liued before vs, who were abused with such fooleries, & shameless forgeries; & to giue thankes to God that hath giuen vs meanes to descry the cozening deuices of Satans Agēts. Neither doth it any thing assure vs of the truth of this Councel, that Pope *Nicholas* was content to make vse of it in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, seeing he citeth also in the same Epistle the *Romane* Synode vnder *Sixtus* the third, in the cause of *Polychronius* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, whereas yet notwithstanding o *Binnius* saith confidently, that euery learned man wil prounce the acts of it to be counterfeit, if he attend the names of the Consuls, in whose times it is supposed to haue bene holden; the name of him that was accused, & other things described in those supposed and pretended acts. To these they adde another authority (as it may seeme) of the same stamp, out of the p Councell of *Rome* vnder *Sixtus* the third, which they endeuor to strengthen with certaine sayings out of a booke of one *Euodius* a Deacon admitted, & allowed in the fifth Councell vnder *Symmachus*. The *Romane* Councel vnder *Sixtus* was called to examine a very foule fact, wherwith *Sixtus* was charged, which was the abusing of one *Chrysogonet*, a professed & consecrated virgin. In this Councel *Sixtus* presented himselfe, & professed that it was in his power & choice either to submit himselfe to the iudgement of the Councel, or to refuse it; & yet voluntarily referred his cause to be there heard: whence our Aduersaries suppose, they may inferre that all the world may not iudge the Pope against his will. The *Barbarismes*, & manifold senceles absurdities that are found in this Councell, may iustly make vs suspect it of forgery. But admiting it to haue bene a lawful Synode, no such thing can be cōcluded out of it, as our aduersaries dreame of. For it was but a *Diocesan* Synode, and there was neuer a Bishop in it, besides *Sixtus*, whom they went about to iudge. And therfore it was not to be marualled at, if *Sixtus* said, it was in his power & choice whether hee would be iudged by the Presbyters and Deacons of his owne Church, or not; seeing no Bishop, bee hee neuer so meane, may be iudged by the Clergy of his owne Church, but by the Synode of the Bishops of the prouince; and therefore I greatly feare they wil hardly draw a good argument from hence, to proue, that the Pope may not at all be iudged. For I think it wil not follow: *Maximus* the Exconsul said,

o *Annot. in acta de Synodali accusat. & expurg. Polychronij. Tō. 1. Concil.*

p *Tomo 1. Con. eiusdem.*

ſaid, it was not lawful for thoſe Lay-men, & inferior Clergy-men then aſſembled, to giue ſentence againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*; & the Biſhop himſelfe proteſted, that he might chuſe, whether he would be iudged by them or not; therefore the whole Chriſtian world may not iudge the Pope. Wherefore let vs come to the ſayings of *Euodius*, & ſee whether they confirme the *Romiſh* conceipt any better. The occaſion of the writing of this booke of *Euodius*, was this: q *Symmachus* the Biſhop of *Rome*, being charged with certaine grieuous crimes, was to be iudged in a Synode called by *Theodoricus* the king, not without his owne conſent. To this Councell he was willing to come, & to ſubmit himſelfe to the iudgement of it; only he deſired reſtitution of ſuch things as had bene taken from him, til he were conuicted: which hee could not obtaine, and yet preſented himſelfe in the Synode. But ſuch was the fury & violence of his enemies preſſing in vpon him, that he was in very great danger of his life; and therfore after the firſt time, would come no more to the place where the Biſhops ſate. Whereupon they not knowing what to do (for it was not fit to iudge him being abſent, & there was no reaſon to proceed againſt him as contumacious in refuſing to come vnto them, ſeeing his refuſall ſeemed to proceed from iuſt feare of danger) vtterly refuſed and diſclaimed the trying of his cauſe, and the iudging of it; moued not a little ſo to do, becauſe great multitudes of the people communicated with him, and they had no preſident of ſuch procedings againſt former Biſhops.

q Synod. Romana 3. ſub Symmacho. in 2. Tom. Concil.

The King ſomewhat offended heerewith, told them, that if they did not diſcuſſe the cauſe, they would giue an ill example to all Biſhops to liue wickedly, and at their pleaſure, in hope of impunity; and yet left the matter wholly to them, who did nothing in it, but onely perſwaded to vnity.

Heereupon there grew ſome diſtraction among the Clergy and people of *Rome*, & ſome thought the Biſhops had done ill in leauing the matter vnexamined. Vpon which occaſion one *Euodius* a Deacon, writeth a booke in defence of their proceedings, which they approue in their fifth Synode or meeting, wherein among other thinges he hath theſe words: *Lex probitatis & mentis eſt, quæ hominem viuentem ſine lege caſtigat: propriè moribus impendit qui neceſsitati non debet diſciplinam. Aliorum fortè hominum cauſas Deus voluit homines terminare, ſed ſedis iſtius Præſulis ſuo ſine quæſtione reſeruauit arbitrio. Voluit beati Petri Apoſtoli ſucceſſores cœlo tantùm debere innocentiam, & ſublimiſsimi diſcuſſoris indagini inuiolatam exhibere conſcientiam*: That is, The Law of vertue and of the minde keepeth them in awe, who liue without any other law. He that is not otherwiſe inforced to liue well, will liue orderly for the loue of order and good life. Haply God would haue the cauſes of other men ended by men, but the cauſes of the Biſhop of this Sea he reſerued no doubt to his owne iudgement: & his pleaſure was, that the ſucceſſors

of blessed *Peter* should be accountable for their good or ill liuing to heauen onely, and present and exhibite their conscience kept inuiolable to the examination of the most exquisite examiner.

For answer to this allegation wee say, that neither the credit of *Euodius* is so great, that vppon his bare word wee should bee bound to beleeue him, nor the authority of these Fathers such, that whatsoeuer they approue and allow, must bee holden for good. Notwithstanding, admitting these sayings, to bee true, [r] their owne Canonists and Diuines in their Glosses, do limit and restraine them with certaine exceptions.

[r] *Vide Ockam. Dialog. lib. 1. part. 1. cap. 62.*

For first they say, the case of heresie must be excepted, there being no question but that the Pope may bee iudged and condemned by men, if he become an hereticke.

Secondly, the case of Penitential confession, wherein he yeeldeth himselfe, as in duty bound so to doe, to bee iudged, directed, and commanded for his soules good, by him to whom hee is pleased to reueale the estate of the same.

Thirdly, the case of voluntary submission. It is in my power (saith Pope *Sixtus*) to be iudged or not, but let matters bee examined, and the truth found out. And in like sort, *Symmachus* submitted himselfe to be iudged by the Councell of Bishops.

Fourthly, the case of incorrigible wickednesse, when the Church is grieuously scandalized by the notorious ill life and wickednesse of the Pope, & he is found incorrigible in the same. This case the Glosse accepteth, warranted so to do by the very light of naturall reason, which teacheth vs that when any member of the body, after the cutting off whereof the body may liue and continue, infecteth and endangereth the rest, and is incurable, it may, and ought to be cut off. Now though the Pope should in a sort be acknowledged to haue the proportion of the head in the body of the Church, yet is he herein vnlike vnto a natural head, for that the body of the Church dieth not when he is taken away from it; and therfore to stop the deadly infection of his impiety, & outragious wickednesse from spreading it selfe any further, he may bee cut off. So that this is the onely difference betweene the Pope & other Bishops, that other may bee iudged though they be not incorrigible, but he is not to be iudged of any other without his owne consent and concurrence, when he may be induced to reforme and correct what is amisse, as being the chiefe of that company that is to iudge of ill doers; but if hee be incorrigible, hee may be proceeded against, euen against his will, as wee see by the example of [s] *Iohn* the twelfth, who being prodigiously wicked, and after many and most earnest admonitions, intreaties and perswasions, of the Emperour & others, refusing any way to reforme himselfe, the Emperour called a councell, and deposed him, and chose another to succeed him; and that this deposition

[s] *Sigibert. Anno. 963. Otho. Frisingens. lib. 6. cap. 23.*

depoſition was lawful & good, it is euident, in that the ſucceeding Pope was holden to be a true and lawfull Pope while hee yet liued. But concerning *Gregory* the Pope, *Henry* the third, did rather perſwade him to yeeld, and to relinquiſh his place, then depoſe him, becauſe hee found him tractable. t *Otho. Friſing. lib. cap. 32.*

Two other authorities our Aduerſaries haue yet behind, to proue that the Pope may not be iudged.

The firſt, is out of the Councell of u *Chalcedon*, where the Fathers among many other reaſons alledged why they condemned *Dioſcorus*, vrge this alſo as one, that he was ſo farre from repenting of his manifold euill doings, that he railed againſt the Apoſtolicke Sea, ſought to excommunicate bleſſed *Leo*, and perſiſting in his wickedneſſe, was wilfull againſt the whole Councell, and refuſed to anſwer to ſuch things as he was charged with. How it will be inferred from hence that the Pope may not be iudged by a generall Councel, I ſee not. For though it be true that the inferiours may not iudge the greater and ſuperiour; and that therefore *Iohn* of *Antioche* was condemned for iudging *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and *Dioſcorus* for iudging *Leo*, yet it is no way conſequent that either *Cyril* or *Leo*, were free from all iudgement, or that they might not be iudged by a generall Councell, whatſoeuer they ſhould do. u *Action. 3. Epiſt. ad Martia. & Valentinianum.*

The other authority is out of the *Romane* Councell vnder *Adrian* the ſecond, whoſe words recited in the x eighth generall Councell are theſe: We reade that the *Romane* Biſhops haue iudged the Biſhops of all Churches, but that any one hath iudged them, we do not reade. x *Actione 7.*

For the better vnderſtanding and clearing whereof, wee muſt obſerue, firſt that the perſon of the Biſhop of *Rome* alone is not meant, when hee is ſaid to haue iudged the Biſhops of all Churches; but he muſt bee vnderſtood to haue iudged them with his Synode, and the Biſhops ſubiect to him, as Patriarch of the Weſt. For otherwiſe hee might not, nor did not iudge any Biſhop of himſelfe alone.

Secondly, that being Biſhop of the firſt Sea, hee, with his aſſociates, might iudge any other Biſhop or Patriarch, but no particular Patriarch with his Biſhops might iudge him and his, becauſe y there is no particular perſon, or company of men greater then hee and his, being chiefe Patriarch of the world: but that both he and his may be iudged by a generall Councell, it appeareth by the eighth generall Councell, wherein the words now vrged, are recited. For that z Councell taketh order that all the Patriarches ſhall bee honoured and reſpected, and eſpecially the Biſhop of *Rome*, and forbiddeth any man to compoſe any billes or writings againſt him, vnder pretence of ſome crimes, wherewith they will charge him, as *Dioſcorus* did: but that if there bee a generall Councell, and any queſtion bee moued touching the *Romane* Church, they may in reuerent and due ſort determine the ſame, though they may not proceede contemptuouſly y *Vide Ockam. Dialog. lib 6. part. 1. cap. 1.* z *Canone 21.*

temptuously against the *Romane* Bishop.

a *Canone 6.* And so first, the Councell of a *Nice* gaue lawes, as to the other two Patriarches, so likewise to the Bishop of *Rome*, and included him within his owne bounds and limits.

b *Actione 16.* Secondly, the Councell of b *Chalcedon* made the Bishop of *Constantinople* a Patriarch, and the Bishop of *Romes* Peere, notwithstanding the resistance of those that were there present on the behalfe of *Leo*, then Bishop of *Rome*, and the other Bishops of the West. And this Decree in the end preuailed, so that after much contradiction, and long continued opposition, the Bishops of *Rome* were forced to yeeld vnto it,

c *Cusan. Concor. cathol. lib. 2. cap. 17.* Thirdly, c generall Councels reëxamined and iudged againe thinges iudged by the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Bishops, as the Councell of *Chalcedon* reëxamined the iudgement of *Leo* against *Dioscorus*, and for *Theodoret*.

And the sixth generall Councell, the iudgement of pope *Martin*, with his Synodes against *Pyrrhus*, and *Sergius*: and the eighth, the iudgements of *Nicholas* & *Adrian* against *Photius*. d Saint *Augustine* speaking of the sentence of the 70. Bishops against *Cæcilianus*, retracted and reuersed by *Melchiades*, Bishop of *Rome* and his colleagues (whom vpon the suites of the *Donatistes*, *Constantine* appointed to heare the matter) saith, they therefore appealed to the iudgements of the Bishops beyond the Seas, that if by any falshood and slaunders they could preuaile, they might gaine the cause: if not, they might say (as all men that haue ill causes are wont to doe) that they met with bad Iudges. But (saith hee) let vs grant that those Bishops that iudged the matter at *Rome*, were not good Iudges; yet there remained a generall Councell of the whole Church for them to flye vnto, where the matter might anew haue bene handled with the former Iudges; that their sentences might be reuersed, if they should haue bene conuinced to haue iudged ill. Which thing if they did, let them make it appeare vnto vs. We proue they did not, because all the world communicated with *Cæcilianus*, and not with *Donatus* and his adherents. So that either they neuer brought the matter to be scanned in a generall Councell, or else they were therein condemned also.

d *Augustin. Epist. 162.*

Here we see he clearely acknowledgeth the generall Councell to haue power to reëxamine and reuerse the iudgment of the Bishop of *Rome* and his colleagues. Saint e *Gregory* likewise acknowledgeth the vniuersall Church to be greater then he and his. For, professing to follow the direction of Christ (in the matter betweene him and the Bishop of *Constantinople*) who willeth vs, if our brother offend against vs, to go and admonish him betweene him and vs; and if then he heare vs not, to take two or three with vs, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses euery word may stand: and if hee heare not them, then to tell the Church, hee saith, tha-

e *Gregor. lib. 4. Epist. 38.*

that he had first sent to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and by his messengers admonished him in all gentle and louing sort; and that now hee writeth vnto him, omitting nothing that in all humility hee ought to doe; but that seeing hee is thus despised, there remaineth nothing, but that hee vse the helpe of the Church, for the repressing of the insolency of this man, so preiudiciall to the state of the whole Church.

Fourthly, generall Councels haue by their decrees ordained many thinges concerning the Sea of *Rome*, either enlarging or limiting the power of it, and the exercise of the same, as it seemed good vnto them: as wee see in the Councell of [f] *Sardica*. *Hosius* with the Bishops there assembled, resolued in the honour of the memory of *Peter*, to make a Decree, that Bishops condemned by the Bishops of their owne Prouinces, might appeale to the Bishop of *Rome*; and that it might bee lawfull for him vpon such appeale to write to the Bishops of the next Prouince to reëxamine the matter againe: And if hee pleased, to send some from himselfe to sit with them in ioynt commission. Neither did the Bishops of *Rome*, [g] *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius*, and *Celestinus*, vrge the law of Christ, or the right of Saint *Peter*, to iustifie their claime of receiuing appeales out of *Africa*, but the Decrees of the *Nicene* Councell. And this is farther confirmed in that the Bishops in the Councell of [h] *Chalcedon* say, the Fathers gaue the preheminence to the Bishop of *Rome* in ancient times, becausse it was the seate of the Empire; and that therefore now, they would giue the like to *Constantinople*, now become the seate of the Empire, and named new *Rome*. And as generall Councels gaue preheminences to the *Romane* Bishops, so also they restrained and limited them in the vse of their iurisdiction, when they saw them to encroch too much: as the Councell of [i] *Sardica* tooke order, that they should not meddle with the causes of Presbyters and inferiour Clergy-men vpon any appeale, but leaue them to their owne Bishops, and the Synodes of the Prouinces, and in the case of Bishops appealing, not to reuerse the acts of the Synode of any Prouince without another Synode of the Bishops of the next Prouince.

And the Councels of [k] *Chalcedon*, and *Constantinople* the [l] eighth decreede, that the Bishop of * *Rome*, and the other Patriarches shall confirme the Metropolitanes subiect vnto them, by sending the Pall, or by imposition of handes, but shall not intermeddle in the ordination of Bishop.

Fifthly, it appeareth that the *Romane* Bishops are inferior to the whole Church. First, in that their Legates [m] rise vp when they speake in generall Councels. And secondly, in that in the Councel of *Ephesus*, when they with others were sent by the Councell to the Emperour, they were willed

f *Canone* 3. & 17.

g *Vt patet in c. Carthag.* 6.

h *Actione* 16.

i *Ca.* 16. & 17.

k *Actione* 16.

l *Canone* 17.

* This Councell of *Chalcedon* speaketh onely of the Patriarch of *Constantinople* in that restraint, but making him equall with the Bishop of *Rome* by the same Canon, restraineth the one as much as the other.

m *Synod. general.* 6. *actione* 1.

n *Act. Concil. Ephes. Tom.* 4. *cap.* 19.

willeth precisely to follow the directions and instructions giuen them. For that if they did not, all their proceedings should be voyded, & they reiected from the communion of the rest.

Sixthly, in that the sixth generall Councell particularly giueth lawes to the Church of *Rome*. For in the thirteenth Canon, it reprehendeth the *Romane* Church, because it forbiddeth Presbyters, Deacons, and Subdeacons to liue in matrimoniall society with their wiues, & commandeth it to leaue them to their owne liberty in this behalfe. And in the 55. Canon it reprehendeth the same *Romane* Church for fasting on Saturdaies in Lent, and forbiddeth the continuing of that obseruation any longer.

o *Cusanus Conc. catholi. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

Seuenthly, the o Pope is but a Bishop, as appeareth in that he is ordained by Bishops, and in that *Dionysius* acknowledgeth no higher dignity in the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy, then that of a Bishop. Now all Bishops as Bishops, are equall. For howsoeuer Metropolitanes in Prouinces, and Primates, or Patriarches in their larger circuites, are in all common businesses to be first sought vnto, that actions of that nature may take beginning from them; yet haue they no voyce neither affirmatiue nor negatiue in determining, or concluding things, otherwise then as the maior part of those Bishops among which they are in order first, shall sway them; and therefore they haue not a more ample iurisdiction then other Bishops, but in the administration and exercise of the power of iurisdiction common to them and other, they haue the first place, and are in honour before others. Wherefore seeing the Pope hath not any dignity or ordination Ecclesiasticall, greater then that of a Bishop; and all Bishops by Gods law are equal in the power of iurisdiction, howsoeuer in the execution & exercise thereof, some be before other, there is no question to be made, but that the Pope is subiect to some censure and iudgement.

Eightly, the Pope being a Bishop, and the Conncels making lawes generally to binde Bishops, it is not to bee doubted but that the same lawes and Canons do binde him.

Now many of those lawes and Canons doe depriue them that shall offend against them, *ipso facto*, and other make them depriueable. Therefore he is subiect to censure and iudgement.

p *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 2. cap. 27.*

To this our Aduersaries answer, p That the lawes and Canons of generall Councels doe not extend to the Pope, but onely to such as are subiect to them, as inferiour Bishops, and such as are below the condition of Bishops. But this answer is easily refuted, because the q Popes anciently at the time of their admission, did by a solemne profession binde themselues to the obseruation of the Decrees of generall Councels, in as precise and strict sort as any other Bishops. The forme of their profession was this: *Sancta octo vniuersalia Concilia vsque ad vnum apicem immutilata seruare, & pari honore, & veneratione digna*

q *Ex diurno libro. Dist. 16 cap. 8.*

digna habere & quæ prædicauerunt & statuerunt, modis omnibus sequi & prædicare, quæq; condemnauerunt, ore & corde condemnare profiteor; that is, I professe to keepe inuiolable the sacred eight generall Councels, euen to the vttermost title & *iota*, and to esteeme them worthy of equal honour and reuerence, and by all meanes to follow and publish those things which they published and decreed, & to condemne with mouth and heart, whatsoeuer things they condemned.

But [r] they will say perhaps, the Pope is in such sort bound to keepe the lawes of the Church and the Canons of generall Councels, that he offendeth God, and shall be punished by him, if he keepe them not. But that no man hath power to punish him, for the not keeping of them, or to force him to keepe them. And that therefore though he neglect his owne saluation, and the saluation of his brethren, yea, though he draw innumerable multitudes with him into hell, there to perish euerlastingly with the Diuel and his Angels, yet no Councell, nor Company of mortall men vpon earth, may presume to censure him, vnlesse he erre from the faith, because he being to iudge all, must be iudged of none.

[r] *Bellar. vbi supra. Quoad directionem, non quoad coactionẽ.*

[s] *Dictum Bonifa. ij dist. 4. Si Papa.*

This answere will be found very insufficient and weake, for seeing (as it is before proued) all Bishops are equall in the power of iurisdiction, one hath no more power to make lawes then another, neither can any one coactiuely bind other to the obseruation of any thing, more then any other may bind him.

And therefore if other Bishops cannot bind the Pope by their lawes, he cannot binde them by his, and so by this meanes all shall be left free, to do what they will. For it is true of all Bishops that [t] *Cyprian* speaketh of himselfe, and the *Romane* Bishop, that none of them seuerally hath power to iudge other, but they are accountant only to God; yet is euery Bishop subiect to the companies of Bishops, whereof he is but a part; and if any one hauing none other dignity or ordination but that of a Bishop, may exempt himselfe from being subiect to the Synodes of Bishops, euery one may, and so all shall be set loose and at liberty to do what they list.

[t] *Cyprian in Concil. Carthag. & lib. 2. ep. 1.*

But here perhaps some man will say, the Metropolitanes cannot be iudged by the Bishops of the prouinces, as being in a sort heads of those companies of Bishops, but by greater Synodes: therefore the *Romane* Bishop, being Primate of the chiefe part of the Christian world, as Patriarch of the West; and president of a generall Councell, as being the first among the Patriarches, is not to be iudged at all, there being no greater company of Bishops to iudge him, then those of which he is in a sort head and president.

For answere whereunto, first we say, that the Bishops of the Prouinces may iudge the Metropolitanes in all those cases, wherein their places are made voide, and they put from all Ecclesiasticall honour, *ipso facto*, by force of

of the Canon it selfe, that is, they may declare, that they are by the sentence of them that made the canon voided out of their places, and consequently, the Bishops of the West subiect to the Pope, as their Primate or Patriarche may iudge him, that is, declare and pronounce, that he is deposed by the sentence of the canon, in all such cases, wherein Bishops are deposed, *ipso facto*.

Secondly, we say, that though ordinarie Bishops may not be deposed without consulting the Metropolitane, nor the Metropolitane without consulting the Patriarche, nor the Patriarche of a meaner Sea, without consulting them of greater and superiour Seas, because still there is an higher to whom to go: yet he that is the first and in order before all other, if by no other meanes he may be induced to reforme himselfe, or voluntarily to relinquish his place (if his offence so require) may, in case of grieuous and scandalous wickednesse, wherein hee is found incorrigible, be deposed by them that are in a sort inferiour to him. Neither neede this to seeme strange in the deposition of Bishops, seeing the same falleth out in their ordinations.

For ordinarie Bishops may not be ordained without the Metropolitanes, who are in order and honour greater then they, nor Metropolitanes without the Patriarches, from whom they are to receiue imposition of hands, or confirmation by a Pall sent vnto them. But the Patriarches are ordained by their owne Bishops, and haue no imposition of hands of any that are greater then themselues, nor other confirmation then that which the meanest is to giue to the greatest, as well as the greatest to the meanest.

But some man will say, is there then no difference betweene him that is the first among Bishops, and them that are of an inferior condition? Is he no more exempted from iudgement then they? surely no: yet, as some thinke, there is some difference betweene him and them, because they may be iudged, though not incorrigible; but he as being in order and honour the first, is not to be iudged, if by any other meanes he may be induced to reforme himselfe, or voluntarily to relinquish his place, if his fault so require. And that in this case, as well as for heresie, the Pope may be deposed, we haue many of the best learned Papists consenting with vs: as [u] *Ockam*, [x] *Cusanus*, *Cameracensis*, [z] *Gerson*, [a] *Almaine*, the Bishops and Diuines in the Councels of *Constance* and *Basill*, [b] *Driedo*; and in a word, all those that thinke the Councell to bee of greater authoritie then the Pope.

u *Ockam. Dialo. lib. 6. part. 1. c. 62.*
x *Cusan. concord. Cathol. l. 2. cap. 17*
z *Gerf. de auferibilitate Papæ, consid. 16.*
a *Almain.*
b *Dried. de dogmatib. extra can. script. fac. constit. lib. 4. c. 4.*

CHAP.

Chap. 41.

Of the titles giuen to the Pope, and the insufficiencie of the proofes of his illimited power and Iurisdiction taken from them.

SEeing the vniuersalitie of the Popes power and iurisdiction cannot be proued from any exemption he hath from being iudged; let vs proceede to consider the next proofe taken from the names and titles giuen to him, which is more weake then anie other. For we shall finde that other Bishops in auncient times, writing to the *Romane* Bishop, sometimes call him brother, sometimes Fellow-bishop and colleague, sometimes Bishop, sometimes Archbishop, sometimes Patriarche; but that they neuer gaue him any title whence he may be proued to haue an vniuersality of illimited iurisdiction ouer all.

The first title that our Aduersaries [a] vrge is that of *Pope*, which (as I thinke) will hardly proue the *Romane* Bishop to haue power ouer all. For whereas *Papa* or *Papas*, among the *Greekes* signifieth a father, & is the appellation that little children beginning to speake are wont to giue to their parents; and in like sort among the *Latines* noteth a father or grandfather; hence the Christians in ancient times, did vse to call their spirituall fathers and Bishops *Papes* or *Popes*.

So that the name of *Pape* or *Pope* was a common name to all Bishops. Whereupon [b] *Hierome* writing to *Augustine*, calleth him Pope, and writeth, To the most honorable Pope; whereas yet he was not vniuersall Bishop, but Bishop of little *Hippo* onely: and therefore the name of Pope doth no way proue euerie one that is so called, to be vniuersall Bishop. But they say, the Bishop of *Rome* is named absolutely Pope, and none other Bishop, and that whensoeuer the name of Pope was vsed absolutely without addition, all men vnderstood thereby the *Romane* Bishop to be meant.

Whence it may be inferred, that he was greater then all the rest, as being esteemed a common father of all.

But for answer hereunto we say, that the *Romane* Bishop was neuer in ancient times named absolutely the *Pape* or *Pope*, without specification of his name, or the place whereof hee was Pope, but when by some other circumstance it might be knowne, what *Pape* or *Pope* it was men speake of, accordingly as men are wont to say no more, but, the Bishop did this or that, when by things going before, it may be knowne what Bishop they meane; and so the Vicars of *Leo* in the Councell of [c] *Chalcedon* sayde: The most blessed and Apostolique man the

a *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 2. c. 31.*

b *Hier. in omnib. Epist. ad Augustinum.*

c *Actione 16.*

the Pope gaue them such directions, as they there specify, without adding of *Rome*, or the name of *Leo*, because all men knew, from what Pope they came, and whose Vicegerents they were in that Councell. For otherwise without some circumstances specifying the party, men would neuer haue vnderstood whom they had meant, if they had onely named the Pope indefinitely.

But the same vicars of *Leo*, in the Councel of *Chalcedon*, cal him Pope of the vniuersall Church. Therefore, saith [d] *Bellarmine*, we may conclude him to bee supreme and absolute commander ouer all, out of the titles giuen vnto him. If the Cardinall would but remember that euery Bishop is interessed in the care and gouernement of the whole Church, (as I haue elsewhere shewed out of [e] *Cyprian*) he would easily find the weaknes of this consequence.

d *Vbi supra.*

e *Cypr. lib. 3. Epist. 13.*

Wherefore let vs passe from the title of Pope to the next, which is *Pater Patrum*, that is, Father of Fathers, which *Bellarmine* saith is giuen to the *Romane* Bishop, and to none else; whereas yet he knoweth the contrary to be most true. For the relation made to *Iohn* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, by the whole Synode assembled, beginneth in this sort: [f] *Domino nostro sanctissimo, & beatissimo Patri Patrum, & Oecumenico Patriarche, Synodus, &c.* Where we see that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* is called by a whole Synode, most holy Lord, most blessed Father of Fathers, and Oecumenicall Patriarch. And the [g] Epistle of the Bishops of the second *Syria*, to the same *Iohn* the Patriarch, beginneth thus: To our most holy Lord, & to the most blessed Father of Fathers, Oecumenical Arch-bishop and Patriarch. So that the Title of Father of Fathers is not proper to the *Romane* Bishop, as *Bellarmine* vntruly affirmeth. The title of *summus Sacerdos*, or high Priest, giuen to him by Saint *Hierome*, is comon to all Bishops, in respect of Presbyters, and all Metropolitanes, in respect of Bishops (although the third Councell of [i] *Carthage*, to shew that Metropolitanes haue not an absolute command, will not haue them called high priestes, or chiefe priests, but onely Bishops of the first Sea) and therefore though the Pope should be named, most holy Father, chiefest Pope, chiefe of Priests, or high Priest, yet nothing could be concluded from hence, that either we deny, or they affirme.

f *Relat. Concil. sub Menna, act. 5.*

g *Ibidem. Idem habetur in supplicat. Cleric. & Monachor. Antioch. ad Ioan. Patriarch. & Synod. Congregatam.*

Ibid.

h *Hier. in præfat. Euang. ad Damasum.*

i *Canone 26.*

The title of *Vicar of Christ* is new, and not found in all Antiquity, the first in whom we read it being [k] *Bernard*; and therefore not much to bee stood on, seeing the Ancient make all Bishops the Vicars of Christ, and do neuer appropriate it vnto the Bishop of *Rome*. Yet will not *Bernards* appropriating of it proue the thing in question, seeing he may be thought to haue had an eye in so doing, to the chiefty of order and honour, (in respect whereof, he is in more speciall sort a Vicar of Christ, then some other) rather then to any vniuersality of commission and authority. *Head of the Church* the Pope is neuer called among the Ancient, though the Cardinall

k *Bern. lib. 2. de Consid.*

Cardinall be pleased vntruly so to report. But the Bishops assembled in the Councell of [l] *Chalcedon*, writing to *Leo*, who by Vicars was president of that assembly, say, he was ouer them, as the head ouer the members, not in respect of absolute commanding authoritie, but of honorable presidencie onely, as it appeareth in that (notwithstanding the resistance of his vicegerents) they passed a decree for the aduancement of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. For otherwise Saint *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome* alloweth no man to be called *head of the Church*. [m] Petrus (saith he) *primum membrum sanctæ & vniuersalis Ecclesiæ est*: Paulus, Andreas, Iacobus *quid aliud quàm singularum plebium sunt capita? omnes tamen sub vno capite membra Ecclesiæ sunt*: that is, *Peter* is the first and in honour the chiefest member of the holy and vniuersall Church: *Paule*, *Andrew*, *Iames*, what other thing are they then heads of seuerall parts of Gods people? Yet so that all notwithstanding are members of the Church vnder one head. So that a head of the Church besides Christ must not be acknowledged, because no one hath an vniuersall commanding power ouer all, but he only: Yet in a certaine sense the *Romane* Church is named the head of all churches; that is, the first and chiefest of all churches, as the city of *London* with vs, may be named the head of all cities in this state and kingdome, though it hath not a commanding authoritie ouer them, neither is the chiefe Magistrate thereof head ouer all other Magistrates in the kingdome.

l *Actione 1.*

m *Greg. lib. 4. epist. 38.*

The authoritie of the [n] *Florentine* Councell naming the Bishop of *Rome* *Father and teacher of all Christians*, and the Councell of [o] *Lyons* naming him *the bridegroome of the Church*, is not so great, that we should neede much to insist vpon any thing that is alleaged out of them. And touching the latter title, we know [p] Saint *Bernard* in his Epistles, wisheth the Pope not to take it on him, as being proper to Christ, but to thinke it honour enough to be a friend of the bridegroome. And yet if we should yeelde it vnto him, we know what [q] *Gerson* hath written, to shewe howe this bridegroome may be taken away from the Church the spouse of Christ, and yet the church remaine entire and perfect.

n *Conc. Florent. Sess. vltima.*

o *Conc. Lugdunens. cap. Vbi periculum de electione in 6.*

p *epist. 237.*

q *Gerson de auferibilitate Papæ.*

The next glorious title of the *Romane* Bishop, is Bishop of an Apostolique Sea. But this is comon to him with many other, as some of the rest also are: For as not onely the *Romane* church, but the churches of *Ephesus*, *Antioch*, *Hierusalem* and *Alexandria*, which the Apostles founded, and in which they sate as Bishops, are named Apostolicall churches, so the Bishops of all these are named Bishops of Apostolique Seas. Neither do men know, which of the Apostolique churches is expressed dy the name of the Apostolique sea, or which of the Bishops by the name of the Bishop of the Apostolique sea, vnlesse by some circumstance the same be specified. As when *Augustine* sayd, [r] there were relations made from the Councels of *Carthage* and *Mileuis* to the Apostolique Sea: all men vnderstood

r *Augustin. epist. 106.*

derstood what Apostolique Sea he meant, because it was knowne to what Apostolique church, they vsed to make such relations.

Neither doth the principalitie of the Apostolique chaire, which *Augustine* [r] affirmeth to haue euer flourished in *Rome*, argue the supremacie of the Pope, seeing the principalitie or chiefetie of the Apostolique chaire, mentioned by Saint *Augustine*, may seeme to import the chiefetie that the Apostolique chaire hath aboue those that are not Apostolique, or in which blessed *Peter* the chiefe of the Apostles did not sit. For though the chaires of the Apostles were in diuerse places, yet *Peters* chaire was esteemed the principall of all the rest, which being the Sea and chaire of one, yet was in three places, and three Bishops did sit in it: Namely, the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioche*, as I haue shewed [t] before out of *Gregorie*; yet was the principalitie, or chiefetie of this chaire of *Peter* more specially in *Rome* then in the other places, and the Bishop of *Rome* in order and honour the first and greatest of the three.

[r] *Epist. 162.*

[t] *Chap. 31.*

The last title brought to proue the supremacie of the Pope, is that of *Vniuersall Bishop*, which though it be not giuen to *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, by the whole Councell of *Chalcedon*; yet is it giuen to him in the [u] Epistles of three seuerall *Grecians*, writing to him, as we may reade in the third action of that Councell: and Saint [x] *Gregorie* saith, it was offered to his predecessors in that Councell, and that they refused it.

[u] *Concil. Chalced. actione 3.*

[x] *Gregor. lib. 4. ep. 32.*

This title will proue the supremacie of the Pope no better then the rest, being common vnto other with him, and therefore no way arguing any thing peculiarly found in him alone. For we shall find that the [y] Bishops of *Constantinople* are named vniuersall Bishops, and Oecumenicall Patriarches, as well as the Bishop of *Rome*, and that not by one or two particular men, but by whole Councels, by Emperours, and Popes; and though Saint *Gregorie* iustly disliked this name or title, as profane and preiudiciall to the dignitie of all other Bishops and Patriarches, when it importeth an vniuersalitie of iurisdiction, and generall commanding authoritie ouer all, yet might any one of the Patriarches be named an vniuersall Bishop, as being one of those fiue principall Bishops, to whom all the Bishops and Metropolitanes in the world were subiect.

[y] *Adrian. ad Tarasiũ, 7. Synd. actione 2. epist. Præsul. Orient. ad eundem, actio 3.*

CHAP.

Chap. 42.

Of the second supposed priuiledge of the Romane *Bishops, which is infallibilitie of iudgement.*

SEeing our Aduersaries cannot proue the vniuersall and illimited power and iurisdiction of their Popes, but the contrarie is most clearely deposed by those witnesses which they produce to speake for them, affirmed by those Diuines, whom they cannot but acknowledge to bee Catholique, and inferred out of their owne principles; let vs proceede to see whether they haue any better proofes of the infallibilitie of their iudgement, which is the next suppoſed priuiledge of the *Romane* Bishops. Touching this poynt I finde foure opinions in the Church of *Rome*. The first is: that the Pope is so led into all truth, that he cannot erre in such sort as to become an heretique. And of this opinion was [a] *Albertus Pighius*.

The second leaueth it doubtfull, whether hee may be an heretique or not, but pronounceth confidently that whether he may or not, yet he cannot define and decree any thing that is hereticall. And this is the opinion of almost all [b] Papists at this day.

The third, that the Pope not onely as a particular Doctour, but euen as Pope, may be an heretique, and teach heresie, if he define without a generall Councell. This was the opinion of [c] *Gerson*, *Almayne*, and other *Parisians*; of *Alfonsius à Castro*, Pope *Adrian* the sixth, Cardinall *Cameracensis*, *Cusanus*, *Occham*, *Durandus*, the Fathers of the Councels of *Constance* and *Basill*, and many moe.

The fourth, that he may erre and define for heresie, though he be assisted with a generall Councell. Of this opinion was [d] *Waldensis*, and sundry other, as appeareth by [e] *Picus Mirandula* in his *Theorems*. So that it is not true, that [f] *Bellarmine* saith, that all Catholiques consent, that the Pope with a generall Councell cannot erre. For these teach that only the resolutions of the vniuersall Church (which is the multitude of beleeuers that are and haue bene) are to be receiued without any farther question or examination, as vndoubtedly true.

These are the differences of opinions found among them that brag so much of vnity, and make the ground thereof to be the submitting of their iudgements to the Pope. But because in so great vncertainty and contrarietie of iudgements, almost all Papists at this day encline to that opinion, that the Pope, whether he may erre personally or not, yet cannot define for falshood and error; let vs first see, how they indeauor to confirme the same: and secondly, how they can cleare those Popes from heresie, and decreeing for heresie, that are charged therewith.

To proue that the Pope cannot decree for heresie, [g] they alleage in the first

a *Hierarch. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

b *Bellar. l. 4. de Pont. cap. 2. Caietan. in opusc. de potest. Papæ et Concilij.*

c *Citat. à Bellar. l. 4. de Pontif. ca. 2. & à Stapletono controu. 3. quæst. 4.*

d *Doctrinal. fidei. lib. 2. art. 2. cap. 19.*

e *Theorem. 4.*

f *Vbi supra.*

g *Bellar. de Pontif. l. 2. cap. 3.*

h Luc.22.

first place the saying of Christ, who professeth that he h prayed for Peter, *that his faith should not faile*; and lest we should mis-understand the words of Christ, they bring vs the interpretations of *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Theophylact*, whereof the first saith, i *That when Christ prayed, that Peters faith might not faile, he prayed that he might haue a most free, courageous, inuincible and resolute will, to continue in the true faith.* The second k that *Christ did not say to* Peter. *Thou shalt not deny me, but I haue prayed that thy faith shall not faile. For by his care and fauour it was brought to passe that* Peters *faith should not faile, though for feare he denied his maister.* The third bringeth in Christ speaking to *Peter* in this sort: l *Although for a little time thou shalt be shaken, thou hast notwithstanding the seedes of faith hid in thee; although the wind and violent blast of him that setteth on thee, shall shake off the leaues, yet the roote shall liue, and thy faith shall not faile.* So that all these so vnderstand the prayer of Christ for *Peter*, as that he should not onely rise againe after his fall, and be found faithfull in the end, but that he should neuer fall in respect of the perswasion of faith that was to rest immoueably in him, euen in that most dangerous time of the temptation and tryall of the Apostles, when Christ was deliuered into the hands of wicked men to be crucified. For howsoeuer hee denied Christ with bitter imprecations, yet he did it out of feare, & not out of infidelity, the perswasion of his heart remaining the same that it was before. Wherefore hauing the words of Christ, and the meaning of them, let vs see whether the opinion which our aduersaries haue of the Pope his infallible discerning and constant defending of the truth, may bee confirmed out of them.

i *Augustin. lib. de correpti. & gratia cap.8.*

k *Chrysost. homil. 83. in Matthæum.*

l *Theophyl. in cap.22. Luce.*

If they could proue the contrary to that which was found in *Peter* to be found in the Pope by vertue of Christs prayer for *Peter*, they might easily make good their opinion. But otherwise neuer out of these words. For thus they must reason, if they will confirme the conceit they haue of the infallibility of the Popes iudgement, by Christs prayer for *Peter*.

Peters faith by vertue of Christs prayer for him, remained firme, immoueable, and most constantly setled in inward perswasion and affection, though it failed for a little time in outward profession. Therefore howsoeuer the faith of the Pope may faile in respect of the perswasion of his heart, yet it shall neuer faile in respect of outward profession. For though he become an heretique in heart, yet he shall euer professe rightly concerning Christ, to all men that shall come vnto him, to enquire of him and to be resolued by him.

This kind of reasoning, I thinke, is not very forcible, and therefore it is much to be doubted, that the *Romanists* will neuer be able to perswade men that the Pope cannot erre, by vertue of Christs prayer for *Peter*. Nay that no such thing can be proued out of Christs words vnto *Peter*, it is most plaine and euident, because the words that Christ spake vnto *Peter*,

Peter, when he sayd vnto him, [m] *I haue prayed for thee that thy faith faile not*, and *when thou art conuerted, confirme thy brethren*, are no way appliable to *Peters* successours. For that if they were, first they must euer be right beleeuers in heart, notwithstanding whatsoeuer failings in outward confession. Secondly, they must deny Christ as he did, and afterwards repent of such deniall, and conuert and turne vnto God, that so they may confirme their brethren. For so it was in *Peter*. And [n] *Theophylact* doth not attribute the confirmation of the brethren by *Peter*, which he is commanded to performe, to his constancie in the true faith, and in the profession of it; but to the experience that hee had of the tender mercie and goodnesse of God towards him. Out of which he was able to strengthen them that were weake, to comfort them that were sorrowfull, to put them in assured hope of finding mercy, that otherwise might despaire, and to confirme them that were doubtfull. For who will not (as the same *Theophylact* fitly obserueth) be confirmed by *Peter* in the right perswasion of the mercies and goodnesse of God towards repentant sinners, when he seeth him whom Christ had so much honored, after so shamefull a fault, and so execrable a fact of the abnegation of his Lord and Master, the Lord of life, not onely receiued to mercy, but restored to the dignitie of the prime and chiefe Apostle? To this obiection (as we thinke) vnanswerable, [o] *Bellarmine* answereth first, that it is not absurd, to referre the conuersion of *Peter* mentioned by Christ, after which hee is to confirme his brethren, not to his turning from sinne, but to his brethren, to aduise, admonish, and direct them; not making the sence to be, thou being turned from sinne by repentance, confirme thy brethren, but thou whose faith shall neuer faile, when thou seest any of thy brethren wauering, turne thy selfe vnto them, and confirme them.

m Luk. 22. 32.

n *In hunc locum.*

o *De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 3.*

Secondly, that it followeth not, that the successors of *Peter* must first fall, and after repent of their fall, if the words of Christ be applied vnto them, of confirming the brethren; seeing *Peters* fall was personall, but his confirming of his brethren is of office, wherein they are to succeede him, and not in the things that are personall.

This answer of the Cardinall is insufficient. First, because the current of almost all interpreters vnderstandeth the conuersion of *Peter* mentioned by our Sauiour, of his turning from sinne, and not of his turning of himselfe to them, whom he was to aduise, comfort, and confirme. And secondly, because in this his answer he contrarieth himselfe. For [p] elsewhere (which it seemeth in making this answer he had forgotten) he denieth that the words of Christ directed to *Peter*, of confirming his brethren, may be vnderstood of the vniuersall Church, or the Bishops of it, and saith; *Hoc certè non potest Ecclesiæ toti conuenire, nisi dicamus totam Ecclesiam aliquando esse peruertendam, vt postea iterum conuertatur*, that is; This saying of Christ cannot agree to the whole Church, vnlesse we say, that

p *Eodem capite.*

the whole Church shall at sometime bee peruerted, that afterwards againe it may be conuerted. Whereby it is cleare (he thinketh) that the latter part of Christs speech, of confirming the brethren can agree to none, to whom the former doth not. So that we see, the words of Christ spoken to *Peter*, are no sufficient warrant vnto vs that the Pope cannot erre, and therefore the better to perswade vs of the same, our Aduersaries bring the sayings of some great Diuines, who conceiued that some such thing may be inferred out of the words, as they dreame of; as [q] *Lucius*, [r] *Felix*, and [s] *Marke* ancient Bishops of *Rome*, and great lights of the world in their times. If they could indeed bring vs the iudgement and resolution of these ancient Bishops, they would doubtlesse greatly preuaile with vs.

[q] *Lucius. 1. in Epist. ad Episc. Hispan. & Gallia.*
[r] *Felix 1. epist. ad Benignum.*
[s] *Marc. epist. ad Athanas. de missione Canon. Nicæni Concilij.*

But seeing vnder these names, they bring forth vnto vs the Authors of shameless forgeries, we are thereby induced more to dislike their conceit then before. Now that they (who masked vnder the names and titles of ancient *Romane* Bishops, magnifie the greatnesse of the *Romane* Church, and pleade for the not erring of the Bishops thereof) are nothing else but ignorant authors of absurd and shameless forgeries, it will easily appeare out of that which I haue [t] elsewhere largely discoursed, to shew that the Epistles attributed to the ancient Popes are forged and counterfeit; not onely by the iudgements and opinions of the best learned on both sides, so censuring them, but by manie reasons inducing vs so to thinke: among which one is the likenesse of the style found in these Epistles, arguing that they came all out of the same mint, and were not written by those different Popes, liuing at diuerse times, to whom they are attributed. Which similitude of style will be found in these Epistles that our Aduersaries alleage to proue, that the Pope cannot erre, as much or more then in any other. For in these we shall finde the very same words.

[t] Chap. 34.

The agreeing of witnesses in the same substance of matter with some difference of words, argueth, that they speake truely; but their precise agreement in words and formes of speaking, argueth rather a compact and agreement to speake the same things, then a desire to vtter the trueth. So here, the precise vsing the very same words by all these Popes liuing at diuerse times, argueth that it was one man, that taught them all to speake.

But they will say, Pope *Leo* in his third Sermon of his Assumption to the Popedome, saith as much as they do: and that therefore we may not discredit their testimonie. Surely, if they can proue that *Leo* saith any such thing, as the former Popes are taught to say, we will most willingly listen vnto them. For we acknowledge *Leo* to haue bene a most worthie Bishop, and the things that go vnder his name to be his indubitate workes. Let vs heare therefore what he saith. His words in the place cited by

by the Cardinall are these: *Christ tooke speciall care of* Peter, *and prayed specially for him, because the state of the rest is more secure, when the minde of him that is chiefe is not ouercome. In* Peter *therefore the strength of all is surely established, and God doth so dispence the helpe of his diuine grace, that the same firmenesse that he giueth to* Peter, *is by* Peter *conferred and bestowed on all.* Here is nothing to proue that the Pope cannot erre, which is that our Aduersaries vndertake to demonstrate; nor that the *Romane* Church cannot erre, which is that the former Popes affirme in their counterfeit Epistles: but that the state of the rest is more secure, when he that is chiefe is not ouercome, which no man euer doubted of: and that Christ gaue, or at least promised first to giue that assistance of his grace to *Peter*, which he meant to the rest, and to passe it by him vnto them, so as they should receiue it after him, but not from him. For thus the words of *Leo* must be vnderstood, seeing it is most certaine (which thing also [u] *Bellarmine* himselfe confesseth) that the Apostles receiued their infallibilitie of iudgement, and their commission or authoritie immediatly from Christ, and not from *Peter*.

[u] *Lib. 1. de Pont. cap. 12.*

From *Leo* they passe to *Agatho*, who in his Epistle to *Constantine* the Emperour, read and approued in the sixth generall [x] Councell saith, *that by the grace of God such hath beene the felicitie and happinesse of the* Romane *Church, that it can neuer be proued to haue erred from the path of the Apostolicall tradition, nor to haue fallen being depraued with hereticall nouelties, but the same faith it receiued at first, it holdeth still, according to Christs promise which he made to* Peter, *willing him to confirme his brethren. Which thing (saith Agatho) my predecessors haue euer done, as is well knowne to all.*

[x] *Actione 4.*

These words of *Agatho* are not so farre to be vrged, as if simply neuer any of his predecessors had failed to defend the truth, and confirme his brethren; but that the *Romane* Church was euer so preserued from heresie, that howsoeuer some fewe in it for a time might neglect to do their dutie, yet neither so long, nor in such sort, but that that Church, and the Bishops of it, were alwayes a stay to the rest in all the dangerous tryals that fell out in ancient times, euen as in the question concerning the two wils of Christ, about which the Councell was called, it was; wherein though *Honorius* failed, yet the rest that gouerned the Apostolicall throne with him did not; and *Agatho* who soone after succeeded, shewed himselfe an orthodoxe & right beleeuer. For, that all the predecessors of *Agatho* did not alwayes confirme their brethren in the true faith of Christ, it is most euident, in that *Marcellinus* sacrificed vnto idols (if we may beleeue the [y] *Romish* stories) and was forced being conuicted thereof, to professe himselfe vnworthy of the Papall office and dignity, in a Synod of Bishops; in that [z] *Liberius* & *Felix* communicated with heretiques, & subscribed to the vniust condemnation of worthy *Athanasius*; which was not to confirme the brethren, but to discourage, dishearten and weaken them:

[y] *Platina in Marcellino. & acta Concil. Sinuessani.*

[z] *Athanas epist. ad Solitar. vitam agentes. Hieron. in Chronico. & in Catalog. Scriptor. Ecclesiast. in Fortunatiano & Acacio. Damasus in vita Liberij.*

and in that [a] *Agatho* himselfe doth anathematize his predecessor *Honorius* as a Monothelite, with whom [b] *Leo* the second concurreth in his Epistle to *Constantine* the Emperour: who anathematizing *Theodorus*, *Syrus*, *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, *Paulus*, and other Monothelites, addeth to them *Honorius* Bishop of *Rome* his predecessor; saying, we accurse also *Honorius*, who did not lighten this Apostolicall church with the doctrine deliuered by the Apostles, but sought to subuert the vndefiled faith by prophane perfidiousnesse. With whom also Pope *Adrian* agreeth, who in the Synode of *Rome* called about the businesse of *Photius* of *Constantinople*, saith, that [c] *the Romane Bishop hath iudged of the Bishops of all Churches, but that we reade not of any one that hath iudged him. For though* Honorius *were accused after his death by those of the East, yet it was because he was accused of heresie, in which onely case the lesser may iudge the greater; yet euen there it had not beene lawfull for any of them to giue sentence against him, had not the consent of the first Sea gone before.*

a *Epist. Agathonis ad Constantinũ, quæ habetur Synod. 6. actio. 4.*
b *In fine eiusd. Concilij.*
c *Habentur hæc verba in Synod. 8. actione 7.*

So that we see the Epistle of *Agatho* doth not sufficiently proue that the Popes cannot erre. Let vs therefore consider whether they haue any better proofes. *Nicholas* the first (saith *Bellarmine*) in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour, pronounceth, that the priuiledges of the Sea of *Rome* are perpetuall, rooted and planted by almightie God, in such sort, that men may stumble at them, but cannot remoue them; may pull at them, but cannot pull them vp; therefore he thinketh the Pope cannot erre, which is a very bad consequence. For the infallibilitie of iudgement in the Pope, is not mentioned among the inuiolable priuiledges of the church of *Rome*, and therefore the priuiledges of that church may be inuiolable, and yet the Pope subiect to errour: neither hath *Nicholas* one word of the Popes not erring.

The testimonies of [d] *Leo* the ninth, and [e] *Innocentius* the third, as being late and partiall in their owne cause, may iustly be excepted against, yet do they not proue the thing in question. For they speake of the Sea and throne of *Peter*, in which the faith may continue without failing (though the Popes erre and seeke to subuert the same) so long as any other, that are to gouerne the throne with them, perseuere in the true faith.

d *Epist. ad Petrum Antioch.*
e *Ep. ad Episcop. Arelat. & habetur cap. maiores, extra. de Baptismo & eius effectu.*

Wherefore from the prayer of Christ made for *Peter*, that his faith should not faile, they descend to other proofes taken from the promise made to *Peter* by Christ, [f] *that vpon him he would build his Church*; and his mandate requiring him to [g] *feede his sheepe, and to feede his Lambes*; which are too weake to perswade vs, that the Pope cannot erre, or is more priuiledged then other Bishops in this respect.

f Matth. 16. 18.
g Ioh. 21. v. 15, 16. 17.

First, because it is most cleare and euident, and confessed by our Aduersaries themselues, that the church was builded vpon all the Apostles, as well as vpon *Peter*, and there is no kind of feeding of Christs sheep and flocke

flocke that commeth not within the compaſſe of that office and commiſſion, which the other Apoſtles had in common with him; as I haue [h] elſewhere ſhewed at large. h Chap. 22.

Secondly, becauſe *Peter* and his colleagues were foundation-ſtones, vpon which the Church was builded, in that their doctrine was receiued by immediate and vndoubted reuelation, without mixture of errour, vpon which the faith of all after-commers was to ſtay it ſelfe; none of which things agree to the *Romane* Biſhop. So that it is no way neceſſary, that there ſhould be the ſame infallibilitie of iudgement in him that was in *Peter*, and in his colleagues.

Thirdly, becauſe we know, and all that are in their right wits do acknowledge, that a man may be a Paſtor in the Church of God, and yet ſubiect to error; and that therefore Chriſts requiring *Peter* to do the dutie of a Paſtour, will not proue that the Pope cannot erre. Wherefore from the Scriptures they paſſe to the Fathers; and among them firſt they produce *Theodoret*, who in his Epiſtle to *Renatus* a presbyter, ſaith, that *among other things, the reaſon why the* Romane *Church hath a kind of chiefti e among other Churches, is, becauſe it hath euer remained free from hereſie.* From whence I thinke hardly any good proofe can be drawne, of the Popes not erring. For how will this conſequence euer be made good? There are many things that make the Sea of *Rome* great, as the greatneſſe of the citie, the Empire, the ſepulchers of thoſe common Fathers and Doctors of truth, *Peter* and *Paule*, thoſe two great lights, that roſe in the Eaſt, and caſt forth their beames into all parts of the world, but ſet in the Weſt; and ſundrie other things, and among them the felicitie and happineſſe of it, that till the time of *Theodoret*, no hereſie euer preuailed in it: therefore the Biſhop of *Rome* can neuer erre: Seeing *Theodoret* doth not diſpute what may be, but ſheweth onely, what by the happie prouidence of God had bene; and beſides ſpeaketh not preciſely of the Biſhop of *Rome*, but of the *Romane* Sea, [i] including the whole companie of the Biſhops of the Weſt adhering to him; which was a great part of the whole Chriſtian church, and more glorious then the reſt, for that it was more free from heretical nouelties in thoſe times then they. i *Cuſan. de concord. cathol. l. 2. cap. 7. & lib. 1. cap. 14.*

To *Theodoret* they adde Saint [k] *Auguſtine*, who ſaith, *the ſucceſſion of Biſhops from* Peters *chaire, to his time, is that rocke againſt the which the proud gates of hell cannot preuaile.* His meaning is, that what all thoſe Biſhops haue conſtantly and ſucceſſiuely taught as true, muſt needes be true; and what they haue impugned as falſe, muſt needes be falſe; ſeeing it is impoſſible that any errour, or the impugning of any truth, ſhould haue bin found ſucceſſiuely in all the Biſhops of that, or any other Apoſtolicall church whatſoeuer. k *Auguſt. in Pſal. contra partem Donati.*

But what is this to the Popes not erring? Surely as little as that of [l] *Geleſius* in his Epiſtle to *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, that *the glorious confeſſion* l *Inter Epiſtol. Gelaſij.*

of the Apostle Peter, *Thou art the Christ, the Sonne of the liuing God, is the roote of all the faith and pietie of the whole world; and that therefore the Apostolique Sea carefully looketh vnto it, that no chinke be made in it, and that it be not spotted with any contagion; for that if it should, there were no meanes of resisting any error.*

But because this maketh not for them, the Cardinall helpeth the matter with an vntruth, saying; that *Gelasius* proueth, that the Sea of *Rome* cannot erre, because the confession of it is the roote of all the faith and pietie that is in the world: whereas he neither goeth about to proue the one, nor speaketh any word of the other; but of the excellencie of the confession that *Peter* made, the necessitie of preseruing it inuiolable, and the care of the Sea of *Rome*, in and before his time, for the safe keeping of the same.

Wherefore let vs come to the places that are cited to this purpose out of *Gregories* Epistles, which shewe plainely, they are past shame that manage the Popes affaires, and defend his cause. For whereas [m] *Gregory* saith, that if he that claimeth to be vniuersall Bishop do fall, all the whole Church is ouerthrowne, and that therefore there must be no such vniuersall Bishop; and particularly sheweth by the grieuous heresies that preuailed in the Church of *Constantinople*, how ill it would haue beene for the Churches of God, if the Bishops thereof had beene vniuersall Bishops, as they sought to be; they bring this place to proue, that the Pope cannot erre: whereas they should haue brought it to shew, how dangerous it is, that there should be any one vniuersall Bishop, such as their Pope desireth to be; and that therefore (as [n] *Cyprian* obserueth) almightie God wisely foreseeing what euils might follow such vniuersalitie of power and iurisdiction in one man, ordained, that there should be a great number of Bishops ioyned in equall commission, that so if some fell, the rest might stand and keepe the people from a generall downefall.

m *Greg. lib. 4. ep. 32.*

n *Epist. 67.*

The next allegation is out of the Epistle to *Eulogius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, whereby the Reader may see with what conscience these Iesuited Papists do cite the writings of the Fathers. The words of *Gregorie* are these.

[o] *Your most sweete Holinesse hath vttered many things in your letters, concerning* Peters *chaire, saying, that he yet sitteth in it in his successours: I truely do acknowledge my selfe to be vnworthy, not onely to be in the number of those that sit as rulers, but of them that stand to be ruled. But I therefore willingly accept whatsoeuer you say, because he hath spoken to me of* Peters *chaire, that sitteth in* Peters *chaire; and although it no way pleaseth or delighteth me to be specially honoured, yet I greatly reioyced, because what you attributed to me, you gaue to your selues.*

o *Greg. lib. 6. ep. 37.*

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For who knoweth not, that the holy Church is firmely eſtabliſhed in the ſoundneſſe of the Prince of the Apoſtles? whoſe firmeneſſe his name doth ſhewe; for he is named Peter *of* Petra *a Rocke, to whom the voyce of Veritie ſayth, I will giue to thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and thou beeing conuerted, confirme thy brethren; and againe,* Simon Ioanna, *Loueſt thou me? feede my ſheepe.*

Wherefore though there were many Apoſtles, yet in reſpect of the chiefetie he had, the chaire of Peter *chiefe of the Apoſtles grewe to be in greater authoritie then the reſt, which is the chaire of one Apoſtle in three places. For he exalted the Sea, in which he was pleaſed to reſt, and to ende this preſent life; he beautified that Sea, wherein hee left the Euangeliſt his Diſciple; and hee firmely eſtabliſhed that Sea. in which he ſate ſeauen yeares, though with purpoſe in the end to leaue it, and to depart from it.*

Whereas therefore there is the Sea of one, and that but one, wherein three Biſhops by Gods appointment ſit to rule, whatſoeuer good I heare of you, I account it mine owne; and what you perſwade your ſelues of me, thinke that you alſo are worthy of the ſame.

If this Epiſtle proue that the Pope cannot erre, it proueth likewiſe that the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioche* are free from errour. For all theſe ſucceede that great Apoſtle Saint *Peter* (to whom Chriſt ſayde, *To thee will I giue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen*, and *thou being turned, confirme thy brethren*; And againe, *Loueſt thou me? feede my ſheepe*) as well as the Pope.

All theſe ſit in *Peters* chaire; *Peters* chaire is in *Alexandria*, and at *Antioche*, as well as at *Rome*; and whatſoeuer they that are Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioche*, attribute to the Biſhop of *Rome*, they may lawfully aſſume to themſelues: ſeeing they are worthie of the ſame, as *Gregorie* in this place telleth vs.

Wherefore, ſeeing not onely Fathers and Councels, but euen Popes alſo (in whoſe defence he writeth) faile him, the Cardinall flieth for helpe, to the Prieſts of *Aarons* order, and goeth about to proue, that the Pope cannot erre, becauſe the high Prieſt had in his breaſt-plate p *Vrim* and *Thummim*, *light and perfection*, or *doctrine and trueth*, as he will haue the Hebrewe worde tranſlated; importing (as hee ſuppoſeth) that hee could not erre in the vnderſtanding of the Lawe of God. p Exod. 28.30.

Whereupon (as he thinketh) God commaunded all thoſe, that any way doubted of the meaning of his Lawe, to go vp to the high Prieſt, and to ſeeke to be ſatisfied by him, ſaying: q *They ſhall iudge true iudgement vnto thee.* q Deut. 17.9.

Lyra in his Annotations vpon this place, reporteth, that there was a certaine Gloſſe of the Hebrewes, that if the high Prieſt ſhould

tell them, that their right hand were their left, or their left their right, they were to hold it good and right.

The like opinion it seemeth the *Romanists* haue of the Pope. But *Lyra* in that place condemneth the folly of those Iewes that so thought, because the sentence of no man, of what authoritie soeuer he be, is to be admitted, if it containe a manifest vntruth and errour: which he saith is euident out of the verie text it selfe, in that it is sayd, *They shall iudge vnto thee true iudgement,* [r] *and thou shalt do whatsoeuer they shall say vnto thee, that are ouer the place that the Lord hath chosen, and whatsoeuer they shall teach thee according to his lawes.* Whereby it appeareth, that if they speake that which is vntrue, or manifestly depart from the law, they are not to be heard.

r Vers. 10.

The Author of the ordinarie Glosse agreeth with *Lyra*, saying; *Note that the Lord requireth thee to do, whatsoeuer the Priests do teach thee according to the Law, because otherwise thou art not to obey them, vnlesse they teach thee according to the Law.* Whereupon Christ saith, [s] *the Scribes and Pharisees sit vpon* Moses *chaire*, who yet (as the Author of the [t] Interlineall Glosse noteth) are not generally without exception to be hearkned vnto, but then onely, when they vtter and deliuer *pertinentia ad Cathedram*; that is, such things as beseeme him to vtter, that sitteth in *Moses* chaire. So that to conclude this point, neither the *Vrim* and *Thummim* in *Aarons* breast-plate, nor the Mandate of almightie God to go vp to the sonnes of *Aaron* to seeke iudgement and iustice, proue, that they could not erre, and therefore the Pope is still in as bad case as euer hee was.

s Matth. 23. 2.
t *In eundem locum.*

Wherefore finding no helpe in the Tribe of *Leui*, nor in the house of *Aaron*, they betake themselues to experience, and are in good hope to proue out of the experience of former times, that the Pope cannot erre.

First, because (as they say) whatsoeuer the Pope condemned at any time as hereticall, was euer holden to be so by the whole Church; and many heresies were neuer condemned any otherwise, but by his iudgement onely.

Secondly, because neuer any Pope was an Heretique, whereas all other principall Seas and churches, haue had Bishops, not onely erring, but teaching and professing heresie. The instances, that *Bellarmine* giueth of heresies and heretiques condemned by the Pope, and reiected for such by the Church, onely because he condemned them, are the *Pelagians*, *Priscillianists*, *Iouinian*, and *Vigilantius*, and their heresies. It is hard (I see) for a Blackamoore to change his skinne, for a Leopard to put away his spots, or for a man, that hath long acquainted himselfe with false and vnfaithfull dealing, to learne to deale sincerely and truely.

For touching the heretickes mentioned by the Cardinall, all the world know-

knoweth they were condemned in Synodes by many Bishops, and not by the priuate censure of the Bishop of *Rome* alone. Nay, it is most certaine, that others shewed more care and diligence in suppressing some of these hereticks and their errors, then euer the *Romane* Bishop did, which I will make to appeare in the particulars, beginning with the *Pelagians*.

u *Pelagius* the founder of these hereticks, was borne in great *Britaine*, and becomming a Monke in the East parts of the world, after hee had sparsed his errours in other places abroad, returned home into his owne country, and infected it almost wholly with his heresie. Heereupon the *Britaines* sought helpe and direction of the *French* Bishops, because learning at that time flourished more among them, then it did among the *Britaines*: who willing to reach forth their helping hands to their neighbours and brethren in this time of their neede, sent vnto them *Germanus* and *Lupus*, Bishops and brethren, defenders of the catholicke faith, who cleared the Ile from the *Pelagian* heresie, and confirmed it in the faith both by the word of truth, and signes and miracles.

u *August. de haresib. Beda de ratione temporum; Alfons. à Castro contra hæres. lib. 2. pag. 159.*

Besides this condemnation of *Pelagius* by the *French* and *Britaines*, there were sundry Councels holden to condemne both him and his wicked heresies, in *Palestina*, at *Carthage*, at *Mileuise*, and at *Aurausicum*: and it is most certaine, that the Church of GOD, and all posterities are more bound to Saint *Augustine* for clearing the points of doctrine questioned by the *Pelagians*, then to any Bishop of *Rome* whatsoeuer. So that it is most vntrue, that the *Pelagians* were condemned only by the Bishop of *Rome*: for other were as forward in that businesse as he; yea the x *Africans* were more forward then the *Romanes*, and drew them into the fellowship of the same worke with themselues,

x *See Epist. 95. inter epist. Augustini.*

The like may be said of the *Priscillianistes*; for it is more then euident out of the first Councel of *Bracar*, that they were not condemned by the Bishop of *Rome* alone, but by many Synodes: for it is there reported, that y *Leo* did write by *Turibius* notary of the Sea Apostolike, to the Synode of *Galitia*, at what time the heresie of the *Priscillianistes* began to spreade in those parts; and that by his prescription and appointment, they of *Tarracon*, of *Carthage*, of *Portugall*, & *Bætica*, met in Councel, and composing a rule of faith against the heresie of the *Priscillianists*, containing certaine chiefe heades of Christian doctrine, directed the same patterne of right beliefe to the Bishop of *Bracar* that then was: which heads of Christian doctrine were recited in the first Councel of *Bracar*, and the heresie of the *Priscillianistes* thereupon more distinctly and particularly condemned, then euer before.

y *Initio actorum Concil. Bracar. I.*

In all which proceedings, we may see that the Pope doth nothing of himselfe alone, but being Patriarch of the West, and hearing of a dangerous heresie spreading in some Churches subiect to him, he causeth

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the Bishops vnder him to meete in Councels, and to condemne the same. Which (as I thinke) will not proue, that the Pope alone condemned heresies, or that some heresies were reiected onely, because the Pope condemned them; or that the Pope cannot erre, which is the thing in question.

Touching *Iouinian* and *Vigilantius*, their errors are so vncertainly reported, some attributing to them one thing; and some another, and some condemning them for thinges, for which they were not to be condemned, that it is hard to say, by what lawfull authority, or by whom they were condemned; but that in their errours iustly disliked, they were condemned onely by the Bishop of *Rome*, and therefore taken to bee heretickes by the whole vniuersall Church, our Aduersaries will neuer be able to proue.

That the errors attributed vnto them are vncertainly reported, it appeareth, in that [z] *Austine* chargeth *Iouinian* with two dangerous & wicked assertions, touching the deniall of the perpetuall virginity of the blessed Virgin the mother of our Lord; and the parity of sinnes: whereof *Hierome* (who yet was not like to haue spared him) maketh no mention. And that they were in some things vniustly condemned, it is euident, first, in that [a] *Hierome* blameth *Iouinian* for saying, that married persons, virgins and widowes, if they differ not in other workes of vertue, and therein excell one another, are of equall merit; which the best learned both of the Fathers and Schoole-men do approue, as I haue [b] elsewhere shewed at large,

Secōdly, in in that [c] he so bitterly inueigheth against *Vigilantius* for disliking the pernoctations in the Cemiteries & places of Saints burial, vsed in ancient times; which a [d] Councel for the same reasons that moued *Vigilantius* to dislike thē, tooke wholy away, & forbade thē to be vsed any more, and the *Romane* Churches haue long since disused. But that the Popes peremptory condemning of an error in matter of faith, was not taken in ancient times to be a sufficient demonstration, that they were hereticks that defended such errors after his cōdemning of the same, it is euident, in that [e] *Austine* saith, that the Churches might doubt still touching the matter of rebaptization, because in the times of *Stephen* who condemned it, and *Cyprian* who vrged it, there was no generall Councell to end the controuersie betweene them; and in that, after the peremptory forbidding & condemning of rebaptization by *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, *Cyprian* and his colleagues still persisted in the practise of it, and in vrging the necessity of it; and yet were neuer branded with the marke and note of heresie, but euer were, and still are reputed catholickes.

[f] *Bellarmine*, to auoid the force of this argument, feareth not to say contrary to his owne knowledge, that *Stephen* and his adherents neuer deter-

z *Aug. de hæres. cap. 82.*

a *Hier. contra Iouinian. lib. 1.*

b Booke 3. chap. 30.

c *Hieron. contra Vigilantium.*

d *Concil. Eliberti. Canon. 34, 35.*

e *Aug. lib. 1. de Baptismo. cap. 18.*

f *De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 7.*

determined the question of rebaptization. But that he did (and that in most peremptory sort and manner) it is more cleare and euident, then that the Sunne shineth at noone. For [e] *Firmilianus* a famous learned Bishop chargeth him, that hee caused great dissentions throughout all the Churches of the world, that he grieuously sinned; in that he deuided himselfe from so many flockes of Christs sheepe; that hee was a schismaticke; that hee had forsaken the communion of Ecclesiasticall vnity: willing him not to deceiue himselfe, but to be well assured, that in thinking he could put all other from the communion, hee had put himselfe out of the communion of all: that hee brake the bandes of vnity with many Bishops in all parts of the world, as well in the East, as in the South with the *Africanes*, not admitting such as came from them vnto him into his presence, or to any speech with him; and farther commanding the brethren, that none of them should receiue them to house. So that hee not onely denyed the peace of the Church, and the communion of Christians vnto them, but the entring vnder the roofe of any mans house, that would be ruled by him; and that thus he held the vnity of the spirit in the bond of peace, reiecting them as damnable miscreants that dissented from him, and calling blessed *Cyprian*, a false Christ, a false Apostle, and a deceiptfull labourer or workman.

[e] *Firmilian. ad Cyprian. inter Epistolas Cyprian ep. 75.*

And [f] *Dionysius*, a famous and worthy Bishop reporteth, that he wrote concerning *Hellenus* and *Firmilianus*, and all the Bishops in *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, and all the bordering countries, that hee would not communicate with them for the same cause of rebaptization: which yet (as hee saith) was agreed on in many very great Synodes of Bishops.

[f] *Euseb. hist. lib. 7. cap. 4.*

If this be not sufficient to proue, that *Stephen* determined the question of rebaptization, I know not what can be. For first, he commanded, that none should bee rebaptized when they returned from the societies and prophane conuenticles of heretickes, but that they should bee admitted with the onely imposition of hands.

Secondly, he deliuered his owne opinion, that rebaptization was vnlawful, confidently, as hauing so learned of his elders, and not in doubting manner.

And thirdly, hee reiected all them from his communion, that thought and practised otherwise then hee did, as it appeareth by the testimonies of *Firmilianus* and *Dionysius*; so that it is strange, that *Bellarmine* should be able so to harden his forehead, as not to blush whē he saith, that *Stephen* did not define any thing touching the question of rebaptization; that he did not make it a matter of faith, & necessary to be beleeued of all; & that he did not excommunicate those that were otherwise minded, but onely threatned them that he would so do. It is true in deed, that *Cypri-*

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an, howsoeuer hee definitiuely deliuered in a Councell of Bishops, what he was perswaded men were to beleeue and practise, touching rebaptization; and protested against *Stephen*, as a proud, ignorant, and vnaduised man: yet did not vrge this his decree so, as to reiect from his communion all that should dislike it; but left euery Bishop to his owne iudgement, as being to giue an account to God onely.

But how the *Iesuites* can defend against all the former proofes, that *Stephens* proceedings were like to those of *Cyprian*, and that hee also left euery man to his owne iudgement, and reiected no man from his communion, for dissenting from him, I cannot see.

By that which hath bene said, it appeareth, that the Ancients did not thinke euery thing to bee heresie that the *Romane* Bishops defined to bee so; and that therefore they did not thinke him free from danger of erring.

Neither need we to maruaile (saith *Bellarmine*) if in former times men had not learned this lesson, seeing to this day they are not iudged to be heretickes that thinke the Pope may erre. Yet so kinde is he to *Cyprian*, that (whereas *Austine* excuseth him in his errour, and thinketh his sinne was venial) he [g] pronounceth he sinned mortally, & so without particular repentance (whereof there is little likelihood) perished euerlastingly, notwithstanding his martyrdome.

[g] *Vbi supra.*

The reason of this difference of the censures of *Austine* and *Bellarmine* is, because *Austine* looked onely or principally to his errour, but *Bellarmine* to his contempt of the Bishop of *Romes* Decrees and determinations.

CHAP.

Chap. 43.

Of such Popes as are charged with hereſie, and how the Romaniſts ſeeke to cleare them from that imputation.

HAVING examined our Aduerſaries prooſes of the infallibility of the Popes iudgement, taken from the acceptation of his iudgement as right and good by all the world, whenſoeuer he defined any thing; let vs come to the other proofe of the ſame, taken from the felicity of the *Romane* Sea in former times. [a] *Ruffinus* ſaith, that before his time no hereſie had euer taken beginning in the *Romane* Church; but our Aduerſaries proceed farther, and feare not to [b] pronounce after 1600. yeares, that no hereticke did euer ſit in the Sea of *Rome*: which their proud brag will be found much more vaine then true, and many vnanſwerable inſtances will be brought of wicked hereticks poſſeſſing that chaire. *Tertullian* in his booke againſt *Praxeas* ſpeaketh of a Biſhop of *Rome*, but nameth him not, that admitted and allowed the prophecies of *Montanus* & his two Propheteſſes, *Priſca* and *Maximilla*, and held communion with the *Montaniſts* till he was diſſwaded by *Praxeas*. Who (as hee ſaith) cauſed the prophecies of *Montanus* and his Propheteſſes to be baniſhed, & brought in hereſie, who baniſhed their *Paraclete*, and crucified the Father.

a *In expoſitione ſymboli.*

b *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

But becauſe *Tertullian* was a *Montaniſt*, and wrote partially in things that concerned them (though [c] *Rhenanus* ſay, the Biſhop of *Rome* did Montanize) yet for my part (no other hiſtory reporting any ſuch thing of any *Romane* Biſhop) I will not vpon *Tertullians* bare word, charge any of them with any ſuch hereſie. But (howſoeuer we thinke of *Tertullians* report) we finde in the Councell of *Sinueſſa*, in the [d] *Pontificall*, in the Epiſtle of *Nicholas* the firſt, to *Michael* the Emperour, in [e] *Platina* and others, that *Marcellinus* did ſacrifice vnto idols, and ſo at leaſt in outward action ſhewed himſelfe an infidell; which is a higher degree of impiety then hereſie.

c *Annotat. in Tertul. contra Praxeam.*

d *In vita Marcellini.*

e *In Marcellino.*

If it be ſaid, he committed that execrable act of idolatry, not out of any miſ-perſwaſion of his minde, but feare of death, it will be replyed, that if the paſſion of feare be able to worke ſo ill effects in Popes, as the vtter abnegation of chriſtianity, and the profeſſing of themſelues to bee Pagan infidels, by publike outward acts of idolatry, there is little reaſon to bee giuen, but that ſome other ſiniſter and vile affection may carry them as farre to make profeſſion of hereſie, a thing not ſo ill as Paganiſme.

Wherefore [f] *Baronius*, to preuent the worſt, and to make all ſure, inclineth to deny, that euer *Marcellinus* committed any ſuch act of idolatry, and

f *Annal. to. ann. 303. num. 99*

and discrediteth the report of the Councel of *Sinuessa*, in which he is said to haue bene condemned. Wherein hee doth as much disaduantage the *Romane* cause another way, in depriuing his friends of so good an authority as the resolution of that sacred Synode, that *Prima sedes à nemine iudicatur*, that is, that the first Sea is iudged of none, as he aduantageth it in the clearing *Marcellinus*; and therefore he is rightly blamed by g *Binius* for his inconsiderate rashnesse in this behalfe. But that wee may be assured, that Popes may be hereticks as wel as infidels, we haue the confessiō of as good a man as *Baronius* acknowledging the same. For h *Bellarmine* saith, that *Liberius* (howsoeuer for a long time he continued constant in the profession of the true faith, so that for the same his constancy he was banished, and another by the *Arrian* faction put into his place) yet in the end weary of banishment, he was brought to subscribe to heresie, and was in his outward courses an hereticke, whatsoeuer his heart was, wherof God only is the searcher; so that iustly as an hereticke he was condemned, and pronounced to be no Pope any longer by his owne Clergy.

g *Annot. in act. concil. Sinuessani.*

h *De Pontif. lib. 4 cap. 9.*

This he proueth out of the testimonies of i *Athanasius* and k *Hierome*, who say expressly, that being weary of his continuance in banishmene, he was at last brought to subscribe to heresie: And l *Hilary* (who speaking to *Constantius* the wicked *Arrian* Emperour) hath these wordes: *Afterwardes thou diddest turne the course of thy warre against Rome, whence thou tookest the Bishop, ô wretched Emperour! I can hardly say whether thy impiety were greater in sending him into banishment, or in sending him home againe.* Thereby insinuating that hee restored him vpon very ill conditions. And that he was not restored, but by some kind of consenting with the *Arrians*, it is most cleare in that m *Zozomen* reporteth, that the *Arrian* Bishops assembled at *Sirmium*, sent their letters to *Felix*, then Bishop of *Rome*, and the Clergy there, kindly to receiue *Liberius*, & that both Felix & he might sit as Bishops, & gouerne the *Romane* Church together: which they would neuer haue done, if they had not found him tractable & yeelding; yet could not these two Bishops endure one the other long, notwithstanding these letters.

i *Athanas. in epist. ad solitar. vitam agentes.*
k *Hieron. in Chronico. & in Cat. al. g Scrip. Eccles. in Fortunatiano.*
l *Hilar. in lib. aduers. Constantiū.*
m *Zozom. lib. 4. cap. 14.*

And therefore n *Hierome* saith, that *Liberius* impatient of any longer continuance in banishment, subscribed to heretical prauity, and so returned to *Rome* as a conquerour, and cast out *Felix* who had possessed himselfe of the Episcopall chaire, and put diuers other of the Clergie also out of the Church; and o *Bellarmine* himselfe confesseth, hee hath seene in the *Vatican* Library, manuscript Epistles of *Liberius*, some written to the Emperour, and some to the Easterne Bishops, wherein hee signifieth plainly enough, that in the end he was content to yeeld to the will of the Emperor. And besides, if the *Romanists* do not acknowledge that *Liberius* was a conuicted hereticke, (there being no other cause but heresie for which (as they thinke) a Pope may lawfully bee iudged and deposed) they

n *In Chronico.*
o *Vbi supra.*

they must put *Felix*, who was Pope while *Liberius* yet liued, out of the number of Popes, whom yet their Church doth worship as a Pope Saint, and a Martyr. So that we see *Liberius* was iustly iudged and condemed as an hereticke; and that seeing a Pope, in that he becommeth an hereticke, ceaseth to be Pope, he lost all the priuiledges that belong to *Peters* successours, and so might decree for heresie: yea, I thinke there is no reasonable man but will confesse, that his subscribing to heresie, that is the head of the Church, is a decreeing for heresie. Now that he subscribed to heresie, we haue the expresse testimony of Saint *Hierome*. [p] After the banishment of *Liberius* by the means of *Acatius*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestina*, who was a great man with *Constantius* the Emperour, *Felix*, a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, was chosen Bishop, and appointed to succeed him. This *Felix*, (as [q] *Theodoret* testifieth) was a Catholicke, and held the profession of faith agreed on at *Nice*, but communicated freely with the *Arrians*. Whereupon hee was so much disliked by those that were Catholickes, that none of them would once enter into the house of prayer while hee was within. For that though hee were not in perswasion and vocall profession a full *Arrian*, yet by communicating with them, and being ordained by them, he consented to their wicked and hereticall courses.

p *Hieron in Catalog. Script. Eccleſiaſt. in Acacio.*

q *Theodoret. hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 17.*

Neither doth it appeare by any history of credit, that euer he refused to communicate with the *Arrian* heretickes, during the time he quietly possessed & enioyed the Bishopricke of *Rome*. But the contrary is more then probable, because when *Liberius* subscribed, and was thereupon sent home with letters of commendation from the *Arrian* Bishops assembled at *Sirmium*, [r] they carefully prouided for *Felix* his continuance in the Episcopall office still, and desired that the violences & outrages committed in the time of his ordinatiõ (when the people for the loue they bare to *Liberius* were in an vprore, & some of them were slaine) might be forgotten, and that both of them might sit and gouerne the Church together, as Bishops of the place; which fauour the *Arrian* Bishops would neuer haue shewed to *Felix*, if he had disclaimed their communion. So that it is more then probable that he neuer forsook the cõmunion of the *Arrian* hereticks. For *Liberius* returning as a cõqueror, so soone as he came to *Rome*, cast him out of the Church, & shortly after he dyed; and therfore I cannot see what reason the *Romanists* haue to put this good man into the Kalender of their Pope Saints, whose entrance into the Episcopal chaire was not only schismatical (there being a catholicke Bishop yet aliue, & suffering banishmẽt for the catholick faith) but violent & bloudy also (for he got the place by the meanes of bloudy heretickes, making himselfe guilty of all the sins of those hereticks with whom he cõmunicated) & of whose relinquishing & abandoning the cõmunion & fellowship of the *Arrians*, there is no mention found in any Author of credit, but in the Author of the [s] *Pontificall* only

r *Sozom. lib. 4. c. 14.*

s *In Felice.*

onely, who hath as many lies as wordes in his narration concerning *Felix*.

For first, he saith, hee sate but one yeare, three moneths, and three daies, whereas it is reported by [t] *Theodoret*, that *Liberius* had bene more then two yeares in banishment before suite was made to the Emperour for his returne; all which time *Felix* was Pope.

t *Theodoret. vbi supra.*

Secondly, he saith, *Felix* declared and published *Constantius* the sonne of *Constantine* to be an heretick, and that *Constantius* was rebaptized, or the second time baptized by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, neare vnto *Nicomedia*; which thing is most false, as [u] *Binnius* in his Annotations telleth vs, because both [x] *Athanasius* & [y] *Socrates* do affirme, he was baptized by *Euzoius* an *Arrian*, when he was ready to dye. And [z] *Hilarius* after the time of this supposed baptisme inueyeth against him, for that not being baptized, he presumed to prescribe to the Church a forme of faith.

u *Binnius annot. in vitam Felicis.*
x *Athanas. lib. de Synodis.*
y *Socrates. lib. 2 cap. vlt.*
z *Hilar. lib. de Synodo.*

Thirdly, he saith, *Felix* built a certaine Church, while he was a Presbyter, whereas it is certaine, that of a Deacon he was made a Bishop, and neuer liued in the degree of a Presbyter.

And fourthly, touching the death of *Felix* hee is very vncertaine and doubtfull, and others speake nothing of his martyrdome at all.

Hereupon (as both [a] *Bellarmine* and [b] *Binnius* report) in the time of *Gregory* the thirteenth, in the yeare of our Lord 1582. where certaine learned men in *Rome* were deputed to correct the *Martyrologe*, they were doubtfull whether they should put his name into the new *Martyrologe* or not, seeing both his entrance into his Bishopricke was violent, bloudy, and schismatical, and his end vncertaine, and they inclined to leaue it out; which they had done, if a certaine marble chest had not bene found in the Church of *Cosmas* & *Damianus*, the 28. of *July*, the day before his wonted & accustomed feast, with this inscription in old characters: *Here lyeth the body of Felix the Pope and Martyr, who condemned Constantius the heretick.* Whereby wee see how little reason the *Romane* Church hath to worship this Saint, and to admire the prouidence of God, in preseruing this Sea Apostolicke from heresie; in that, as they would beare vs in hand, *Felix*, after he heard of the subscription of *Liberius*, who thereby ceased to be Pope, condemned the *Arrians*, was admitted by the Catholickes, and became a true Bishop, suffering death vpon the returne of *Liberius*, as if the very Sea did change the mindes of all that sit in it, and make them good, how badde soeuer they were before; whereas *Felix* [c] being in his entrance a schismaticke, in communion, if not in profession, an heretick, and in his ordination which was voyde, no Bishop, and no history of credit reporting either his condemning *Arrianisme*, or his admission to be a Bishop after the deposition of *Liberius* by the Catholikes, or what his end was; it appeareth that heretickes and schismatickes may possesse the chaire of *Peter*, and be worshipped for Pope Saints after their death.

a *De Pont. lib. 4. cap. 9.*
b *Annot. in vit. Felicis.*

c *Ruffinus Eccl. histor. lib. 1. cap. 22.*

But

But whatsoeuer became of *Felix*, they say, *Liberius* after the death of *Felix* became a Catholicke, and got the loue of the Catholickes; and so by their acceptation of him, became a true Bishop againe, and in that state dyed.

Thus do our Aduersaries seeme to carry this matter very fairely, as if all were safe and well, whereas in deed they are in a very great straite, for either *Liberius* was an hereticke before his returne home, and iustly deposed for heresie; or else *Felix* was neuer true Bishop, and then their Church hath worshipped a schismatick as a Pope-Saint for the space of a thousand yeares: if hee were an hereticke, and iustly deposed (as to iustifie *Felix*, they must be forced to confesse) he could neuer bee restored to the Episcopall office and dignity againe. For the [d] Canon of the Church is, that no Catholicke becomming an hereticke, and being condemned by the Church for such a one, shall euer bee receiued to Ecclesiasticall honour againe: so that hee could not dye true Pope, as our Aduersaries dreame he did.

d *Hieron. contra Luciferianos. Cypriã. lib. 2. Epist. 3*

Let them shew vs how they can cleare themselues from sundry absurd contradictions in this point, and we will rest satisfied. For we do not deny, but that he might repent of his subscribing to heresie, and dye a catholicke, though some of the testimonies that *Bellarmine* bringeth, will scarse proue it.

The next Pope that we finde to haue bene touched with any suspicion of heresie, is *Anastasius* the second, whom the Author of the [e] *Pontificall* taxeth. First, for that hee communicated with *Photius*, a Deacon of the Church of *Thessalonica*, that had communicated with *Achacius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, without the counsell of the Bishops and Presbyters of the Catholicke Church; which his inconsiderate action, made many of the Presbyters and Clergy, refuse to communicate with him.

e *In vita Anastasij. 2.*

Secondly, for that he sought to restore *Achacius*, whom *Felix* and *Gelasius* his predecessours had condemned: for which fact hee was suddenly stricken of God, in such sort that he dyed.

To these [f] *Gratian* addeth another taxation, reprehending him for that he allowed the baptisme, and ordination of such as were baptized and ordained by *Achacius* after he was become an heretick. But because the baptisme and ordination of heretickes is holden good, and it appeareth by the Epistle of *Anastasius* to *Anastasius* the Emperour, that *Achacius* was dead before hee was Bishop, and that hee desired to haue the name of *Achacius* razed out of the Diptickes of the Church, after his death: I will passe by this censure of the author of the *Pontificall*, and *Gratian* as doubtfull, and leauing *Anastasius*, come to *Vigilius*; who (as [g] *Liberatus* reporteth) to get the Popedome, like a notable dissembling hypocrite pretended at *Rome* to be a catholicke, but in his letters to *Theodora* the Empresse, who was an hereticke, condemned the catholicke faith:

f *Dist. 19. ca. Anastasius.*

g *In Breuiario cap. 22.*

faith: and promiſed that if *Syluerius* might be thruſt out, and he put into his place, he would reſtore *Anthemius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, reiected by *Agapetus* for hereſie. Which being brought to paſſe by *Theodora* the Empreſſe, and *Syluerius* vniuſtly baniſhed, hee ſate for a while as an Anti-pope and an hereticke. But when as *Syluerius* was dead, hee profeſſed himſelfe a catholike, and refuſed to performe that hee had promiſed to *Theodora*. Whether this man being an hereticke in his outward profeſſion at his entrance, and by ſuch profeſſion getting the Popedome vniuſtly, ſchiſmatically, and as an Anti-pope, could euer after bee true Pope, let our Aduerſaries giue vs anſwer, when they haue aduiſedly thought of it.

The next Pope that is charged with hereſie, is *Honorius* the firſt, whom the Chriſtian world, and not a few particular men onely condemned as a *Monothelite*. For in the [h] ſixth generall Councell, his Epiſtles to *Sergius* the hereticke are publickely read and condemned, and he accurſed as an hereticke. The [i] ſeuenth generall Councell likewiſe doth anathematize *Honorius*, *Sergius*, *Syrus*, and the other *Monothelites*. In the [k] eighth generall Councell, called about the matter of difference betweene *Ignatius* and *Photius*, the acts of the Councel of the Weſt vnder *Adrian* the ſecond, are read and allowed; wherein *Adrian* profeſſeth, that none of the inferiour Seas may iudge the greater, and ſpecially *Rome*, vnleſſe it be in caſe of hereſie; in which caſe they of the Eaſt did anathematize & accurſe *Honorius*: which yet (he ſaith) they would not haue aduentured to do, if the *Romane* Church had not gone before them in ſuch condemnation of her owne Biſhop.

h *Actione* 13.

i *Actione* 7.

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l *In Synod. 7. actione 3.*

m *In Epiſtolâ Synodicâ quæ habetur in eâdem. 7. Synod. actione 3.*

n *Synod. 7. actione 6.*

o *In Carm. de 7. Synodis.*

p *De 6. ætat. lib. in vita Conſtantini. 4.*

q *In vita Leonis 2.*

Theſe authorities may ſeeme very ſufficient to proue, that *Honorius* was an hereticke; yet ſo well are our Aduerſaries affected to him, that they will rather diſcredit them all, then ſuffer him to bee ſpotted and diſgraced: and therefore ſome of them ſay, that the ſixth generall Councell is corrupted; and likewiſe the Epiſtle of *Leo* the ſecond, in the end of it: and that the Fathers in the ſeuenth Councell were deceiued by the ſixth, as likewiſe Pope *Adrian* with the whole *Romane* Synode, and the other Authors, that concurre with thē in the condemnation of *Honorius*. Others think that indeed the ſixth Councel condemned *Honorius*, but vpon falſe information, and ſo erred in a matter of fact. Which conceipt is no way probable

probable. For that the Fathers of the Councell proceeded not rashly, but[r] caused the Epistles of *Honorius* written to the heades of the faction of the *Monothelites* (for which he was suspected,) to be openly read and examined.

r *Actione* 12.

But (say they) first, these Epistles haply were counterfeit. Secondly, if they were not counterfeit, there is nothing in them contrary to the truth.

Neither of these answers is sufficient. For first, that the Epistles were not coũterfeit, it appeareth by *Maximus*,[s] who answereth a place brought out of one of them, and sheweth the meaning of it, as from the Secretary that wrot it, then liuing.

s *Disp. Maximi cum Pyrrho. in 2 Tomo. Concil. apud Binium.*

Secondly, if these Epistles had bene counterfeit, the Legates of *Agatho* present there, would haue taken that exception to them, and not haue consented to the condemnation of one of his predecessors vpon counterfeit euidence.

Neither is the second answere any better then the first; for, that the Fathers assembled in a generall Councell, should not be able to vnderstand the Epistles of *Honorius*, and iudge whether they were hereticall or not, as well as the Iesuits now liuing, is very strange.

But let vs suppose the Iesuites to haue more wit then all those worthy Bishops and Fathers that were assembled in the sixt Councel, & let vs see by taking a view of the Epistles themselues, whether they may be cleared frõ the errour they haue bene charged with, or not. It is not to be denied, but that *Honorius* in these his Epistles[t] confesseth, that the nature of God in Christ, worketh the thinges that are diuine; and the nature of man, the thinges that are humane, without diuision, confusion, or conuersion of one of them into another; and that the differences of these natures remaine inuiolable. But in that hee denyeth, that there are two actions in Christ, the one of *Deity*, and the other of *Humanity*; in that he saith, it is absurd to thinke, that where there are more natures then one, there must bee more actions then one: and alloweth of *Cyrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Sergius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who were *Monothelites*, rather then of *Sophronius* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, a right worthy and learned Bishop (who defended the truth against them both, and whose learned Epistle to *Sergius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, we finde in the[u] sixth generall Councel:) it cannot be auoyded but that he erred in matter of faith, in such sort, as by consequẽce it ouerthroweth that distinctiõ of the two natures of God & man in Christ, which hee seemed to acknowledge. Neither can it bee cleared frõ suspition of hereticall & bad meaning, that hee maketh it but a curiosity of philosophers to acknowledge a twofold action in Christ, & denieth that the fathers euer defined any such thing; wheras pope *Martine* the first in the[x] Synod of *Rome* saith, it is cleare by the determinatiõ of the Fathers, that the 2. natures of Christ remaine vncõfounded in the vnion, &

t *Actione* 12. *Synodi* 6. & *act.* 13.

u *Actione* 11.

x *Concilior. Tomo.* 2.

faith: and promiſed that if *Syluerius* might be thruſt out, and he put into his place, he would reſtore *Anthemius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, reiected by *Agapetus* for hereſie. Which being brought to paſſe by *Theodora* the Empreſſe, and *Syluerius* vniuſtly baniſhed, hee ſate for a while as an Anti-pope and an hereticke. But when as *Syluerius* was dead, hee profeſſed himſelfe a catholike, and refuſed to performe that hee had promiſed to *Theodora*. Whether this man being an hereticke in his outward profeſſion at his entrance, and by ſuch profeſſion getting the Popedome vniuſtly, ſchiſmatically, and as an Anti-pope, could euer after bee true Pope, let our Aduerſaries giue vs anſwer, when they haue aduiſedly thought of it.

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l *In Synod. 7. actione* 3.
m *In Epiſtolâ Synodicâ quæ habetur in eâdem.*
7. *Synod. actione* 3.
n *Synod. 7. actione* 6.
o *In Carm. de* 7. *Synodis.*
p *De* 6. *ætat. b.*
q *In vita Leonis* 2.

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u *Actione* 11.

x *Concilior. Tomo.* 2.

faith: and promiſed that if *Syluerius* might be thruſt out, and he put into his place, he would reſtore *Anthemius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, reiected by *Agapetus* for hereſie. Which being brought to paſſe by *Theodora* the Empreſſe, and *Syluerius* vniuſtly baniſhed, hee ſate for a while as an Anti-pope and an hereticke. But when as *Syluerius* was dead, hee profeſſed himſelfe a catholike, and refuſed to performe that hee had promiſed to *Theodora*. Whether this man being an hereticke in his outward profeſſion at his entrance, and by ſuch profeſſion getting the Popedome vniuſtly, ſchiſmatically, and as an Anti-pope, could euer after bee true Pope, let our Aduerſaries giue vs anſwer, when they haue aduiſedly thought of it.

The next Pope that is charged with hereſie, is *Honorius* the firſt, whom the Chriſtian world, and not a few particular men onely condemned as a *Monothelite*. For in the [h] ſixth generall Councell, his Epiſtles to *Sergius* the hereticke are publickely read and condemned, and he accurſed as an hereticke. The [i] ſeuenth generall Councell likewiſe doth anathematize *Honorius*, *Sergius*, *Syrus*, and the other *Monothelites*. In the [k] eighth generall Councell, called about the matter of difference betweene *Ignatius* and *Photius*, the acts of the Councel of the Weſt vnder *Adrian* the ſecond, are read and allowed; wherein *Adrian* profeſſeth, that none of the inferiour Seas may iudge the greater, and ſpecially *Rome*, vnleſſe it be in caſe of hereſie; in which caſe they of the Eaſt did anathematize & accurſe *Honorius*: which yet (he ſaith) they would not haue aduentured to do, if the *Romane* Church had not gone before them in ſuch condemnation of her owne Biſhop.

h *Actione* 13.

i *Actione* 7.
k *Actione* 7.

Pope *Leo* the ſecond in his Epiſtle to *Conſtantine* the Emperor, which we finde in the end of the ſixth generall Councell, accurſeth the ſame *Honorius* as an hereticke and a wicked one, that defiled and polluted the Apoſtolicke chaire with hereſie. With *Leo* conſenteth [l] *Tharraſius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, [m] *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, [n] *Epiphanius* in his diſputation with *Gregory*, in the ſixth Action of the ſeuenth general Councell; [o] *Pſellus*, [p] *Beda*, and the [q] Author of the *Pontificall*.

l *In Synod. 7. actione 3.*
m *In Epiſtolâ Synodicâ quæ habetur in eâdem. 7. Synod. actione 3.*
n *Synod. 7. actione 6.*
o *In Carm. de 7. Synodis.*
p *De 6. ætat. b. in vita Conſtantini. 4.*
q *In vita Leonis 2.*

Theſe authorities may ſeeme very ſufficient to proue, that *Honorius* was an hereticke; yet ſo well are our Aduerſaries affected to him, that they will rather diſcredit them all, then ſuffer him to bee ſpotted and diſgraced: and therefore ſome of them ſay, that the ſixth generall Councell is corrupted; and likewiſe the Epiſtle of *Leo* the ſecond, in the end of it: and that the Fathers in the ſeuenth Councell were deceiued by the ſixth, as likewiſe Pope *Adrian* with the whole *Romane* Synode, and the other Authors, that concurre with thẽ in the condemnation of *Honorius*. Others think that indeed the ſixth Councel condemned *Honorius*, but vpon falſe information, and ſo erred in a matter of fact. Which conceipt is no way probable

probable. For that the Fathers of the Councell proceeded not rashly, but[r] caused the Epistles of *Honorius* written to the heades of the faction of the *Monothelites* (for which he was suspected,) to be openly read and examined.

r *Actione* 12.

But (say they) first, these Epistles haply were counterfeit. Secondly, if they were not counterfeit, there is nothing in them contrary to the truth.

Neither of these answers is sufficient. For first, that the Epistles were not coũterfeit, it appeareth by *Maximus*,[s] who answereth a place brought out of one of them, and sheweth the meaning of it, as from the Secretary that wrot it, then liuing.

s *Disp. Maximi cum Pyrrho. in 2 Tomo. Concil. apud Binium.*

Secondly, if these Epistles had bene counterfeit, the Legates of *Agatho* present there, would haue taken that exception to them, and not haue consented to the condemnation of one of his predecessors vpon counterfeit euidence.

Neither is the second answere any better then the first; for, that the Fathers assembled in a generall Councell, should not be able to vnderstand the Epistles of *Honorius*, and iudge whether they were hereticall or not, as well as the Iesuits now liuing, is very strange.

But let vs suppose the Iesuites to haue more wit then all those worthy Bishops and Fathers that were assembled in the sixt Councel, & let vs see by taking a view of the Epistles themselues, whether they may be cleared frõ the errour they haue bene charged with, or not. It is not to be denied, but that *Honorius* in these his Epistles[t] confesseth, that the nature of God in Christ, worketh the thinges that are diuine; and the nature of man, the thinges that are humane, without diuision, confusion, or conuersion of one of them into another; and that the differences of these natures remaine inuiolable. But in that hee denyeth, that there are two actions in Christ, the one of *Deity*, and the other of *Humanity*; in that he saith, it is absurd to thinke, that where there are more natures then one, there must bee more actions then one: and alloweth of *Cyrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Sergius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who were *Monothelites*, rather then of *Sophronius* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, a right worthy and learned Bishop (who defended the truth against them both, and whose learned Epistle to *Sergius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, we finde in the[u] sixth generall Councel:) it cannot be auoyded but that he erred in matter of faith, in such sort, as by consequẽce it ouerthroweth that distinctiõ of the two natures of God & man in Christ, which hee seemed to acknowledge. Neither can it bee cleared frõ suspition of hereticall & bad meaning, that hee maketh it but a curiosity of philosophers to acknowledge a twofold action in Christ, & denieth that the fathers euer defined any such thing; wheras pope *Martine* the first in the[x] Synod of *Rome* saith, it is cleare by the determinatiõ of the Fathers, that the 2. natures of Christ remaine vncõfounded in the vnion, & vndiuided

t *Actione* 12. *Synodi* 6. & *act.* 13.

u *Actione* 11.

x *Concilior. Tomo.* 2.

diuided, as also his two wils, and the two distinct actions, and naturall properties of them.

Maximus in his disputation with *Pyrrhus*, found in the second Tome of the Councels, cleareth one sentence of *Honorius*, wherin he seemeth to acknowledge but one wil in Christ; affirming out of the testimony of him that wrote that Epistle for *Honorius*, that he meant it of one will of the humane nature of Christ; thereby shewing, that there was no such contrariety of desires found in him as in vs. But what is that to the other thinges that are obiected to him?

Two obiections our Aduersaries haue against them who thinke that *Honorius* was condemned for heresie.

The first is, that the sixth generall Councell could not condemne him, without being contrary to it selfe, in [y] allowing the Epistle of *Agatho*, wherein he saith; that the faith neuer failed in *Peters* chaire, and that his predecessours did alwaies confirme their brethren.

[y] *Actione 4.*

The second, that some Writers speaking of the *Monothelites*, and naming diuers of them, omit him; that [z] *Maximus* in his Dialogue against *Pyrrhus*, *Theophanes Isaurus* in his History, cited by [a] *Onuphrius*, and *Emmanuel Chatica* in his booke in the defence of the *Latines* against the *Greekes*, affirme, he was euer a catholick; and some other, as *Beda*, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, *Blandus*, *Nauclerus*, *Sabellius*, and *Platina*, do speake of him as of a Catholicke Bishop.

[z] *2. Tomo. Concil. apud Binnium.*

[a] *In vitam Honorij apud Platinã.*

The first of these obiections I haue answered [b] elsewhere, shewing that some of *Agathoes* predecessours, might for some short space faile to do their duty, in confirming their brethren, and swarue from the truth; and yet that be true he saith in that Epistle, that in the Sea it selfe the faith neuer failed: and that his predecessours fell not either so many, or in such sort, but that the Bishops of that Church did euer reach forth their helping hands to other, either in the beginning of each heresie, or before it was vtterly extinct and suppressed; as it fell out in this, both in respect of Pope *Martine* and others before, and of himselfe now.

[b] Chap. 42.

To the second we say, that it doth not seeme to bee strongly proued, that *Honorius* was no hereticke, by the silence of some few. That *Maximus* doth not cleare *Honorius* generally, but one sentence of *Honorius* only. That *Theophanes Isaurus* doth not go about to cleare *Honorius* frõ heresie, but saith onely, that the Canons of the sixth Councell were not made by the same Fathers that were at first assembled, but by others. So speaking nothing of *Honorius*, who was condemned in the Councell, and not in the Canons; and that the rest, to wit, *Chatica*, and some few other liuing long after the time of *Honorius*, are no sufficient proofe against that cloud of witnesses, which we produced in the beginning. And therefore there is yet nothing brought to reproue the testimonie of our witnesses, or to make good that hee was alwayes a catholicke, which is the thing

thing to be proued. With *Honorius* we may ioyne *Gregory* the third, who in his [c] Epistle to *Bonifacius*, giueth leaue to a man, whose wife falleth into some such infirmity, as maketh her vnfit to company with him, to marry another; so that hee giue her maintenance. And that hee speaketh not of any impediment before marriage not knowne, which maketh the contract voyde from the beginning, but of such infirmities as fall out afterwards, it is euident. First, in that hee saith: *If any mans wife shall be taken with such infirmity, &c.*

c Decret. part. 2. causa. 32. quæst. 7. Cano. proposuisti.

Secondly, in that hee prouideth: *That the husband shall prouide for her maintenance*; which in case of a voyde contract from the beginning, is no way reasonable.

Thirdly, in that he saith: *He shall thus prouide for her, seeing infirmity, & not wickednesse driueth him from her.*

Fourthly, in that hee saith: *It were better hee should containe*; seeing in case of abuse by vnknowne defect and impediment, making the contract voyde from the beginning, there is no more cause why a man so abused, should containe and refraine from marriage, then any other.

Now to permit marriage by reason of any defect or infirmity ensuing after the first marriage, I thinke our Aduersaries will not deny to bee erroneous, seeing the contrary is defined in the [d] Councell of *Trent*.

d Sessione 24. Can. 2.

Neither doth it excuse this errour of *Gregory*, that *Bellarmine* alledgeth out of [e] *Austine*, who maketh some doubt whether the wife with her husbands consent, yeelding to the wicked desires of him in whose hands he is, to saue his life, bee excuseable from sinne; seeing hee doth but vpon a particular accident propose a disputable question, and the other resolueth and giueth warrant for the practise of an vnlawfull thing, and that as a Pope in his directions to *Bonifacius*, hauing newly conuerted certaine barbarous people to the faith of Christ. Wherefore let vs proceede to see whether there be any moe Popes that may iustly be charged with errour or heresie.

e Lib. 1. de Serm. Dom. in monte. cap. 29.

We reade in the [f] stories of the Church, that one *Formosus*, Bishop of *Portua*, being hardly thought of, and suspected by *Iohn* the Pope, left his Bishopricke and fled for feare of him; that being called backe by *Iohn*, and refusing to returne, he was anathematized by him; and that at last comming into *France*, to satisfie the Pope, he was degraded, and put into a Lay habite, and made to sweare neuer to enter into *Rome* any more, nor euer to communicate but as a Lay-man; yet afterwards by *Martinus*, *Iohns* successour, hee was restored to his Bishopricke, absolued from his oath, came to *Rome*, and in the end obtained to be Pope, contrary to the mindes of many of the *Romanes*, who desired rather to haue had one *Sergius* a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, but preuailed not.

f Sigebert. in Chronico. anni. 900. & Seq. Platina. in Stephan. & Sergio.

Whereupon there grew great queſtion with much ſcandall, ſome affirming, that his conſecration, and the conſecration of ſuch as he ordained, was voyde; others, that whatſoeuer were thought of *Formoſus*, yet for the dignity of his Biſhoply office, and the faith of thoſe he ordained, their ordinations were to be holden for good, eſpecially ſeeing hee was abſolued from his periury by *Martinus* the Pope.

The next Pope (ſaue one) that ſucceeded *Formoſus*, was *Stephen*, who ſate but foure moneths, yet was not idle, but though he had bene ordained Biſhop of *Anagina* by him, perſecuted him with deadly hate, and pronounced the ordinations of all ſuch as he had ordained to be voyd.

After him ſucceeded *Romanus*, and after *Romanus*, *Theodorus*, who being contrarily minded to *Stephen*, reconciled thoſe whom *Stephen* had degraded, but preſumed not to conſecrate or ordaine them againe.

After *Theodorus*, followed *Iohn*, who, to confirme the ordinations of *Formoſus*, pronounced voyd by *Stephen*, called a Councel of 72. Biſhops, the Arch-biſhops of *France*, and the King being preſent; and in the ſight of them all, cauſed the acts of the Synode which *Stephen* held for condemnation of *Formoſus*, to be burned. After *Iohn* ſucceeded *Benedictus*, and after him *Sergius* the Deacon, that miſſed the Popedome when *Formoſus* gate it.

This *Sergius* in reuenge of his former repulſe, forced the *Romanes* with threats and terrours, to account the ordinations of *Formoſus* voide, and (which is not to be ſpoken) drew him out of his graue after he had reſted in it a good ſpace; put vpon him the Papall veſtures, ſet him in *Peters* chaire; commanded him to be beheaded, and then cutting off three of his fingers, cauſed him to bee caſt into *Tiber*, degrading all that hee had ordained.

Heere we ſee Popes clearely conuinced of hereſie, and defining and decreeing for hereſie. For ſeeing *Formoſus* was ſometime vndoubtedly a true Biſhop, it was an errour in faith to ſay, that his ordinations were voyde.

This is ſo cleare, that [g] *Bellarmine* denyeth it not, but ſaith onely, that neither *Stephen*, nor *Sergius* publiſhed any decree, that their ordinations were voyde, whom *Formoſius* had ordained, and that they were to be reordained; but did onely ſo re-ordaine *de facto*, in their fury, and diſtempered paſſions; wherein he is clearely refuted by [h] *Sigebert*, who ſaith expreſſely, that they decreed *omnes ordinationes eius irritas eſſe debere*: that is: That all his ordinations were to bee taken and reputed for voyd.

To *Stephen* and *Sergius* we may adde *Celeſtinus* the third, who (as [i] *Alfonſius à Caſtro* truly affirmeth) cānot by any means be excuſed frō hereſie, in that he taught, that the bond of marriage is ſo diſſolued by hereſie, that he

g *De Pontif. lib. 4 cap. 12.*

h *Anno. 902.*

i *De hæreſib. lib. 1 caſ. 4.*

he whose wife falleth into hereſie, may lawfully leaue her, and take another.

This decree of *Cæleſtinus* is not now to be found in the Decretals, but it was in the ancient; and *Alfonſus* profeſſeth, he read it [k] there himſelfe. Now that it is hereticall in the iudgement of our Aduerſaries, it is euident, in that [l] *Innocentius* the third teacheth the contrary, and the [m] Councell of *Trent* defineth otherwiſe.

Neither doth *Bellarmines* anſwer, that he did not paſſe any Decree, but onely deliuer his owne priuate opinion, helpe the matter. For [n] *Gratian* maketh the Decretals equall in authority with the Canons of Councels, and our Aduerſaries are wont to proue the Popes power by his Decretals, as if all they were ſubiect to him, and bound to obey him, to whom he writeth them.

The next Pope that is charged with hereſie, is *Nicholas* the fourth, who [o] defineth, that Chriſt taught both by word and example moſt perfect pouerty, conſiſting in the abandoning of all propriety in things, and right or claime to them, either in particular, or in reſpect of the whole Colledge and company of men liuing together; and that ſuch pouerty is pleaſing to God, and meritorious.

For the better vnderſtanding of this matter, wee muſt diſtinguiſh the vſe of thinges, and the propriety in them, or right and claime to them. [p] The propriety in thinges, and the right and claime to them, is two-fold; either abſolute, when men may iudicially challenge a thing as their owne, and vſe it how, and in what ſort they will, ſo that it bee not prohibited by the law of God and nature; or reſtrained and limited: as Clergy-men may chalenge the poſſeſſions & lands belonging to them, & iudicially recouer them, if they be with-holden from them; yet may they not ſo freely diſpoſe of them, as Lay-men may of theirs.

The vſe of thinges is two-fold. For there is *vſus iuris*, and *vſus facti*. *Vſus facti* is when one hath the vſe of a thing, but ſo, that he hath no right to vſe it, warrantable by any poſitiue or humane law; and if any one will depriue him of it, hee cannot by law hinder him. *Vſus iuris*, is the right one hath to vſe a thing, leauing the claime of the poſſeſſion of the ſubſtance of it to the owner thereof.

This kinde of vſe is likewiſe two-fold: *nudus*, and *vſus-fructus*. The former is, when one hath right to vſe a thing; but ſo limited and reſtrained, that he may neither ſell, let, nor giue the ſame right. The later, when he may.

The *Franciſcan* Friers imagining the height of Chriſtian perfection to conſiſt in extreme pouerty, by their vow of pouerty abandon, not onely in particular, as do other Religious, but in generall, euen in reſpect of their whole company and ſociety, all intereſt, right, and claime to lands, liuings and poſſeſſions, or to the vſe of any ſuch thinges, leauing nothing to

k *In Decretal. cap. laudabilem. de conuerſione Infidelium.*

l *Cap. Quanto De diuortijs.*

m *Seſſ. 24. Can. 5.*

n *Alfonſus à Caſtro contra hæreſ. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

o *Cap. exÿt de verb. ſignif. in Sext.*

p *Ockam. operis 90. dierum cap. 2.*

themselues, but the bare vse of such thinges as by free gift, begging, or labour, come to their hands, without all right to vse them pleadable and iustifiable by any course of humane law. So that if any one will take the bread out of their handes, before it come to their mouthes, or the clothes from them, wherewith they hide their nakednesse, they may not complaine of him for so doing, nor prosecute any suite against him for it.

This kinde of pouerty Pope *Nicholas* affirmeth Christ taught, both by word and example, and willeth the *Franciscanes* according to their rule, strictly to obserue the same. And for their safety and security taketh order, that all moueables giuen to them for vse, shall in respect of right belong to the Church of *Rome*, as likewise their Oratories, and Cemiteries. But their dwellinges not so, vnlesse the giuer expresse an absolute gift (which yet must not be to the Fryers, but to the Church) and the Church expressly accept the same. For otherwise the owner may at his pleasure take them away againe.

Farther, hee ordereth, that such thinges as are giuen to them, and they haue the vse of, they may either of themselues change them for such other thinges as they neede or desire, or cause the gouernour and disposer of them apppointed by the Pope, to sell them, and with the money to buy such thinges as they neede, and let them haue the vse of them, as bookes and the like. For with money they themselues may not meddle.

Pope *Iohn* the the two and twentieth, following *Nicholas*, and finding by experience, that these Fryers did but abuse the world with their faire shewes of perfection, q condemned their hypocrisie, and would bee no patron of it, as his predecessour was.

q *In extrauagant. ad Conditorem Canonum.*

First, therefore hee shewed, that perfection consisteth essentially in charity, which *Paul* nameth the bond of perfection, & that the abādoning of propriety in thinges maketh nothing to perfection, farther then it excludeth the care that is wont to be found in men, in getting, keeping, and disposing of them, weakning the act of diuine loue. So that if there be as much carefulnesse in men after the disclaiming of propriety in thinges as before, their seeming pouerty maketh nothing to Christian perfection.

Now hee saith, that after the ordination of his predecessour, these Fryers were no lesse carefull in getting and keeping thinges both by begging, iudiciall suing, and the like meanes, then any other mendicants that haue some things as their owne in common And that therfore howsoeuer they pleased themselues, their obseruation was of no more perfection thē theirs that had something of their owne in common.

Secondly, hee shewed, that these mendicants hauing the vse of such things as are giuen to them, and the Church of *Rome*, the propriety (in name

name and title, but not in deede, being onely to ſecure them in the vſe thereof, and to make no benefit) that it is but a ſingle right the Church hath, and that they are in trueth and indeede no poorer then they that haue things of their owne; ſeeing they may change the vſe of one thing for another, or at leaſt cauſe the Procurator deſigned by the church of *Rome*, to change things into money, and buy for them ſuch as they rather deſie to haue, making vſe of all things that come to their hands at their pleaſure, as much as they that haue them of their owne.

Thirdly, he pronounced, that to thinke that Chriſt and his Apoſtles had nothing of their owne in ſpeciall or common, and that they had no right to vſe ſuch things as they had, to ſell them, giue them, or with them to buy other; is contrarie to the Goſpell, condemneth Chriſt and his Apoſtles of iniuſtice, and ouerthroweth the whole Scripture.

Yet Pope *Nicholas* defined, that Chriſt and his Apoſtles had nothing of their owne, either in ſpeciall or common, and that the hauing of a common bagge no way contrarieth this conceit, ſeeing that was but by a kinde of diſpenſation in the perſon of the weake and imperfect; and to ſhewe, that he diſliketh not them that come ſhort of his perfection.

Thus we ſee Pope *Nicholas* erred in a matter of faith, patronized hypocrites in their fained ſhewes of counterfeit perfection, and was diſliked and contraried by his owne ſucceſſor *Iohn* the two and twentieth for the ſame; by reaſon whereof there grew a maine difference betweene Pope *Iohn* and the *Franciſcan* Friers, he charging them with hereſie, and perſecuting them from place to place; and they likewiſe diſclaiming him, as a damnable heretique, and no Pope.

The principall men on the Friers part were [r] *Michael Ceſenas*, and [s] *Occham* the great Schoole-man, who hath written much againſt Pope *Iohn*, touching this argument.

[r] *Vid. literas Michael. Ceſen. in fine Dialogor. Ockami.*

[s] *Ock. in opere 90. dierum & alibi.*

Neither is Pope *Iohn* (though in this point of Chriſtian perfection he were of a ſounder and better iudgement then his predeceſſor) any happier then he. For he is likewiſe charged with errour in matter of faith (and that not vniuſtly) by the ſame Friers, that he ſo much hated and perſecuted.

For (as *Occham* teſtifieth in his [t] Dialogues) he taught, that the ſoules of the iuſt ſhall not ſee God till the generall reſurrection; and that not faintly, or doubtingly, but in ſuch paſſionate and violent manner, as not to endure thoſe that thought otherwiſe.

[t] *2. partis tract. 1. in initio.*

[u] *Gerſon* likewiſe in his Sermon vpon Eaſter day, before the *French* King and his Nobles, ſayth, *That the theefe on the croſſe in that verie howre that Chriſt ſpake vnto him, was made happie, and ſawe God face to face, according to the promiſe of Chriſt made vnto him,* This daie ſhalt thou bee with mee in Paradice; *and that thereby the doctrine*

[u] *Part 4. operum eius.* With *Gerſon* agreeth *Adrian. 6. in qu. de Confirmat. circa finem.*

doctrine of Iohn *the two and twentieth is proued false, that was condemned by the Diuines of* Paris, *with the ſound of trumpets, before King* Philip, *vncle to the King before whom then he ſpake; the King rather beleeuing the Diuines of* Paris, *then the Court of* Rome. [x] *Bellarmine*, to deriue the hate of this matter from the Pope to others, would willingly faſten this errour on *Caluine*, and to that purpoſe alleageth [y] two places out of him. But neither of them proueth any ſuch thing. For in the firſt, he ſpeaketh not of any ſtay of the Saints departed without, in outward courts, out of heauen till the reſurrection (as the Cardinall ſtrangely miſ-underſtandeth him) but ſheweth by a moſt apt compariſon, that as in the time of *Moſes* Law, the high Prieſt onely entred into the Holieſt of all to make an attonement, and all the people ſtayed without: So none but Chriſt goeth into the preſence of God, to make peace, and to worke the great worke of reconciliation; and that all the ſonnes of men are to expect without, till he bring them aſſurance of fauour and acceptation. And in the ſecond place where he ſaith, that the dead are ioyned with vs that liue, in the vnitie of the ſame faith, his meaning is not, that faith oppoſite to ſight is found in the Saints after death, as it is in vs, but that they haue a cleare view, and preſent enioying of thoſe things which we beleeue. Neither is there any thing found in *Caluine*, that may any way excuſe the errour of Pope *Iohn*.

x *De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 14.*

y *Inſtit. lib. 3. cap. 20. & 24.*

Thus then (I hope) it doth appeare, by that which hath beene ſayde, that Popes are ſubiect to errour, that they may become heretiques, and define for hereſie, and that therefore the ſecond ſuppoſed priuiledge of the *Romane* Biſhop, which is infallibilitie of iudgement, is found to haue no proofe at all. Wherefore let vs proceede to the third, which is his power to diſpoſe of the kingdomes of the world, and to ouer-rule the princes and potentates thereof.

CHAP.

Chap. 44.

Of the Popes vniuſt claime of temporall dominion ouer the whole world.

TOuching the right and intereſt of Popes in intermedling with ſecular affaires, and diſpoſing the kingdomes of the world, there are three opinions among the *Romaniſts*. The [a] firſt is, that the Pope is ſoueraigne Lord of all the world, or at leaſt of all the Chriſtian world; and that the Princes of the earth are but his vicegerents and Lieutenants. The [b] ſecond, that the Pope is not ſoueraigne Lord of the world, nor of any part thereof: and that therefore he may not at his pleaſure intermeddle with the affaires of princes, but onely in caſe of ſome defect found in them, as when they faile to doe their dutie, or ſeeke to hinder the common good, eſpecially of the Church. The [c] third, that he may not at all intermeddle with the diſpoſition of earthly kingdomes, or reſtraine, or depoſe Princes, how much ſo euer they abuſe their authoritie.

a *Auguſt. Triumphus, Alvarus, Pelagius & alij citati à Bellarmino.*

b *Bellarmin. & alij.*

c *Waldenſis, Gerſon, Hart,* & many other cited in the examination of *Blackwell.*

The firſt of theſe three opinions had anciently, and hath preſently great patrons and followers. Yet [d] *Bellarmine* very confidently and learnedly refuteth the ſame. Firſt, ſhewing that the Pope is not ſoueraigne Lord of the whole world. Secondly, that he is not Lord of the Chriſtian world. And thirdly, that he is Lord of no part of the world. That he is not Lord of the whole world, he proueth, becauſe not of thoſe prouinces that are poſſeſſed by infidels, which he demonſtrateth. Firſt, becauſe Chriſt committed none, but onely his ſheepe to *Peter*; and therefore gaue him no authoritie ouer infidels which are not his ſheepe; whereunto Saint *Paul* agreeth, profeſſing, that [e] *he hath nothing to doe to iudge them that are without.* Secondly, becauſe dominion and the right of princes, is not founded in grace or faith, but in free will and reaſon, and hath not ſprung from the written law of *Moſes* or Chriſt, but from the law of nations and nature. Which is moſt cleare, in that God both in the old and new Teſtament approueth the kingdomes of the Gentiles and infidels, as appeareth by that of *Daniel* to *Nebuchadnezzar*: [f] *O King, thou art king of kings. For the God of heauen hath giuen thee a kingdome, power, and ſtrength, and glorie, and in all places, where the children of men dwell, the beaſts of the field, and the fowles of the heauen, hath he giuen into thine hand, and hath made thee a ruler ouer them all.* And that of Chriſt, [g] *Giue vnto* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſars. With whom the Apoſtle agreeth, requiring the Chriſtians of his time, not onely to pay tribute to heathen kings, but alſo to [h] *obey them for conſcience ſake*; which men were not bound to do, if they had no authoritie and right to command.

d *De Pontif lib. 5. cap. 2. 3. & 4.*

e 1. Cor. 5. 12.

f Dan 2. 37.

g Math. 22. 21.

h Rom. 13. 5.

Neither can it be ſayd, that heathen princes are the Popes Lieutenants, and

and therefore to be obeyed for his sake, though not for their owne, seeing the Pope would haue no such Lieutenants, if it lay in him to place them or displace them.

Lastly hee proueth, that the Pope hath no such soueraigne right of commanding ouer all, as is pretended, seeing it had beene vayne for Christ to giue him a right to that, whereof he should neuer get the possession. And hauing thus proued, that Infidels were truly and rightly Lords of the countries subiect to them before the comming of Christ, that he found no nullitie in their titles, nor euer seized their kingdomes and dominions into his owne hands, as some fondly imagine that he did, hee proceedeth to proue, that Princes when they become Christians, lose not the right that they formerly had to their kingdomes, but get a newe right to the kingdome of heauen. For that otherwise Christs grace should destroy nature, and his benefit be preiudiciall to such as are made partakers of them. Whereas Christ came not to destroy and ouerthrowe things well setled before, but to perfect them: nor to hurt any, but to do good to all.

For confirmation whereof he alleageth part of the Hymne of *Sedulius*, which the whole church doth sing, *Hostis* Herodes *impie, Christum venire quid times? Non eripit mortalia, Qui regna dat cœlestia*; that is, O impious enemie *Herod*, why doest thou feare Christs comming? He will not depriue thee of thy transitorie kingdome vpon earth, that giues an eternall kingdome in heauen. Whence it followeth, that Christ imposed no such hard condition on those kings that were to become Christians, as to leaue their crownes and dignities. And so he commeth to his second proposition, that the Pope is not temporall Lord of the Christian world, which he confirmeth.

First, because if the Pope were soueraigne Lord of all the Christian world, Bishops should be temporall Lords of their cities, and the places adioyning subiect to them. Which neither they will graunt, that contend for the soueraigntie of the Pope, nor can stand with that of Saint [i] *Ambrose*, who sayth, *If the Emperour aske tribute, we denie it him not. The Church lands do pay tribute.* And againe, *Tribute is* Cæsars, *it is not denied him, but the Church is Gods, and may not be yeelded to* Cæsar.

And that of *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, who (as we reade in [k] *Athanasius*) telleth the Emperour, that God hath giuen him the Empire, but that he hath committed to Bishops, those things that pertaine to the Church.

Secondly, out of the confession of Popes, Pope *Leo* confessing that *Martianus* the Emperour, was appointed to the Empire by God, and that God was the author of his Empire: And [m] *Gelasius* writing to *Anastasius* the Emperour, and acknowledging that there are two things by which

i *Ambro. in Oratione de tradent. Basilicis.*

k *In epist. ad solitariam vitam agentes.*

l *Leo epist. ad Martian. 38. & 43.*

m *Epist. ad Anastas. que habetur. Dist. 96. Ca. Duo sunt.*

which principallie the world is guided, to wit, the sacred authoritie of Bishops, and the regall power of Princes; with whom *Gregorie* agreeth when he saith, [n] *Power ouer all is giuen from heauen to the pietie of my Lord.* And from hence he inferreth his third proposition, that the Pope is temporall Lord of no part of the world, in the right of *Peters* successour, and Christs Vicar.

n Greg. *lib.* 2, *epist.* 61 *ad Mauritium.*

For, if there were no nullitie in the titles of infidell kings and princes, nor no necessitie implied in their conuersion, of relinquishing their right when they became Christians, but that both infidels and Christians, notwithstanding any act of Christ, continued in the full possession of princely power and right, it could not be, that Christ should inuest *Peter*, or his successors, with any kingly authoritie, seeing he could giue them none, but such as he should take from others.

Nay, he proceedeth farther, and sheweth, that Christ himselfe, while he was on the earth, was no temporall Lord or King, and therefore much lesse gaue any temporall dominion or kingdome to his Apostles.

That he was no temporall king, he proueth, because the right to be a King or Lord in such sort as men are Kings or Lords, is either by inheritance, election, conquest, or speciall donation and gift of almightie God.

Now that Christ according to the flesh, was a king by right of inheritance, he saith, it cannot be proued, because though he came of the kingly familie, yet it is vncertaine whether he were the next in bloud to *Dauid* or not. And besides, the kingdome was taken away from *Dauids* house, before Christ was borne; and God had foretold, that the house of *Ieconiah*, of which Christ came (as we may reade in the [o] first of Saint *Matthew*) there should neuer be any temporall King such as *Dauid*, and the rest that succeeded him were, saying; [p] *Write this man barren, a man that shall not prosper in his dayes; for there shall be no man of his seede to sit vpon the throne of* Dauid, *and to haue power any more in* Iudah. And whereas it might be obiected, that the Angell prophecied, that [q] *the Lord God should giue vnto Christ, the seate of* Dauid *his father*, the Cardinall answereth out of *Hierome* vpon the place of *Hieremie*, and *Ambrose* vpon *Luke*, that the words of almightie God which we reade in *Hieremie*, are to be vnderstood of a temporall kingdome, and the words of the Angell of a spirituall and eternall kingdome.

o Vers. 12.

p Ierem. 22. 30.

q Luk. 1. 32.

That Christ was not a temporall King by right of election, he proueth by that of Christ himselfe, when he saith; [r] *O man, who hath made me a iudge, or a deuider among you.* And by that of Saint *Iohn*, where he saith, that [s] *When Christ knew they meant to come, and take him, and make him a King, he fled againe himselfe alone into a mountaine.* So that he neither was chosen, nor would haue accepted of any such choise.

r Luk. 12. 14.

s Ioh. 6. 15.

That

That by right of conqueſt and victorie hee was not a temporall king, it appeareth, in that his warre was not with morrall Kings, to deprive them of their kingdomes, but with the prince of darkneſſe; according to that of the Apoſtle: [r] *To this purpoſe did the Sonne of God appeare, that he might diſſolue the workes of the Diuell.* And that againe, [u] *Now is the Prince of this world caſt out.* And that of Saint *Paule*, who ſpeaking of Chriſt, ſaith, [x] *That ſpoyling principalities and powers, he made a ſcorne of them openly, triumphing ouer them in himſelfe.*

r 1.Ioh.3.8.
u Ioh.12.31.
x Coloſ.2.15.

So that his warfare was not, by carnall weapons to get himſelfe an earthly kingdome, but by ſpirituall weapons, mighty through God, to get a ſpirituall kingdome, that he might reigne in the hearts of men, by faith and grace, where Sathan reigned before by infidelitie, diſobedience and ſinne.

Laſtly, that he was no temporall king by any ſpeciall gift of God his Father, it is euident out of his owne words, when he ſaith, [y] *My kingdome is not hence:* For as the [z] Fathers note vpon theſe words, Chriſt meant by ſo ſaying, to put *Pilate* out of doubt, that he affected no temporall kingdome. And therefore the ſence of his words, muſt needes be this, I am a King, but not in ſuch ſort, as *Cæſar* and *Herod*: *My kingdome is not of this world*; that is, The ſupports of it, are not things of this world, it doth not conſiſt in honour, riches, and power of this world.

y Ioh.18.36.
z *Chryſoſtom. Theophylact. Cyrill, & Auguſt. in hunc locum. Ambroſ. lib.3 in Lucam, prope finem.*

This thing the Cardinall farther proueth to be true, becauſe he came to miniſter, and not to be miniſtred vnto; to be iudged, and not to iudge: and by his whole courſe of conuerſation, ſhewed the ſame, neuer taking on him to do any kingly act. For whereas he caſt out the buyers and ſellers out of the Temple, it rather pertained to the Prieſts office, then the kings, according to that, which we reade in the old Teſtament, that the [a] Prieſt draue the king himſelfe out of the Temple, when diſorderly he preſumed to do things not pertaining to him; and yet he did it not by any princely or kingly authoritie, but after the manner of Prophets, by a kind of diuine zeale, like that wherewith [b] *Phinehees* was moued to kill the adulterer and adultereſſe, and [c] *Elias* to ſlay the Prophets of *Baal*.

a 2.Chron.26.20.
b Num.25.7.
c 1.King.18.40.

This moſt true opinion of the Cardinall, that Chriſt was no temporall king, is farther confirmed, in that ſuch a kind of kingdome had not bene neceſſarie. Nay, it had beene an hinderance to the worke he had in hand, which was to perſwade to the contempt of glorie, honour, riches, pleaſures, and all ſuch other earthly things, wherewith the Kings of the earth abound; and by ſuffering death, to ouercome him that had the power of death; and to reconcile the world vnto God.

And beſides, in that all the places, where any mention is made of the king-

kingdome of Christ, are necessarily vnderstood of a spirituall and eternall kingdome. So in the Psalme, [d] *I am appointed of him a King, to preach his commandement.* And againe, in the booke of *Daniel*; [e] *In their dayes shall God raise vp a Kingdome, which shall not be destroyed for euer. And of his kingdome there shall be none end.* Whereas the kingdomes of men, continue but for a time: and therefore if Christ had beene a king in such sort, while he was vpon the earth, as men are, he had ceased to be so, when he left the earth. And then it could not haue beene true, that of his kingdome there should be none end. Nay, seeing the kingdome of the Iewes was possessed by the *Romanes*, at, or immediatly after the time of the departure of Christ out of the world, and afterwards by the *Saracens*, and *Turkes*; how could that of *Daniel* haue beene fulfilled, that his kingdome shall not be giuen to another people, if his kingdome had bene like the kingdomes of men? So it is true, that Christ came into the world to be a King, and that God gaue him the seate of *Dauid* his father. But this kingdome was diuine, spirituall, eternall, and proper vnto him, in that he was the Sonne of God, and in that he was God and man. But a temporall kingdome, such as the sonnes of men haue, he had not.

d Psal. 2.

e Dan. 2. 44.

And hereupon Saint *Augustine* bringeth in Christ speaking in this sort. [f] *Audite* Iudæi & Gentes, *audi circumcisio, audi præputium, audite omnia regna terrena, non impedio dominationem vestram in hoc mundo, &c.* that is, Heare O *Iewes* and *Gentiles*, heare circumcision, and vncircumcision, heare all yee kingdomes of the earth, I hinder not your dominion and rule in this world, becausse my kingdome is not of this world. Feare not therefore with that most vaine and causeleſſe feare, wherewith *Herod* feared, and slue so many innocent babes, being cruell, rather out of feare then anger; and so forward: shewing that the kingdome of Christ is meerely spirituall, and such as no way preiudiceth the kingdomes of men.

f *Aug. in 19. Ioannis.*

Which the [g] Glosse confirmeth, noting that Christ, while he was yet to liue longer in this world, when the multitudes came to make him a King, refused it: but that when he was readie to suffer, he no way reproued, but willingly accepted the hymnes of them, that receiued him in triumphant manner, and welcomed him to *Hierusalem*, honouring him as a King; becausse hee was a King, not hauing a temporall and earthly kingdome, but an heauenly.

g *Gloss. super illud Matth. 21. Benedictus qui venit.*

Whereunto *Leo* agreeth, shewing that *Herod*, when he heard a Prince was borne to the *Iewes*, feared a succeſſour; but that his feare was vaine and causeleſſe, saying, [h] *O Caca stultæ æmulationis impietas, quæ perturbandum putas diuinum tuo furore consilium! Dominus mundi temporale non quærit regnum, qui præstat æternum*; that is, O blinde impietie of fooliſh emulation,

h *Leo. serm. de Epiphania.*

mulation! which thinkeſt to trouble and hinder the counſels of God, by thy furie.

The Lord of the world, who giueth an eternall kingdome, came not in the world, to ſeeke a temporall kingdome. And [i] *Fulgentius* accordeth with him, ſaying, *The gold, which the ſages offered to Chriſt, ſhewed him to be a King, but not ſuch a King as will haue his image and ſuperſcription in the coyne, but ſuch an one as ſeeketh his image in the ſonnes of men.* Whence it followeth, he was no temporall or mundane king: ſeeing they haue their images and ſuperſcriptions in their coyne, that are kings after the manner of the world. This aſſertion may be proued by many vnanſwerable reaſons.

Fulgent. ſerm. de Epiphania.

The firſt is this, Chriſt ſtanding before *Pilate*, and being asked by him if he were a King, anſwered [k] *That his kingdome was not of this world.* Therefore he was no temporall or mundane king. This conſequence ſome deny, affirming, that Chriſt intended not in his anſwer to *Pilate*, to deny his kingdome to be a temporall, earthly, and mundane kingdome, but that he meant onely to let him know, that he had receiued his kingdome of God, and that the world neither gaue it him, nor choſe him to it. And therefore he ſayd, *Regnum meum non eſt hinc*, and not *Regnum meum non eſt hic*; that is, My kingdome is not hence, and not, my kingdome is not here.

k Ioh. 18. 36.

This was the euaſion of Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth (as [l] *Occham* teſtifieth) but he refuteth the ſame by moſt cleare circumſtances of Scripture, and euidence of reaſon, ſhewing, that Chriſt being accuſed vnto *Pilate* as an enemie to *Cæſar*, in that he made himſelfe a king, ſo cleared himſelfe, that *Pilate* pronounced that hee found nothing againſt him; which he could not, nor he would not haue done, if hee had confeſſed his kingdome to be a mundane kingdome, though he had deriued the right and title of it from heauen.

l *Ockam. operis 90. dierum, cap. 93.*

For *Cæſar* would not haue endured any claime of ſuch a kingdome, though fetched from heauen. Neither durſt *Pilate* haue pronounced him guiltleſſe, that had made ſuch a claime; and therefore Chriſt, when he ſayde, his kingdome was not of this world, meant not onely to denie the receiuing of it from the world, but alſo the dependance of it vpon any thing in the world: the ſupports of it not beeing things earthly, but heauenly and diuine; it no way conſiſting in riches, honour, power, and worldly greatneſſe, as do the kingdomes of men, but in the power of God. Which thing is aptly expreſſed by Chriſt himſelfe, when he ſaith, [m] *If my kingdome were of this world, my ſouldiers would fight for me.*

m Ioh. 18. 36.

The ſecond reaſon is this. He that is no iudge of ſecular quarrels, nor diuider of inheritance, is no king. For theſe things belong to the office of a king. But Chriſt was no iudge of ſuch quarrels, and differences; therefore hee was no king. That he was no iudge of ſecular quarrels, nor

diuider

deuider of inheritances, it is euident by his owne [n] deniall thereof. Which Saint *Ambroſe* excellently expreſſeth, ſaying; [o] *Benè terrena declinat, qui propter diuina deſcenderat; nec iudex dignatur eſſe litium, & arbiter facultatum, cuiorum habens mortuorumq; iudicium, & arbitrium meritorum:* that is; He doth well decline things earthly, who deſcended and came downe for things diuine. Neither doth he vouchſafe to be a iudge of quarrels, and an arbitrator to determine the differences of men about their poſſeſſions, who is appointed to be iudge of the quicke and dead, and to whom it pertaineth to diſcerne betweene the well and ill doings of men. And againe; *Meritò refutatur ille frater, qui diſpenſatorem cœleſtium geſtiebat terrenis occupare:* that is; That brother is worthily reiected, and hath the repulſe, who ſought to buſie him whom God hath appointed the diſpoſer of things heauenly, with things that are earthly.

n Luk. 12. 14.

o *Ambroſ. in eum locum.*

The third is, becauſe Chriſt refuſed to be a King when it was offered him, and told his diſciples, that [p] *The kings of the nations haue dominion ouer them, and they that are great, exerciſe authoritie. But that it ſhould not be ſo with them, but that whoſoeuer would be great among them, muſt be their miniſter.*

p Math. 20. 25.

The fourth; he that is a King and will neuer meddle with the things that belong to a King, is iuſtly to be charged either with wickednes, or negligence. But Chriſt neuer medled with any thing pertaining to the office of a temporall king in this world; therefore either he was no ſuch king, or he may bee charged with malice or negligence. But neither of theſe two latter may be admitted; therefore he was no ſuch king.

The fifth; there cannot be two kings of one kingdome, vnleſſe either they hold the ſame ioyntly, or the one acknowledge to hold the ſame, as of and from the other. But *Cæſar* and Chriſt, neither held the kingdome of *Iudea* ioyntly, neither did *Cæſar* hold it as from Chriſt, nor Chriſt as from *Cæſar*. Therefore either *Cæſar* was no true king, or Chriſt was no ſecular king of that kingdome. But that *Cæſar* was a true king, it appeareth by the teſtimonie of Chriſt himſelfe, ſaying; [q] *Giue*, or rather *render, to* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſars.

q Math. 22. 21.

Now *Cæſar* claimed tribute as Lord of the countrey, and therefore hee was truly Lord and King of it. That *Cæſar* held not of or from Chriſt as man, it is euident; and much more, that Chriſt, who wholly refuſed to be a king, did neuer acknowledge to hold any kingdome from mortall man.

The ſixth that was the kingdome of Chriſt whereof the Prophets propheſied: But they propheſied not of any earthly kingdome; therefore Chriſts kingdom was not earthly. That they propheſied not of any earthly kingdome, it is euident, in that the kingdome they propheſied of, was to be confirmed and reſtored by him: but the earthly kingdome of *Iudea* was not confirmed by the cõming of Chriſt, but vpon the refuſall of him vtterly ouerthrowne; therfore it was not that the Prophets propheſied of.

That the kingdome they prophecied of, was to be confirmed, restored and bettered, the words of the Prophets are proofe sufficient. [r] *Behold the day commeth (saith the Lord) and I will raise vp vnto* Dauid *a righteous branch, and a king shall reigne, and he shall be wise, and shall do iudgement and iustice in the earth. In those dayes* Iudah *shall be saued, and* Israel *shall dwell boldly. And this is the name that they shall call him by: The Lord our righteousnesse.* And againe, [f] *A little child is borne vnto vs, and the principalitie or rule is on his shoulders. His name shall be called wonderfull, the mightie God, Father of the world to come, the Prince of peace, the increase of his gouernement and peace shall haue none end. He shall sit vpon the throne of* Dauid, *and vpon his kingdome to order, and to stablish it with iudgement, and with iustice from henceforth euen for euer.*

r Ierem. 23. 5, &c.

f Esay 9. 6.

Now that the kingdome of *Iudea* was not established, but vtterly ouerthrowne immediatly after Christs departure hence, vpon and for the refusall of him, the words of Christ foretelling it, and the euent of things answering vnto his prediction, are proofe sufficient. [t] *The dayes shall come vpon thee (* saith Christ to *Hierusalem*, the chiefe citie of that kingdome) *that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and hold thee in straight on euerie side, they shall cast thee to the earth, and thy children that are in thee, and shall not leaue a stone vpon a stone, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.* Thus we see it strongly proued, that [u] Christ himselfe was no temporall or earthly king, and therefore much lesse *Peter* or the Pope, that pretendeth to be Christs Vicar, and *Peters* successour. Notwithstanding, they that are otherwise minded, endeuor to proue, that Christ was a temporall king, and that hee left a kingly power to *Peter* and his successours. First, out of Scripture strangely wrested. Secondly, out of the testimonies of Popes. (For better authorities they haue none.) The principall text of Scripture which they alleage, is in the Gospell of Saint *Matthew*, where our Sauiour saith, [x] *All power is giuen me in heauen and in earth.*

t Luk. 19. 43.

u To which purpose see *Waldens. Doctr. Fid. lib. 2. art. 3. cap. 76 & 77.*

x Math. 28. 18.

But [y] *Bellarmine* telleth them, and the best Diuines agree with him, that that place is not to be vnderstood of a temporall powes, such as earthly kings haue, but either of a spirituall, whereby Christ so reigneth in earth, in the hearts of men by faith, as he doth in heauen in the presence of his glorie among the Angels; or a diuine power ouer all creatures, not communicable to mortall men. The former of these interpretations the Author of the Interlineall Glosse followeth, the latter *Lyra* vpon this place: his words are; *Licèt Christus, quantum ad diuinitatem ab æterno habuit hanc potestatem, & in quantum homo, ab instanti conceptionis, habuit potestatem in cœlo, & in terra, authoritatiuè, tamen executiuè non habuit ante resurrectionem suam, sed voluit esse passibilitati subiectus propter nostram redemptionem*; that is, Although Christ, in that he was God, had this power from all eternitie, and in that he was man, had power both in heauen and in earth,

y De Pontif. l. 5. cap. 5.

earth, from the first moment of his conception in respect of authoritie, yet in respect of the execution and performance of the acts of it, he had it not before his resurrection, but was pleased to bee subiect to passibilitie for our redemption.

Let vs come therefore from the Scripture to the testimonies of latter Popes; for Fathers, ancient Councels, or ancient Bishops of *Rome*, they haue none to speake for them. The first Pope that they alleage, is Pope *Nicholas*, in a certaine [z] Epistle of his, where he saith (as they tell vs) that Christ committed and gaue vnto blessed *Peter*, the Key-bearer of eternall life, the rights both of the earthly and the heauenly Empire. To this authoritie first we answer, that Pope *Nicholas* hath no such words in any Epistle; howsoeuer *Gratian*, who citeth them as the words of *Nicholas*, mistook the matter. Secondly, that supposing the words to be the words of *Nicholas*, his meaning may be, that the spiritual power of binding & loosing, which Christ left to *Peter*, is not onely of force in earth, but in heauen also, that being bound in heauen that is bound on earth, and they being repulsed from the throne of grace in heauen, and excluded from Gods fauours, that are reiected from the holy Altars, and put from the Sacraments of the Church. Whereupon [a] *Chrysostome* saith, that the power of the Church directeth and commandeth the very Tribunall of heauen, and addeth, that heauen taketh authoritie of iudging from the earth: For that the Iudge sitteth on earth, and the Lord followeth the sentence of his seruants, according to that of Christ, [b] *Whatsoeuer you shal bind on earth, shall be bound in heauen.*

z *Epist. Nicolai citat. à Gratian. Dist. 22. Ca. Omnes.*]

a *Homil. 5. de verb. Esaiæ. Vidi Dominum.*

b Math. 16. 19.

Others expound the supposed words of Pope *Nicholas* of the spirituall power of *Peter* ouer the good and bad in the visible church, the good being named the kingdome of heauen, and the bad an earthly kingdome or company. But howsoeuer, it is most certaine, that Pope *Nicholas* in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour, hath the cleane contrary to that which some would charge him with. For there he sheweth that howsoeuer before Christ, some were both kings and priests, as was *Melchisedeck*, and as likewise some other among the *Pagans* were, yet after Christ none were so. Neither did the Emperour take vnto him the rights of the chiefe Priesthood, nor the chiefe Priest the name of the Emperour. *Sed mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus, sic actibus proprijs & dignitatibus distinctis, officia potestatis vtriusque discreuit, vt & Christiani Imperatores pro æterna vita pontificibus indigerent, & Pontifices pro cursu temporalium tantummodo rerum Imperialibus legibus vterentur*; that is: But the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ, did so distinguish and seuer the duties and offices of either of these kinds of power by their proper actions, and distinct dignities, that both Christian Emperours should stand in neede of Bishops, for the attaining of eternall life; and that Bishops should vse the lawes of Emperors, for the course of temporall things onely: that so both

the ſpirituall action and employment might bee free from carnall turmoiles, and that he who goeth on warfare vnto God, might not at all be entangled with ſecular buſineſſes: and that on the other ſide, he might not ſeeme to be ſet ouer the things that are diuine, whom the buſineſſes of this world ſhould poſſeſſe: that both the modeſtie of each of theſe orders and degrees might be preſerued; and that alſo, no one hauing both theſe kinds of power ſhould be lifted vp too high.

The next authoritie is that of *Bonifacius* the eighth, who hath theſe words (ſpeaking of the Church, which is one, and whereof he ſuppoſeth the Biſhop of *Rome* to be the head:) [c] *We are inſtructed by the Euangelicall ſayings, that in this Church, and in the power of it there are two ſwords, to wit, a ſpirituall & a temporal. For when the Apoſtles ſaid, Behold here are two ſwords, to wit, in the Church (becauſe they were the Apoſtles that ſpake) the Lord did not anſwer that it was too much, but that it was enough; and therefore ſurely, whoſoeuer denieth the temporall ſword to be in the power of* Peter, *ſeemeth not well to conſider the word of the Lord commanding him to ſheath his ſword.*

c *Boniface. 8. in extrauagant. vnam Sanctam. de Maioritate & obedientiâ.*

The anſwer vnto this authoritie is eaſie. For *Bonifacius* (as [d] *Duarenus* noteth) was a vaine, buſie, turbulent, arrogant, and proude man, preſuming aboue that which was fit, and challenging that which no way pertained vnto him; and therefore we may iuſtly reiect both him, and his ſayings. But for the words of our Sauiour it is euident, that they proue no ſuch thing, as this Pope would inforce out of them. *Some* (ſaith [e] *Maldonatus*) *from theſe words would proue, that the Church hath two ſwords, the one ſpirituall, the other temporall; which, whether it haue or haue not, cannot be proued out of this place, where other ſwords are meant, then either of Ciuill or Eccleſiaſticall authoritie. Our Sauiour telleth his Diſciples, the times approaching will be ſuch, as that a man had need for his owne defence to ſell his coate to buy him a ſword. Whereupon the Diſciples ſuppoſing they ſhould vſe materiall ſwords in their owne defence, anſwer, that they haue two ſwords. To whom Chriſt replieth, that it is enough; not confirming their erring opinion, but anſwering them Ironically, as* Theophylact *and* Euthymius *thinke. Or otherwiſe letting them vnderſtand, that though the times would be ſuch, as that many ſwords would not ſuffice to defend them, yet that theſe two were enough, becauſe he meant to vſe none at all, but to ſuffer all that the malice of his enemies could do vnto him.*

d *Duaren. de Sacr. Eccleſ. Miniſt. & Benef. lib. 7. cap. 10.*

e *In 22. Luce.*

This, *Maldonatus* deliuereth, to be the literall ſence of Chriſts words, and ſheweth a myſticall ſence of them alſo out of *Beda*, much more apt then that of *Bonifacius*. *Duo gladij* (ſaith *Beda*) *ſufficiunt ad teſtimonium ſponte paſſi Saluatoris. Vnus, qui & Apoſtolis audaciam pro Domino certandi; & euulſa ictu eius auriculâ, Domino etiam morituro pietatem virtutemq; docereti ineſſe medicandi. Alter, qui nequaquam vaginâ exemptus, oſtenderet eos non tetũ, quod potuere, pro eius defenſione facere permiſſos:* that is; Two ſwords are ſufficient to giue teſtimonie vnto our Sauiour, that he ſuffered willingly:

The

The one of which might ſhew, that the Apoſtles wanted no courage to fight for their maiſter: and by the eare that was cut off by the ſtroke thereof, and healed againe by the Lord; that he wanted neither piety to compaſſionate the miſerable, nor vertue and power to make him whole that was hurt, though now he were ready to dye. And the other, which neuer was drawne out of the ſheath, might ſhew, that they were not permitted to do all that they could haue done in his defence.

It is not to be denyed but that Saint [f] *Bernard* myſtically expounding the words of Chriſt, ſaith; the Church hath two ſwords of authority. But hee thinketh it hath them in very different ſort. For it hath the vſe of the one, and the benefite of the other. The one is to be drawne by it, the other for it. So that this is all that he ſaith, that the ſword of ciuill authority is to be vſed by the Souldiers hand, at the command of the Emperour, by the direction, and at the ſuit of the Church. From *Bonifacius*, they paſſe to [g] *Innocentius* the third, who in the vacancy of the Empire, willed thoſe that were wronged in their rightfull cauſes, to haue recourſe either to ſome Biſhop, or to himſelfe: And *Clemens* the fifth, who [h] profeſſeth to intermeddle with certaine ſecular buſineſſes and affaires, and to determine certaine ciuill cauſes vpon three ſeuerall grounds. Whereof the firſt is, his greatneſſe, making him ſuperior to the Emperour. The ſecond, his being in ſteed of the Emperour, in the vacancy of the Empire. And the third, the fulneſſe of power, which Chriſt the King of Kings and Lord of Lords gaue vnto *Peter*, and in him to his ſucceſſours. Whatſoeuer we thinke of the former of theſe two Popes, who ſeemeth to ground his intermedling in ciuill affaires vpon ſome law of the Empire, and conceſſion of ciuill Princes, accordingly as we reade of [i] *Theodoſius*, that he permitted any Lay-men hauing ciuill differences among themſelues, to referre the ſame to Eccleſiaſticall Iudges if they liſted. (Which conceſſion proceeding *ex pietate*, not *ex debito*, that is, out of piety, and not out of any right or neceſſity that it muſt be ſo, is long ſince growne out of vſe; the ſtate of Church-men being much changed from that it was, when he granted them that priuiledge as [k] *Duarenus* ſheweth.) Yet Pope *Clemens* can by no meanes be excuſed from hereticall impiety, affirming that which is moſt vntrue, as may appeare by the manifold reaſõs brought before to proue the contrary; nor from Antichriſtian pride, in ſeeking to treade vnderneath his feet, the crownes and dignities of Kings and Princes, and to liſt himſelfe vp aboue all that is called God.

f *Lib. 4. de Conſider. ad Eugenium.*

g *Cap Licet de foro competenti.*

h *Clementin. lib. 2. Tit. 11. de Sententia & re iudicatâ.*

i *Decreti part. 2. cauſa 11. queſt. 1. ca. Quicunque.*

k *De Sacr. Eccl. Miniſt. & benef. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

Chap. 45.

Of the Popes vniuſt claime to intermeddle with the affaires of Princes and their ſtates, if not as ſoueraigne Lord ouer all, yet at leaſt in ordine ad ſpiritualia, *and in caſe of Princes failing to do their duties.*

THAT Chriſt was no earthly King, that he left no Kingly power to *Peter*, and that the Pope hath no meere temporal power, in that he is Chriſts Vicar, or *Peters* Succeſſor, it is moſt euident out of the former diſcourſe, & the Cardinall Ieſuite confeſſeth ſo much; and yet [a] he thinketh the Pope hath a ſupreme power to diſpoſe of all temporall ſtates and things, *in ordine ad bonum ſpirituale*, that is, in a kinde of reference to the procuring and ſetting forward of the ſpirituall good. But this fancy is moſt eaſily refuted by vnanſwerable reaſons preſuppoſing his former conceſſion.

a *Bellar. de Pont. Rom. li. 5. c. 6.*

For firſt, no man can take away, limit, or reſtraine any power, or the exerciſe of it, but he in whom it is in eminent ſort, and from whom it was receiued. But the ciuill power that is in Princes, is not in the Pope, neither did it proceede and come originally from him; therefore it cannot be reſtrained, limited, or taken away by him. The maior propoſition is euident: the aſſumption is proued, becauſe ciuill power is in heathen infidels, who no way hold of the Pope.

Secondly, becauſe it is agreed by all Diuines of worth and learning, that the ciuill power in the firſt originall of it, is immediatly frō God; or if not immediatly by his owne deliuery thereof, yet by no other mediation, then that of the law of nature and nations. [b] *The Emperours know* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *who gaue them the Empire, they know that it was euen the ſame God, who gaue vnto them to be men, and to haue humane ſoules. They well perceiue, that he onely is God, in whoſe onely power they are: à quo ſunt ſecundi, poſt quem primi, ante omnes & ſuper omnes Deos:* that is, After whom, they are in order the ſecond, but among all other the firſt, before and aboue all Gods. And againe, *Inde eſt Imperator, vnde & homo antequam Imperator; inde poteſtas illi, vnde & ſpiritus*: that is, From thence is the chiefe ruler and Emperour, whence he was a man before he was an Emperor; from thence hath he his power, from whence he receiued the ſpirit of life.

b *Ter. in Apol. aduerſus Gentes cap. 30.*

The Author of the anſwer to the Reports of a great and worthy Iudge among vs, who hath lately written in the defence of the Popes ouerſpreading greatneſſe, ſeemeth in part to agree with *Tertullian*, and telleth vs, [c] that ciuil power is receiued from God, not immediatly by his owne deliuery thereof, but mediatly rather by the mediation of the law of nature & nations. For by the law of nature God hath ordained that there ſhould be politicke gouernment, which the law of nations aſſuming, hath transferred

c Anſ. to the Reports of ſir *Ed. Cook. chap. 2. pag. 26.*

transferred that gouernmēt to one, or more, according to the diuers forms thereof. And *Occam* proueth at large, that Imperiall power is not from the Pope, and that it is hereticall to say, that all lawfull ciuill power is from the Pope.

d *Dialog. lib. 2. tractat. 2 part. 3. cap. 22.*

Our second reason is this: Absolute and soueraigne ciuill Princes while they were infidels, had true dominion, rule and authority, holding it as immediatly from God, not depending on any ruler of the Church, as hath bene shewed before. But when they become Christians, they still remaine in the same fulnesse of authority, in as ample and independent sort as before, because the benefite of Christ tendeth to no mans hurt, and grace ouerthroweth not nature: therfore still they remaine independent & subiect to none in the same power, & in the exercise of it. If they shall say, they are subiect to none while they vse their authority wel, but that if they abuse it, they lose the independent absoluteness thereof; their saying will be found to be hereticall. For if vpon abuse of independent authority, they that haue it, lose and forfeit it *ipso facto*, then authority and abuse of authority, or at least extreme abuse of it, cannot stand together; which is contrary to that of S. *Austine*, where hee saith: [e] *Nec tyrannicæ factionis peruersitas laudabilis erit, si regia clementia tyrannus subditos tractet, nec vituperabilis ordo regiæ potestatis, si Rex crudelitate tyrannicâ sæuiat: aliud est namque iniustâ potestate iustè velle vti; & aliud est iustâ potestate iniustè velle vti:* that is, Neither shal the peruersnesse of tyrānical vsurpation euer be praise worthy, though the tyrant vse his subiects with all Kingly clemency, nor the order of Kingly power euer be subiect to iust reprehēsion, though a king grow fierce and cruell like a tyrant. For it is one thing to vse an vnlawful power lawfully, & another thing to vse a lawful power vnrighteously and vniustly.

e *Aug. de Bono Coniugali, cap. 14*

The third reason may be this. If God did giue to the Pope authority to depose Princes, erring and abusing their authority, he would giue them the meanes to execute that their authoritie reacheth vnto, to wit, ciuill greatnesse, armies of Souldiers, walled cities, towers, and strong holds, both for defence and offence, and all other thinges necessary for the putting downe of wicked Kinges. But the Pope as Christs Vicar hath none of these, neither was he at any time as a temporal Prince, the greatest monarch of the word, and so able to represse the insolencies of all hereticall, pagan, and wicked Kinges, hindering the peaceable proceeding of the Gospel of Christ: therfore he hath no such authority. For to say, that God giueth authority, and not the meanes whereby it may execute and performe that which pertaineth to it, is impious.

The onely meanes the Pope hath to depose Princes, are two; but neither of them within the compasse of his power to dispose of. The first, is the raising of subiects against their Prince. The second, is the raising of neighbour Princes. The former of these meanes is very defectiue, seeing

as

(as [f] *Bellarmine* rightly obſerueth out of *Eccleſiaſticus*) [g] *Such as the ruler of the citty is, ſuch are they that dwell in it*: And therefore if the King bee an hereticke, the moſt part of his people will be ſo too, and rather aſſiſt him for the maintenance of his hereſie, then reſiſt againſt him for the ſuppreſſing of it. Which thing (as he ſaith) experience teacheth: For when [h] *Ieroboam* became an Idolater, the greateſt part of the kingdome worſhipped Idols. When *Conſtantine* reigned, Chriſtian Religion flouriſhed: When *Conſtantius* reigned, *Arrianiſme* preuailed, and ouerflowed all: When *Iulian* ſwayed the Scepter, the greateſt part returned to paganiſme. So that [i] *Iouian* being choſen after his death, refuſed to be Emperor, proteſting that being a Chriſtian, hee neither could, nor would bee Emperour ouer infidels. Whereupon they all profeſſed, that howſoeuer they had diſſembled before, yet they were ſtill in heart Chriſtians, and now would ſhew it againe. So that we ſee, the firſt meanes for the ſuppreſſing of erring Princes, is no meanes, or a very vncertaine one. And the ſecond is worſe then the firſt: For I neuer read in any Diuine, of what religion ſoeuer, that one King is bound to make warre vpon another, vpon the Popes command, for the ſuppreſſing of hereſie. And therefore the Pope may breath out excōmunications til he be breathleſſe, but can go no further by any meanes that God hath giuen him.

f *De Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 7.*
g *Eccl. 10. 7.*
h *1. King. 12. 30.*
i *Socrates, lib. 3. cap. 19.*

Fourthly, thus we reaſon. Either the power of the Pope is meerely Eccleſiaſticall and ſpirituall, or it is not. If it be not, then hath hee ciuill authority from Chriſt, which they deny. If it be, then can it inflict no puniſhments, but meerely ſpirituall, and Eccleſiaſticall. For of what nature each power is, of the ſame are the puniſhments it inflicteth. The temporall power inflicteth onely temporall, outward, and corporall puniſhments, as loſſe of goods, impriſonment, baniſhment, or death. The ſpirituall, onely ſpirituall, as ſuſpenſion, excommunication, and the like. Now I ſuppoſe the loſſe of a kingdome, with all the riches and honor of it, and captiuity, baniſhment, or death, vpon reſiſtance againſt the ſentence of depoſition, is a temporall and externall puniſhment, of the worſt nature, and higheſt degree that may be.

Laſtly, if ſoueraigne Kings may be put from their kingdomes, vpon abuſe of their authority, either they forfeit and loſe the right of them *ipſo facto*, & are depriued by almighty God: & then the Pope can but declare what God hath a ready done, as any man elſe may vpon perfect vnderſtanding of the caſe: or elſe other neighbour Kings, or their owne ſubiects are to depoſe them; and the Pope is onely to put them in minde of their duty, and as a ſpirituall paſtour to vrge them to the performance of it; and then he depoſeth them not, but they. Or laſtly, the power of aſſuming their authority to himſelfe, vpon their abuſe thereof, pertaineth vnto him: and then in ciuill authority hee is the greateſt and ouerall; which yet theſe men deny. For he that is to iudge of Princes actions, and vpon

vpon diſlike, to limit, reſtraine, or wholly take their power from them, is ſupreme in that kinde of authority. And if he may take ciuill authority from other, and giue it to whom he pleaſeth, there is no queſtion but hee may giue it vnto himſelfe, and ſo hath power vpon all defects of Princes, to take into his owne hand that which formerly pertained to them, and to do the acts that were to be performed by them. Now as theſe reaſons ſtrongly proue, that the Pope cannot depoſe Princes in *ordine ad ſpiritualia*, ſo the weakneſſe of the reaſons brought to proue it, will much more confirme the ſame.

Their firſt reaſon is taken from the perfection and excellency of the Eccleſiaſticall or ſpirituall power, which they ſay is greater & farre more excellent then that which is ciuill.

Whereunto we anſwer with [k] *Waldenſis*, that though the ſpirituall power be ſimply more perfect and excellent then the ciuill, yet either of theſe in the performance of things pertaining to them, is greater then the other, and each of them independent of the other. *Ambroſe* was greater then *Theodoſius*, in reſpect of the adminiſtration of diuine thinges, and might either admit him to, or reiect him from the ſacraments. But *Theodoſius* in reſpect of all temporall things, was greater then he, and might command him, ſend him into baniſhment, or take away all that hee had. The Sun is more excellent then the moone, & the influence thereof more powerfull; yet is there a kinde of influence vpon the waters, wherein the moone is more excellent then the Sunne. In like ſort, the power which is ſpirituall may do greater things then that which is temporall, and yet the temporall may do thoſe things the ſpirituall cannot do. And therefore it will not follow, that the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, and the principall miniſters of the Church, may take vnto themſelues the authority of Kings, or take vpon them to do the things that pertaine to Kingly offices, becauſe they are greater in dignity, and haue a greater power; vnleſſe they had a greater dignity and power in the ſame kinde.

k *Doctrin fid li. 2. art. 3. cap. 8.*

Now they who moſt amplifie the greatneſſe of Eccleſiaſticall power, preferring it before the other which is ciuill, neuer make the greatneſſe of it to conſiſt, in that in ciuil affaires it may doe more then that; but in that it hath a more noble obiect, and more wonderfull effects. [l] *We alſo* (ſaith *Nazianzene*) *haue power and authority, and that farre more ample and excellent then that of ciuill Princes, inſomuch as it is fit the fleſh ſhould yeeld to the ſpirit, and thinges earthly to thinges heauenly.* [m] *Prieſthood* (ſaith *Chryſoſtome*) *is a Princedome, more honourable and great then a kingdome; tell not me of the purple, diademe, ſcepter, or golden apparell of Kings, for theſe are but ſhadowes, and more vaine then flowers at the ſpring time. If you will ſee the difference betweene them, and how much the King is inferior to the Prieſt, conſider the manner of the power deliuered to them both, and you ſhall ſee the Prieſts tribunall much higher then that of the King,*

l *Nazianz. orat. ad Ciues trepidantes.*

m *Chryſoſt. hom. 5. de verb. Eſaiæ Vidi Dominum.*

King, who hath receiued onely the administration of earthly thinges. But the Priests tribunal is placed in heauen, and he hath authority to pronounce sentence in heauenly affaires. And againe, [n] *Earthly Princes haue power to binde but our bodies onely, but the bands which Priests can lay vpon vs, doe touch the soule it selfe, and reach euen vnto the heauens, so farre forth, as that whatsoeuer Priests shall determine heere beneath, that God doth ratifie aboue in heauen, and confirme the sentence of his seruants vpon earth.*

n Homil. 4.

o Petrus Blesens. Epist. 146.

[o] When king *Richard* the first returning from the holy land, was taken and holden as a prisoner by Duke *Leopold* of *Austria*, and the Emperour *Henry* the sixth; Queene *Elenor* his mother, seeking all meanes to procure his deliuerance, among other thinges, wrote a letter to the Bishop of *Rome*, intreating him to interpose his authority. The words of her letter are these, expressing the passion and earnest desire of her heart.

This onely remaineth (ô Father) that you draw forth the sword of Peter *against malefactors; which sword, GOD hath appointed to be ouer nations and kingdomes. The Crosse of Christ doth excell the Eagles that are in* Cæsars *Banners, the spirituall sword of* Peter *is of more power then was the temporall sword of* Constantine *the Emperour, and the Sea Apostolicke is more potent then any Imperiall power or authority: and I would aske whether your power bee of GOD, or of men? Did not the GOD of Gods speake to you in* Peter *the Apostle, saying: Whatsoeuer you shall binde vpon earth shall bee bound in heauen; and whatsoeuer you shall lose on earth shall bee loosed in heauen? and why then doe you so negligently, or rather cruelly delay, for a long time, to loose my sonne? or why dare you not doe it? Perhaps you will say, that the power giuen you by GOD, of binding and losing, is for soules, and not for bodyes. Let it bee so, truly it is sufficient for vs, if you will binde the soules of those that hold my sonnes body bound in prison.*

By all these sayings of them that most admired the excellency of Priesthood, it appeareth, that the excellency thereof aboue princely power is in respect of the obiect thereof, which is more noble; and the effects thereof, which are more wonderfull: and not in respect of greater power, authority and right to dispose of temporall affaires and businesses, either simply, or vpon any abuse or negligence of ciuill Princes. So that from hence it cannot be inferred, that the chiefe ministers of the Church may depose the Princes of the world.

p Lib. 2. de Sacrament. part. 2. cap. 4.

[p] *Hugo de sancto Victore* saith: There are two kindes of power, the one terrene, the head whereof is the King; the other spirituall, the head whereof is the Pope. To the Kings power those things pertaine that are terrene; to the Popes, those things that are spirituall: and looke how much the spirituall life is better then the earthly, so much doth the spirituall power excell the earthly in honour and dignity: For the spirituall power doth constitute the terrene power, that it may bee; and iudgeth it, whether

whether it proceede aright, or not. But it ſelfe was firſt inſtituted of GOD, and when it goeth aſide, can bee iudged of none but of God onely.

From hence (as [q] *Waldenſis* ſheweth) ſome men tooke an occaſion of errour, affirming, that the root of terrene power, doth ſo farre forth depend vpon the Pope, that by commiſſion from him, the execution of things pertaining thereunto, is deriued vnto the Prince; and that when the Prince goeth aſide, or faileth to doe his duty, the chiefe Biſhop may manage the ciuill affaires; becauſe, he ſaith, the ſpirituall power doth inſtitute the ciuill power, that it may be.

[q] *Doctr. Fid. lib. 2. art. 3. cap. 78.*

But theſe men preſume too farre, and in ſo doing offend, becauſe the terrene power of Kings is not reduced into any other originally, as hauing authority ouer Kings, but vnto Chriſt onely: and yet notwithſtanding, as the Prieſt ioyneth the man and his wife in marriage, and bleſſeth them, that they may be man and wife, and ioyfull parents of happy children; and iudgeth afterwards, whether they performe the duties of marriage or not: So the chiefe Prieſt ſetteth the crowne vpon the head of the Emperour, annointeth him with holy oyle, taketh an oath of him for the defence of the Chriſtian faith and religion, putteth vpon him the royall robes, and thereby inueſteth him with royall power, and putteth him in poſſeſſion of his Imperiall ſtate and dignity.

But it is not to be imagined (ſaith *Waldenſis*) that the imperiall power *is* from the power of the Church, or dependeth of it, though certaine ſolemnities be vſed by Biſhops in the inauguration of Kings and Emperours; neither may the chiefe Miniſters of the Church any more challenge the diſpoſing or managing of ciuill affaires, vpon any defect or failing of ciuill Princes, then they may, the adminiſtation and diſpenſation of holy things, vpon the defect or failing of the Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters. Yet in caſe of neceſſity, either of theſe two ſtates may, and ought to helpe and ſuccour the other; not (as hee ſaith) *vt vlla poteſtate, ſed fraternitatis acceſſu:* that is, Not as hauing authority, or by vertue thereof preſuming to do any thing; but as one brother maketh haſte to helpe another in danger, reaching forth the hand to ſtay him that is ſtanding, and to raiſe him that is fallen. Both the brethren, (ſaith *Waldenſis*) both *Simeon* and *Leui*, Prieſt-hood and knighthood, Biſhoply power, and that which is Princely, muſt riſe vp together for the reſcuing of *Dinah* their ſiſter, out of the hands of him that ſeeketh to diſhonour her: *Vi charitatis etſi non authoritatis:* that is, By force of charity, though not of authority. So that according to his opinion, the chiefe Miniſters of the Church inueſt the Princes of the world with their royall authority, according to the ſaying of [r] *Hugo*; but giue them not their authority: they may iudge of the actions of Princes, but they may not *præiudicare*, they may not preiudice Princes. They may in

[r] *Vbi ſuprà.*

the time of need come to the ſuccour, and in the time of danger reach forth the helping hand to the ciuill ſtate, ſhaken by the negligence or malice of ciuill Princes: but it muſt be by way of charity, not of authority; as likewiſe the ciuill ſtate may, and ought to be aſſiſtant to the Eccleſiaſticall in like danger, defect, or failing of the Eccleſiaſticall miniſters.

The next argument that our Aduerſaries bring, is taken from a compariſon betweene the ſoule and body, expreſſing the difference betweene the ciuil & Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, found (as they ſay) in [f] *Gregory Nazianz.* But that we may the better vnderſtand the force of this argument, we muſt obſerue, that in the compariſon which they bring, they make the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate and ſpiritual power, like the ſpirit, and diuine faculties therof: and the ciuill ſtate like the fleſh, with the ſences, and ſenſitiue appetite thereof. And as in Angels there is ſpirit without fleſh; in bruite beaſts fleſh and ſence without ſpirit; and in man both theſe conioyned: ſo they will haue vs grant, that there is ſometimes Eccleſiaſticall power without ciuill, as in the Apoſtles times, and long after: ſometimes ciuill without Eccleſiaſtical, as among the heathen; & ſomtimes theſe two coniyoned together. And as when the ſpirit and fleſh meete in one, the ſpirit hath the command; and though it ſuffer the fleſh to do all thoſe thinges which it deſireth, vnleſſe they be contrary to the intendments, deſignes, and ends of it: yet when it findeth them to be contrary, it may, and doth command the fleſhly part to ſurceaſe from her owne actions; yea, it maketh it to faſt, watch, and doe and ſuffer many grieuous and afflictiue things, euen to the weakning of it ſelfe. So in like manner they would inferre, that the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate being like vnto the ſpirit and ſoule, and the ciuill to the body of fleſh, the Church hath power to reſtraine, and bridle ciuill Princes, if they hinder the ſpirituall good thereof, not onely by cenſures Eccleſiaſticall, but outward inforcements alſo.

[f] *In Orat. ad populũ timore perculſum. & Imp. iraſcentem.*

This is the great and grand argument our Aduerſaries bring to proue, that Popes may depoſe princes; wherein firſt we may obſerue their folly, in that they bring ſimilitudes, which ſerue onely for illuſtration, and not for probation, for the maine confirmation of one of the principall poynts of their faith; which [t] whoſoeuer denyeth, ſinneth in as high a degree as *Marcellinus* that ſacrificed vnto idols, and *Peter* that denied his maiſter.

[t] *Bellar. in epiſt. ad Blackwellum.*

Secondly, we ſee how much Princes are beholding vnto them, that compare them to bruit beaſts, and at the beſt, to the brutiſh part that is in men, common to them with bruit beaſts.

If they ſay, *Nazianzen* ſo compareth them, they are like themſelues, & ſpeake vntruly: for he compareth not Princes & Prieſts to ſpirit & fleſh, but going about to ſhew the difference of the obiects of their power, maketh

maketh the ſpirit to be the obiect of the one of them, and the fleſh of the other. Not as if Princes were to take no care of the welfare of the ſoules of their ſubiects, as well as of their bodies, but becauſe the immediate procuring of the ſoules good, is by preaching, and miniſtration of the Sacraments, and Diſcipline, which the Prince is to procure, and to ſee well performed, but not to adminiſter theſe things himſelfe; as alſo becauſe the coactiue power the Prince hath, extendeth onely to the body, and not to the ſoule, as the Eccleſiaſticall power of binding and looſing doth.

Thirdly, we may obſerue, that if this ſimilitude ſhould proue any thing, it would proue, that the ciuill ſtate among Chriſtians hath no power to do any act whatſoeuer, but by the command or permiſſion of the Eccleſiaſticall. For ſo it is betweene the ſpirit and the body, and ſenſitiue faculties, that ſhew themſelues in it.

The Philoſophers note, that there is a double regiment in man: the one politicall or ciuill, the other deſpoticall; the one like the authority of Princes ouer their ſubiects that are freemen, the other like the authority of Lords ouer their bondmē & ſlaues. The former is of reaſon in reſpect of ſenſitiue appetite, which by perſwaſion it may induce to ſurceaſe to deſire that which it diſcerneth to be hurtfull, but cannot force it ſo to doe: the other of reaſon and the will, in reſpect of the loco-motiue faculty; and this abſolute, ſo that if reaſon cannot win a deſiſting from deſire, in the inferior powers, that ſhew themſelues in the body, yet the will may command the loco-motiue faculty, & either cauſe all outward action to ceaſe, how earneſtly ſoeuer ſenſitiue deſire carry vnto it; or to bee performed, how much ſoeuer it reſiſt againſt it: as it may command & force the drinking of a bitter potion, which the appetite cannot be won vnto, and the reiecting and putting from vs, thoſe things that are moſt deſired. Neither can the appetite and ſenſitiue faculties performe any of their actions without the conſent of the will and reaſon: For if the will command, the eies are cloſed vp & ſee nothing, the eares are ſtopped & heare nothing, how much ſoeuer the appetite deſire to ſee and heare. Neither onely haue the ſoules higher powers, this command ouer the inferior faculties, in reſpect of things that may further and hinder their owne good and perfection, as they may command to watch or faſt, for the preuention and mortification of ſin; but they may alſo at their pleaſure, hinder the whole courſe of the actions of the outward man, withdraw all needfull thinges from the body, and depriue it euen of life it ſelfe, though there be no cauſe at all ſo to do.

So that if the compariſon of the ciuill and Eccleſiaſticall ſtate to the ſoule and body do hold from thence, it may be inferred that the Church hath power to command in all things pertaining to the common wealth, and that the ciuill magiſtrates haue none at all. For the lower faculties

neither haue, nor ought to haue any command further then they are permitted by the Superior; neither can they do any thing contrary to the liking of the Superior, though neuer so iuſt and reaſonable. And ſo we ſee how ſilly a thing it is to reaſon from theſe ſimilitudes, and that they that ſo do, build vpon the ſands, ſo that all the frame of their building commeth to the ground.

The third reaſon brought by our Aduerſaries is this: Euery common wealth muſt be perfect in it ſelfe, and able to defend it ſelfe from all iniuries that any other may offer vnto it; and if it can no other way free it ſelfe, it muſt haue power to depoſe the Prince, and change the gouernement. Therefore the Church muſt be able to defend it ſelfe againſt all iniuries of wicked Kings, whether Infidels, Heretickes, or Apoſtataes; and if otherwiſe it cannot defend it ſelfe from their violences and wrongs, it muſt haue power to depoſe them.

This conſequence I thinke will neuer be found good in the iudgment of any indifferent reader. For the kingdomes and common wealths of the world, the good, proſperity and happineſſe whereof is outward, muſt haue outward meanes to repreſſe the inſolencies of all ſuch as ſeeke to impeach or hinder the ſame; But the Church being a ſociety, the happineſſe and good whereof is not outward, but inward, conſiſting in the graces of God, and the hope of a better life in the world to come, may bee perfect in it ſelfe, though it want meanes to repreſſe outward violences and inſolencies.

The Apoſtle himſelfe, who was a chiefe commander in it, profeſſing
u 2. Cor. 10. v. 4 that the [u] weapons of his warfare were not carnall, but mighty through God, for the caſting downe of proud thoughts; but not for the ouerthrow of citties and townes, or the ſubduing of the Princes of the world. So that the perfection of this ſociety or common wealth ſtanding in the inward graces of the ſpirit, and the expectation of future happineſſe, ſhee may attaine her owne end, enioy her owne good, and flouriſh in the middeſt of all preſſures, more then in any ſtate of outward proſperity; and ſo vndoubtedly ſhe doth. For as the gold is more pure, the more it is tryed, in the fire; as the Cammomill ſmelleth the ſweeter the more it is troden on; as the palme tree ſpreadeth the further, the more it is preſſed downe; as the Arke of *Noe* roſe the higher, the more the flouds did ſwell: ſo Gods Church did then moſt grow, increaſe and proſper, when the perſecutions were hotteſt. And therefore S. *Auſtine* ſaith (ſpeaking of the primitiue Chriſtians) [x] *Includebantur, ligabantur, torquebantur, trucidabantur, & multiplicabantur*: that is, They were ſhut vp in priſons & dungeons, they were bound in fetters and chaines, they were tortured & racked, yea, they were ſlaine with the ſword, and yet they increaſed & multiplied. And [y] S. *Bernard* diſtinguiſhing three ſeuerall times of the Church, in all which ſhe complained of bitterneſſe, the firſt vnder perſecuting heathen Emperors, the

x *Aug. de Ciuitate Dei. lib. cap.*

y *Serm. 33. in Cantica.*

the ſecond, in the conflicts with heretickes; and the third, when ſhee had rest from both theſe; ſaith, the ſtate of the Church was worſt in her peace, and bringeth her in complaining, and ſaying: *Amariſſima amaritudo mea in pace mea*; that is, My bitterneſſe is moſt bitter in the daies of my peace. For now *omnes amici, omnes inimici, omnes domeſtici, nulli pacifici; ſerui Chriſti ſeruiunt Antichriſto:* that is, All are friends, and all are enemies, all are of my houſhold, but none are at peace with me; the ſeruants of Chriſt ſerue Antichriſt. So that it followeth not, that if the Church muſt haue meanes to attaine her owne end, and enioy her owne wiſhed good, that ſhee muſt haue power ſufficient to procure her outward peace, & repreſſe the inſolencies of outward enemies. And yet beſides, this reaſon chargeth Chriſt with want of care of his Church, who left it without meanes to defend it ſelfe againſt outward violence for the ſpace of 300 yeares together, during the time of the heathen Emperours; and afterwards alſo vnder the reigne of Apoſtataes and heretickes. For [z] *Bellarmine* ſaith, that the primitiue Chriſtians did not depoſe *Nero, Dioclesian, Iulian* the Apoſtata, *Valens* the *Arrian*, and other like, becauſe they wanted temporall forces.

z *De Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 7.*

The next reaſon is more ſtrange then this. For firſt, forgetting what they are to proue, in ſteed of prouing that the Pope may depoſe Princes, they endeuour to proue, that the people may depoſe Princes when they fall into hereſie, and that the Pope is to iudge of hereſie. Secondly, they conclude, that Chriſtian people may not endure their King if he fall into hereſie, becauſe they may not chuſe a King that is an infidell or hereticke. That they might not chuſe an hereticke (which no man denieth) they proue, becauſe the [a] *Iewes* might chuſe none to be their King that was not of their brethren, leſt he ſhould draw them to idolatry. But the conſequence they go not about to proue, which we deny, & they will neuer be able to confirme. For there is no queſtion but people are bound to be ſubiect to ſuch a King, as in conſcience they might not chuſe, if they were free, & to make choice. [b] When *Moſes* was counſelled by *Iethro*, to chuſe Elders & rulers to aſſiſt him, he told him what maner of men they ſhould be, to wit, men fearing God, dealing truly, hating couetouſneſſe; and none but ſuch ought electors, hauing freedome of choyce, to chuſe: and yet I thinke, though a King be couetous, he is not preſently to bee depoſed. And therefore [c] *Bellarmine* (like an honeſt man) confuteth his owne argument, and ſaith, that infideis that had dominion ouer people before they became Chriſtians, are to be tollerated by Chriſtians, if they ſeeke not to draw them to idolatry, whom yet I thinke Chriſtians might not chuſe to reigne ouer them if they were free. Beſides this, if *Bellarmine* ſay true, that ſubiects ſinne as much in tollerating Kings that are infidels, Apoſtataes, or hereticks, as in chuſing ſuch to rule ouer thē when they were free, all the primitiue Chriſtians that tollerated *Nero, Dioclesian, Iulian*

a Deut. 17. 15. 16.

b Exod. 18. 21.

c *Vbi ſupra.*

Iulian the Apostata, *Constantius*, *Valens*, and other heretickes sinned damnably in so doing.

Neither will *Bellarmines* answer, that they are to be excused, though they did not depose them, because they wanted strength, auoid the same. For it is euident by *Tertullian*, that they wanted not strength if they had thought it lawfull. [d] *If we should goe about to auenge our selues* (saith *Tertullian*) *we should not want meanes. For behold, we are more in number, and greater in strength, then any one nation and people of the world. We are strangers vnto you, and yet behold, we haue filled all places pertaining vnto you, your Cities, your Isles, your Villages, your Townes, your Councel-houses, your Castles, and strong Forts, your Palaces, your Senates, and your market places; only your Idol Temples we haue left free vnto you. What warre should not wee bee able to take in hand? or what attempt should seeme hard vnto vs? though wee were too weake who so willingly are slaine, if it were not more lawfull to bee killed then to kill in our profession. Nay, though we should neuer arme our selues, nor lift vp our hands against you, but onely depart away, and withdraw our selues into some remote parts of the world, how should we confound and amaze you? How could you endure so great a losse? How would your Cities bee left desolate, and none found to dwell in them?*

d *In Apologet. aduersus Gentes cap. 37.*

So that it was not want of strength that held the Primitiue Christians in subiection to their heathen and persecuting Emperours, but the perswasion they had, that it was their duty so to be subiect, perswading themselues they had their power from heauen: and therefore [e] *Illuc suspicientes* (saith *Tertullian*) *manibus expansis, quia innocuis, capite nudo quia non erubescimus; denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus, precantes summus omnes semper pro omnibus Imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperiũ securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, & quæcunque hominis & Cæsaris sunt vota:* that is, Looking vp thither, with handes lifted vp and spread our, because innocent, with bare heades, because we are not ashamed, & without a remembrancer, because our praiers proceed from the desires that lodge within in our breast, we all pray alwayes for all Emperours and rulers, desiring God to grant vnto them a long life, a secure reigne, a safe house, valiant armies, a faithfull Senate, good people, a quiet world; and all the good things that the heart either of a priuate man, or of *Cæsar* can desire. O silly erring Christians! durst you pray for the prosperity of them, whom you should haue persecuted with fire and sword, and vtterly haue destroied? But it is not to bee marualled at, if ye thus erred: for you were Christians, & had no Iesuites among you, from whom these mysteries of deposing Princes might haue bene learned: so that we may hope that ignorance did excuse you, and that ye are not gone to hel for this neglecting of your duty. But some man perhaps will say, *Tertullian* might be deceiued in this poynt. Let vs heare therefore whether others were of his mind or not.

e *Ibid. cap. 30.*

Iulianus

Iulianus *Imperator* (saith [f] *Ambrose*) *quamuis esset Apostata, habuit tamen sub se Christianos milites, quibus cùm dicebat, producite aciem pro defensione Reipublicæ, obediebant ei. Cùm autem diceret eis, producite arma in Christianos, tunc cognoscebant Imperatorem cœli*; that is; *Iulian* the Emperour, though he were an Apostata, yet had vnder him christian souldiers, who when he sayd vnto them, bring forth your armies for the defence of the commonwealth, willingly obeyed him. But when he sayd vnto them, bring forth your forces, & fight against the Christians, tooke knowledge of the Emperor in heauen, and not of him. And Saint [g] *Augustine* saith to the same purpose, that *Iulian* the Emperour was an Infidell, an Apostata, a wicked man, and an idolater; and yet there were Christian souldiers that serued this vnbeleeuing Emperour: when they came to the cause of Christ they acknowledged none other Emperour, but him onely, whose throne is in heauē. When he required them to worship idols, or to burne incense, they preferred God before him. When he sayd, bring forth your armies, and go against such a nation, they presently obeyed him: so did they wisely distinguish betweene the eternall and temporall Lord, and yet they were subiect to the temporall Lord for the eternall Lords sake.

f Citat. à Gratiano Decret. 2. part. causa 11. quæst. 3. cap. 94.

Iulians souldiers

g Citat. ibidem cap. 98.

Neither was this the priuate conceit of these men alone, but all other the worthy Fathers, and Bishops of the church were of the same minde, and perswaded themselues, that they owed all dutie to Kings and Emperours, though they were heretiques or infidels. And therefore *Athanasius* (when some charged him, that he had spoken euill of *Constantius* the *Arrian* heretique to *Constance* his brother, and sought to make variance betweene them) in his Apologie to *Constantius*, calleth God to witnesse against his owne soule, that he had neuer done any such thing; and telleth the Emperour, he was not mad, nor had not forgotten the saying of the wise man. [h] *Curse not the King in thy secret thought, and speake not euill of the rich and mightie in the retired places of thy chamber. For the fowles of heauen will carrie forth thy voyce, and that that hath wings will make report of thy words.*

h Eccles. 10. 20.

The fifth reason that they bring, to proue that Christians may depose mis-beleeuing Emperours and Kings, if they haue meanes so to do, is, because the Apostle [i] willeth the *Corinthians* that were become Christians, to appoint new iudges of their controuersies about temporall affaires and businesses, that they might not be forced to bring their pleas before heathen magistrates that were their enemies, to the scorne of their profession; which is so silly a reason, that I cannot perswade my selfe they propose it in earnest, but onely for fashions sake to helpe to make vp a number. For they know right well, these Iudges the Apostle speaketh of, were but only arbitrators chosen by the agreement of the parties, & not absolute rulers ouer them with abrogation of the magistracie of those heathen rulers to whom they were subiect; and therefore notwithstanding any

i 1. Cor. 6.

thing

thing the Apoſtle writeth, there were [k] three caſes, wherein the faithfull and beleeuing *Corinthians*, might lawfully come before the heathen iudges. The firſt, if the infidels in the controuerſies they had with them about ſecular things, drew them thither. The ſecond, if a beleeuer being contentious, drew them to thoſe tribunals, refuſing to haue things determined otherwiſe. The third, if the beleeuer had none other meanes to recouer his right, which he was bound in conſcience to recouer and preſerue; for in ſuch a caſe, he might become a plaintife before heathen magiſtrates. But (ſaith [l] *Bellarmine*) the beleeuing husband, whoſe wife being an infidell, will not dwell with him, without continuall blaſpheming of God the Creator, and ſolliciting him to infidelitie, and apoſtacie, is freed from his wife; and likewiſe the beleeuing wife from her vnbeleeuing husband, ſo continuing to blaſpheme Chriſt, and to ſollicite her to idolatrie: therefore by like reaſon the beleeuing people are freed from the yoke of an vnbeleeuing king, ſeeking to draw them to infidelitie. This argument drawne from cõpariſon faileth many waies. For firſt, according to [m] *Bellarmines* opinion, the beleeuing party is free from the other remaining in infidelity, though the infidel do neither depart, nor ſollicite, or perſuade to idolatrie, if there be not a preſent conuerſion: ſo that the beleeuer may diſmiſſe his wife, which he maried in infidelitie, if ſhe continue an infidell, though ſhe neither depart from him, nor ſeeke to win him to infidelitie.

But touching a king who is an vnbeleeuer, he thinketh (though [n] *Thomas* bee of another opinion) that the people conuerting to Chriſtianitie cannot ſhake off his yoke, vnleſſe he ſeeke to draw them backe to infidelitie; and therefore all that is not lawfull to the people, in reſpect of an vnbeleeuing king, that is lawfull to the husband, in reſpect of his vnbeleeuing wife; or to the wife, in reſpect of her vnbeleeuing husband.

Secondly this compariſon, if it proue any thing, mainely ouerthroweth the opinion of *Bellarmine*. For if the husband and the wife were Chriſtians when they were maried, & afterwards one of them fall into hereſie, apoſtaſie, atheiſme, or whatſoeuer elſe, & ſeeke neuer ſo violently to draw the right beleeuer to the ſame euils; yet the bond of mariage remaineth inuiolable, & is not, nor may not be diſſolued: and therfore if this compariſon hold, a Chriſtian king falling into hereſie, apoſtaſie, or atheiſme, and ſeeking to draw his people to the ſame, doth not loſe the right of dominiõ he hath ouer them. Thirdly, in *Bellarmines* opinion it is not refuſal to dwel together, nor ſollicitation to idolatrie, that could make a ſeparation, if the band of matrimonie contracted betweene infidels, were ſimply firme and indiſſoluble, as that of Chriſtians is. But heathen Princes haue as good intereſt in their kingdomes (which are not founded vpon grace or faith, but vpon the light of reaſon, the freedome of will, and the law of nature and nations) as beleeuers; therefore their ſolliciting to infidelitie and idolatrie, cannot make their titles to their kingdome voide.

Laſtly,

k *Ockam. 8. queſtionum ſuper poteſt. & dignitate Papali, queſt. 1. cap. 11.*

l *De Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 7.*

m *De Matrimonij Sacramento, lib. 1. Controu. 4. cap. 12.*

n *2. 2. queſt. 10. art. 10.*

Lastly, malicious desertion or refusall to dwell with the beleeuer, vnlesse he some way at lest by silence consent to the blasphemies of the infidell, is directly contrarie to the nature, essence, end, and intendment of mariage, and therefore dissolueth mariage: but the abuse of sacred authoritie to the promoting of impietie, and suppressing of true religion, is not contrarie to the nature and essence of authoritie, but to the right vse of it; and therefore it doth not make voide the title of magistrates, seeing it is certaine that lawfull authoritie may stand with most horrible abuse of the same. Wherefore let vs proceed to their seuenth proofe.

When Princes (say they) come to the Church, and are admitted to the Communion of the faithfull people of God, they are not admitted but vpon promise and agreement, that if they forsake the faith, or hinder the good of Gods people, they will be content, and it shall be lawfull for the gouernours of the Church to take their authoritie from them; therefore when Princes become heretiques or apostataes, it is lawfull by their owne agreement and consent for the gouernours of the Church, to depose them. The antecedent of this argument, I thinke, will neuer bee made good. For what Prince in his admission to be a Christian, did euer thus condition with the Church, either expressely, or by necessary implication? examples of any such stipulation, I am perswaded they can bring vs none. It is true indeed, that the verie vow of a Christian made in Baptisme, implieth in it a resolution and promise, rather to depart with any thing, and lose all, then to forfeit the inheritance he is entitled vnto, to dishonour God, or any way to hinder the good of his Church: but this vowe and promise is made to God, and not to the Church; and therefore God may take from Christian kings their kingdomes, when they become heretiques, and seeke to misleade the people, as forfeited vpon their owne agreements; but the Church hath nothing to do with them, more then the great Turke, vpon any such forfeiture made vnto almightie God. It is true, that all infidels, and wicked ones, haue forfeited their kingdomes to God; but yet in the title of mundane iustice, they haue right to them still, and may not be dispossessed of them by mortall men, vnlesse they bee specially authorised by almightie God, as the *Israelites* were to cast out the *Canaanites*. And this was the meaning of *Wickliffe*, when he affirmed, that a Prince being in state of mortall sinne, ceaseth to be a Prince any longer, namely in respect of any title he can plead to God, if he be pleased to take the aduantage of the forfeiture; but in respect of men, he hath a good title still, in the course of mundane iustice. So that whosoeuer shall lift vp his hand against him, offereth him wrong.

The Church therefore may proceede no further then to admonish Princes, when they offend, and for grieuous and scandalous faults, to denie vnto them the benefit of her Communion.

The last proofe they bring for deposing Princes, when they become hereticks, is taken from the office of a Pastor, to whom it pertaineth to driue away

away wolues, to restraine and keepe the Rammes, and great leaders of the flockes, from hurting those sheepe that are more weake.

This reason as it is the last, so it is the worst of all. For each Pastour must do these things according to the nature and qualitie of his Pastorall office, and therefore a spirituall Pastor must performe them by spirituall and ecclesiasticall censures, driuing away the wolues from his flockes, by suspension, excommunication and anathema, and restraining the Rams from hurting the rest, by the same meanes so binding them with bands that exceede all the bands of restraint, vsed by the secular powers.

Chap. 46.

Of examples of Church-men deposing Princes, brought by the Romanists.

HAuing examined the reasons brought to proue that the chiefe gouernors of the Church may depose Princes erring from the faith, and hindering the course of religion; let vs see what examples our Aduersaries produce of the practise of deposing them. The first is the example of *Samuel* [a] appointing *Saul* to be a king, and afterwards [b] deposing him for his disobedience. But in this example they are grossely deceiued. For first, *Samuel* was neither high Priest nor Priest at all, not being of the posteritie of *Aaron*. Secondly, *Samuel* did not appoint *Saul* to be king, as being of higher authoritie, but as obeying and executing the mandate of God, as the meanest man in *Israel* might haue done: as we reade in the second of the *Kings*, of [c] one of the sonnes of the Prophets, who at the commandement of *Elizeus* annointed *Iehu* king ouer *Israell*, yet was neither *Elizeus*, nor he, greater in dignitie then kings. Thirdly, we do not reade in the sacred Historie, that *Samuel* deposed *Saul*, but that God deposed him, and that *Samuel* was the messenger sent from God to let him knowe it. *Because* (saith *Samuel*) *thou hast cast away the word of the Lord, the Lord hath cast thee away that thou shalt not reigne*. And againe, *the Lord hath cut away the kingdome of* Israel *from thee this day*. Yea so farre was *Samuel* from deposing *Saul*, that hee mourned for him, till God blamed him, saying, [d] *How long dost thou mourne for* Saul? *whereas I haue cast him away that he should not reigne ouer* Israel. The next example is that of *Hieremy* the Prophet, to whom the Lord sayd, [e] *I haue set thee ouer nations and people, to plucke vp, and to roote out, and to destroy, and throw downe, to build and to plant*. Whence they inferre, that the chiefe Priest is ouer the kingdomes of the world, and may giue them to whom he will.

But first, we must obserue, that *Hieremy* was not the high Priest, but one of an inferiour ranke; and that therefore if we will conclude any thing from hence, touching the power of disposing kingdomes by Priests, euerie

a 1. Sam. 9.
b 1. Sam. 15. 23.
c 2 Kings 9. 1.
d 1. Sam. 16. 1.
e Ierem. 1. 10.

euerie Prieſt muſt haue this power.

Secondly, we muſt know that *Hieremie* was ſet ouer the kingdome of *Iudah* and other kingdomes, not to rule them, but prophetically to denounce vnto them and foreſhew the things, that afterwards ſhould fall out. Whereupon *Lyra* interpreteth the words of almightie God in this ſort. f *Conſtitui te ſuper Gentes, & ſuper regna, vt euellas, id eſt, euellendos denuncies, transferendos inde habitatores; & deſtruas quantum ad occidendos; & diſperdas quantum ad fugientes per diuerſas vias; & diſſipes quantum ad gorientes in fuga vel captiuitate; & ædifices & plantes, id eſt, denuncies Iudeos reædificandos, & plantandos in terra ſua, &c.* that is; I haue ſet thee ouer nations, and kingdomes, that thou mighteſt plucke vp, that is, that thou mighteſt denounce and foreſhew, that the inhabitants being plucked vp out of their places, ſhall be caried into another place, that thou mayſt deſtroy, that is, denounce the deſtruction of ſuch as ſhall be ſlaine. That thou mayſt ſcatter, that is, denounce and foreſhew the diſperſion of ſuch as ſhall flie diuerſe wayes. That thou mayſt ouerthrowe, that is, declare and foreſhew the ouerthrowe of them that ſhall dye in flight or in captiuitie. That thou mayſt build and plant, that is, foreſhew, that the Iewes ſhall be builded and planted againe in their owne land; which was fulfilled in the time of *Cyrus*, who gaue libertie to the people to returne into their owne countrey, and to reëdifie the temple; and in the time of *Artaxerxes*, who gaue leaue to *Nehemiah* to reëdifie the citie of *Hieruſalem*, as we may reade in the bookes of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

f *Lyra in hunc locum.*

The author of the interlineall Gloſſe interpreteth the words in this ſence: that the Prophet was appointed by almightie God, ouer kingdomes and people, to plucke vp vices and ſinnes, to deſtroy the kingdome of the Diuell, and to build the Church of God. Saint *Hierome* likewiſe interpreteth the words in the ſame ſort, g *Conſiderandum eſt* (ſaith he) *quod quatuor triſtibus, duo læta ſuccedunt. Neque enim ædificari poterant bona, niſi deſtructa eſſent mala; nec plantari optima, niſi eradicarentur peſſima, &c.* that is; We muſt conſider, that two ioyfull and happie things ſucceed foure grieuous and ſorrowfull things. For neither could good things be builded, if euill things were not firſt deſtroyed; nor the beſt things be planted, if the worſt things were not firſt pluckt vp by the rootes. For euery plant which our heauenly Father hath not planted ſhall be plucked vp by the rootes. And euerie building which hath not a foundation vpon the Rocke, but is builded vpon the ſand, is digged downe and deſtroyed by the word of God; and Ieſus ſhall conſume it by the ſpirite of his mouth, and deſtroy it by the comming of his preſence: that is; he ſhall deſtroy for euer all ſacrilegious and peruerſe doctrine, and that alſo which is lifted vp againſt the knowledge of God, and the confidence that men haue in their owne wiſedome hee ſhall ſcatter, deſtroy, and caſt downe; that in ſteed of theſe things, the things that ſauour of humilitie may be

g *Hierony. in eundem locum.*

builded,

builded; and the things which agree with Ecclesiasticall veritie may be builded and planted in the place of the former things, which were destroyed, and pluckt vp.

Here is pulling vp of all false doctrine, and throwing downe whatsoeuer is lifted vp against the knowledge of God, that those things that sauour of humilitie, and are agreeable to Ecclesiasticall veritie, may be builded and planted. And thus to plucke vp and to plant, to cast downe, and to build vp, pertaineth to *Hieremies* office and calling; but for deposing of Kings, and transferring kingdomes, no ancient writer could euer find any thing in this place.

h 2. Chron. 26. The third example that they produce, is that of [h] *Vzziah*, who after much prosperitie in all that he tooke in hand, and many glorious victories obtained, not contenting himselfe with the honour of a King, but presuming to come into the Temple to offer incense, and intruding vpon the Priests office also, was by them resisted, and told, it would be displeasing to almightie God, that he did. But he waxing angrie, would not desist, till being striken with leprosie, and the verie earth trembling and quaking for horror of so vile a fact, he was by the Priests, and the remorse of his owne conscience forced to go hastily out of the Temple.

This leprosie departed not from him till his dying day, and therefore he was by vertue of Gods lawe constrained to depart from the societie of men, and to dwell apart; and *Iotham* his sonne ruled ouer the kings house, and iudged the people of the land.

How this place will proue, that the deposing of kings belongeth to Priests, I know not, for surely *Vzziah* was not deposed, but being forced to liue in an house apart by himselfe, and in that respect vnfit for the gouernment, his sonne supplied his place in iudging the people of the land: but he continued king still; and if he had bene cleansed from his leprosie before his death, no doubt, might, and would haue resumed his kingly dignitie, and the publique administration of iustice. Whereupon we

i 2. King. 15. 33. shall find that *Iotham* is sayd to haue reigned no more but [i] 16 yeares, because after his fathers death in his owne right he reigned no more. Though

k 2. Kings. 15. 30. otherwise we finde mention of things that fell out in the [k] 20 yeare of his reigne.

So including the time of his ruling for his father in his right. So that heere was nothing done by the Priests, but that which pertained to their priestly office, which was to keepe the holy places, and attend the Altars, and to iudge of the plague of leprosie. But for deposing the King, they medled not.

The fourth example is of *Iehoiada* the high Priest deposing *Athaliah*, and setting vp *Ioash*, as they tell vs. The storie is this.

l 2 Chron. 21. 22 & 23. [l] *Iehosaphat* dieth, and *Iehoram* his sonne succeedeth him. This *Iehoram*

rem marrieth *Athaliah* the daughter of *Ahab*, the ſonne of *Omri*; and he walked not in the wayes of *Iehoſaphat* and *Aſa* kings of *Iudah*, but of wicked *Ahab*, whoſe daughter he married. Whereupon God ſtirred vp the ſpirit of the *Philiſtines*, and *Arabians*, and they came, and tooke away all the ſubſtance that was found in his houſe, and his wiues and ſonnes, ſo that none was left him, but *Iehoahaz* or *Ahaziah* his youngeſt ſonne. After this *Iehoram* dieth, and *Ahaziah* reigneth in his ſtead, who followed the counſell of *Athaliah*, and did wickedly in the ſight of the Lord.

This *Ahaziah* going to *Iehoram* the ſonne of *Ahab*, and being found with him when *Iehu* came to execute iudgement againſt the houſe of *Ahab*, was there ſlaine by *Iehu*. After his death *Athaliah* his mother, deſtroyed all the Kings ſeede of the houſe of *Iudah*, and vſurped the kingdome: But *Iehoſhebiah* the wife of *Iehoiada* the Prieſt, ſiſter to *Ahaziah*, ſtole away *Ioaſh* the Kings ſonne, from among the Kings ſonnes, that hee ſhould not be ſlaine; & he was hid in the houſe of God ſixe yeares, all which time *Athaliah* reigned.

But in the ſeauenth yeare *Iehoiada* waxed bold, tooke the Captaines of hundreths in couenant with him, and went about in *Iudah*, and gathered the Leuites out of all the cities of *Iudah*, and the chiefe-fathers of *Iſrael*; and they came to *Ieruſalem*: and all the congregation made a couenant with the King, and ſayd, The kings ſonne muſt reigne, as the Lord hath ſayd of the ſonnes of *Dauid*. Hereupon the king is proclaimed, *Athaliah* is ſlaine, the houſe of *Baal* deſtroyed, and the Altars and idols that were in it, broken downe.

In all this narration there is nothing that maketh for the chiefe Prieſts power of depoſing lawfull kings, if they become heretiques: For firſt, *Athaliah* was an vſurper and no lawfull Queene. Secondly, here was nothing done by *Iehoiada* alone, but by him, and the Captaines of hundreths, and the chiefe Fathers of *Iſrael*, that entred into couenant with him.

Thirdly, there is great difference betweene the high Prieſt in the time of the Lawe, and in the time of Chriſt. For before the comming of Chriſt, the high Prieſt euen in the managing of the weightieſt ciuill affaires, and in iudgement of life and death, ſate in the Councell of State, as the ſecond perſon next vnto the king by Gods owne appointment. Whereas our Aduerſaries dare not claime any ſuch thing for the Pope.

And therefore it is not to bee maruailed at, if the high Prieſt, beeing the ſecond perſon in the kingdome of *Iudah*, by Gods owne appointment, and the Vnckle and Protector of the young king, whom his wife had ſaued from deſtruction, bee the firſt mouer for the bringing of

of him to his right; and when things are resolued on by common consent, take on him not onely to commaund and direct the Priestes and Leuites, but the Captaines and souldiers also, for the establishing of their King, and the suppressing of a bloudie tyrant and vsurper. For all this might be done by *Iehoiada*, as a chiefe man in that state; and yet the Pope be so farre from obtaining that he claimeth (which is to depose lawfull kings for abusing their authoritie) that he may not presume to do all that, the high Priest lawfully did, and might do: as not hauing so great preeminence from Christ, in respect of matters of ciuill state in any kingdome of the world, as the high Priest had by Gods owne appointment in the kingdome of *Iudah* and *Israel*.

m *De potest. & dignitate Papali, quæst.* 1. *cap.* 10.

In the old Lawe (saith [m] *Occham*) the high Priest medled in matters of warre, in the iudgement of life and death, and the losse of members, and vengeance of bloud; and it beseemed him well so to do. But the Priests of the new Law may not meddle with things of this nature; wherefore from the power and dominion, which the high Priest of the olde Lawe had, it cannot be concluded, that the Pope hath any power in temporall matters.

The fourth example is of *Ambrose*, repelling *Theodosius* the Emperor from the communion of the church, after the bloudie and horrible murther, that was committed at *Thessalonica* by his commandement; the story is this.

n *Sozomen. lib.* 7. *cap.* 24. *Theodoret. lib.* 5. *ca.* 16. & 17.

[n] The coach-man of *Botherica*, the Captaine of the souldiers in that towne, for some fault was committed to prison. Now when the solemne horse-race and sporting fight of horsemen approched, the people of *Thessalonica* desired to haue him set at liberty, as one of whom there would be great vse in those ensuing solemne sports. Which being denied, the citie was in an vprore, and *Botherica*, and certaine other of the magistrates were stoned to death, and most despitefully vsed. *Theodosius* the Emperour hearing of this outrage, was exceedingly moued, and commanded a certaine number to be put to the sword, without all iudiciall forme of proceeding, or putting difference betweene offendors and such as were innocent: So that seauen thousand perished by the sword, and among them manie strangers (that were come into the citie vpon diuerse occasions, that had no part in the outrage, for which *Theodosius* was so sore displeased) were most cruelly and vniustly slaine. Saint *Ambrose* vnderstanding of this violent and vniust proceeding of the Emperour, the next time he came to *Millaine*, and was comming to the Church, after his wonted manner, met him at the doore, and stayd him from entring, with this speech: *Thou seemest not to know, O Emperour, what horrible and bloudie murthers haue bene committed by thee; neither doest thou bethinke thy selfe now thy rage is past, to what extremities thy furie carried thee; perhaps the glorie of thine Imperiall power, will not let thee take notice of any fault, and thy greatnesse repelleth all checke of reason controlling thee: but thou shouldest know the*

the frailtie of mans nature, and that the duſt was that beginning whence we are taken, and to which we muſt returne. Let not therefore the glory of thy purple robes, make thee forget the weakeneſſe of that body of fleſh that is couered with them: Thy ſubiects O Emperour are in nature like thee, and in ſeruice thy fellowes, for there is one Lord and commander ouer all, the maker of all things. Wherefore with what eyes wilt thou behold his temple, or with what feete wilt thou treade on the ſacred pauement thereof? wilt thou lift vp to him thoſe hands, from which the bloud yet droppeth? wilt thou receiue with them the ſacred body of our Lord? or wilt thou preſume to put to thy mouth the cup repleniſhed with the precious bloud of Chriſt, which haſt ſhed ſo much innocent bloud by the word of thy mouth, vttering the paſſion of thy furious minde? Depart therefore, adde not this iniquitie to the reſt, and decline not thoſe bands, which God aboue approueth.

With theſe ſpeeches the Emperour was much moued: and, knowing the diſtinct duties, both of Emperours and Biſhops (for that he had bin trayned vp in the knowledge of heauenly doctrine) returned to the Court, with teares and ſighes. A long time after (for eight moneths were firſt paſt) the ſolemne feaſt of the Natiuitie of Chriſt approached, and all prepared themſelues to ſolemnize the ſame with triumphant ioy. But the Emperour ſate in the Court, lamenting and powring out riuers of teares: which when *Ruffinus*, maiſter of the pallace perceiued, he came vnto him, and asked the cauſe of his weeping: to whom (weeping more bitterly then before) he ſayd, *O* Ruffinus, *thou makeſt but a ſport of theſe things, for thou art touched with no ſence of thoſe euils, wherewith I am afflicted, but the conſideration of my calamitie maketh me ſigh and lament; for that whereas the dores of Gods temple are open to ſlaues and beggars, and they go freely into the ſame to make prayers vnto their Lord, they are ſhut againſt me; and, which is yet worſe, the gates of heauen are ſhut againſt me alſo; for I cannot forget the words of our Lord; who ſaith,* Whom ſoeuer ye ſhall bind on earth, ſhall be bound in heauen. To whom *Ruffinus* replied, *I will runne, if it pleaſe thee, O Emperour, to the Biſhop, and entreate him to vnlooſe theſe bands, wherewith he hath bound thee. No* (ſaith the Emperour) *it is to no purpoſe ſo to do, for he will not be intreated. I know his ſentence is right and iuſt, and that he will not tranſgreſſe the law of God, for any reſpect of imperiall power.* Yet when *Ruffinus* was earneſt, and promiſed confidently to pacifie *Ambroſe*, he bade him go with ſpeed, and himſelfe followed after in hope of reconciliation, truſting vpon the promiſes of *Ruffinus*.

But when *Ambroſe* ſaw *Ruffinus*, he ſayd vnto him: *O* Ruffinus, *thou doeſt imitate the impudencie of ſhameleſſe dogges; for hauing beene the aduiſer and counſellor to ſo vile murthers, thou haſt hardned thy forehead, and hauing caſt away all ſhame, bluſheſt not, after the committing of ſo great and horrible outrages, againſt men made after the image of God.* And when hee was importunate with him, and told him the Emperour was comming, full of

fierie zeale, he brake foorth into these words: *I tell thee* Ruffinus, *I will not suffer him to passe the thresholds of Gods house; and if of an Emperour he become a tyrant, I will ioyfully suffer death.* Whereupon *Ruffinus* caused one to runne to the Emperour, and to desire him to stay within the Court. But the Emperor being on the way when the messenger met him, resolued to come forward, and to endure the reproofe of the Bishop. So he came to the sacred railes, but entred not into the Temple; and comming to the Bishop, besought him to vnloose him from the bands wherewith he was bound. The Bishop somewhat offended with his comming, told him, the manner of his comming was tyrant-like, and that being mad against God, he trampled vnder his feete the lawes of God. *Not so* (sayde the Emperour) *I presse not hither in despite of order, neither do I vniustly striue to enter into the house of God: But, I beseech thee, to vnloose me, to remember the mercifull disposition of our common Lord, and not to shut the doore against me, that he would haue opened to all that repent. What repentance therefore* (saith the Bishop) *hast thou shewed, after so grieuous an offence? what medicines hast thou applied to cure thy wounds? It pertaineth to thee* (sayth the Emperour) *to prepare the medicines, that should heale me, and to cure my wounds; and to me to vse, that thou prescribest. Then* (sayd *Ambrose*) *seeing thou makest thy displeasure iudge, and it is not reason, that giueth sentence, when thou sittest vpon the throne to do right, but thy furious proceedings; make a law, that when sentence of death and confiscation of goods shall be passed, there may passe thirtie dayes before the execution of the same, that so, if within that space it be found vniust, it may be reuersed; or otherwise, it may proceede.*

This law the Emperour most willingly consented to make, and thereupon *Ambrose* vnlooſed him from his bands; and he entred into the Temple, and prayed vnto God, not standing, nor kneeling, but prostrate vpon the earth, and passionately vttering these words of *Dauid*; [o] *My soule cleaueth to the pauement, Lord quicken me according to thy word.*

[o] Psal. 119. 25.

Here we see an excellent patterne of a good Bishop, and a good Emperour; and it is hard to say, whether *Ambrose* were more to be commended for his zeale, magnanimous resolution and constancie, or the Emperour for his willing, and submissiue obedience. But of deposing Princes here is nothing; *Ambrose* being so farre from any thought of lifting vp his hand against the Emperour, that he resolued to subiect himselfe vnto him, euen to the suffering of martyrdome, if neede should require.

But (saith *Bellarmine*) *Ambrose* exercised ciuill authoritie, in that he tooke notice of this murther of the Emperour, beeing a criminall cause, and forced him to make a ciuill law, for the preuenting of furious and bloudie proceedings in iudgement. This surely is a weake collection: for the Church hath power, by vertue of her Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction to

to take notice of such horrible crimes as murther, and to punish them with spirituall punishments. Neither was the inducing of *Theodosius* to make a ciuill law for the preuenting of such like euils, as he was now censured for, before he would reconcile him to the Church, an act of ciuill authoritie: But such testimonies as this is, they that haue no better, must be forced to vse.

That which followeth of p *Gregories* confirming the priuiledges granted to the Abbey of Saint *Medardus*, in such sort, that whatsoeuer Kings, Iudges, or secular persons should go about to violate them, should be depriued of their honour, proueth not the thing in question. For it is euident, that the confirmation of these priuiledges was passed, not by Saint *Gregorie* alone, but by a whole Councell, and more specially by *Theodoricus* the King, and *Brunichildis* the Queene, who might binde their successors, and other inferior secular rulers, vnder paine of depriuation, though neither *Gregorie* of himselfe, nor yet a Councell of Bishops, could do any such thing by their authoritie alone. Wherefore let vs proceed to the next example.

p *In fine epistol. Gregorij.*

q *Gregorie* the second (saith *Bellarmine*) excommunicated the Emperour *Leo* the third, who was an enemie to images; he forbade any tribute to be payd him out of *Italy*, and consequently depriued him of part of his Empire. Surely if *Gregorie* the second of himselfe alone, had had such power, as to forbid all *Italy*, vpon his dislike to pay any more tribute to the Emperour, there were some good shew of proofe in this allegation. But if we examine the stories, we shall find the case to haue bene farre otherwise then *Bellarmine* would beare vs in hand it was.

q *Zonaras in vita Leonis Isauri.*

For first, *Gregorie* did not excommunicate *Leo* of himselfe, but called a Synode to do it.

Secondly, he did not forbid the paying of tribute out of *Italy*, to the Emperour; but the circumstances of the historie are these.

Leo seeking to win the Bishop of *Rome*, and the people of *Italy* to the casting downe of Images in the West, as he had done in the East, *Gregorie* the Bishop did not onely refuse to obey him, but admonished all other to take heed, they did no such thing for feare of any Edict of the Emperour.

By which exhortation the people of *Italy*, already mis-conceited of the Emperours gouernement, were so animated, that they were likely to haue proceeded to the election of a new Emperour; and r *Nauclerus* sheweth, that the decrees of the Bishop of *Rome*, disswading the people of the West from obeying the Emperour in casting downe of Images, were of so great authoritie, that the people and souldiers of *Rauenna* first, and then of *Venice*, began to make shewe of rebellion against the Emperour, and his Exarche or Lieutenant, and to inforce the Bishop of *Rome*, and the other people of *Italy* to disclaime the Emperour of *Constantinople*,

r *Naucler. in Chron. vol. 2 Ge. nr. 25. pag 654.*

and to chuſe another in *Italy*. And that this rebellion proceeded ſo farre, that euerie city putting downe the Magiſtrates of the Exarch, ſet vp Magiſtrates of their owne, whom they named Dukes; but that the Biſhop of *Rome*, at that time pacified them, and by his perſwaſions ſtayed them, from chuſing any new Emperour, in hope that he would amend. So that we ſee, the Biſhop of *Rome* with his Biſhops, by their authoritie did nothing but ſtay the people, from obeying the Emperours vnlawfull decrees, as they iudged them; but no way went about to depoſe the Emperour, or to depriue him of any thing that of right pertained to him. But the people of *Italy* moued againſt the Emperour, proceeded further then the Biſhop of *Rome* would haue had them to haue done. For they put downe the Magiſtrates appointed by the Emperour, and ſet vp other of their owne; and would haue forced the Biſhop of *Rome* and the other people of *Italy*, who yet conſented not vnto them, to diſclaime the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and to chuſe another in *Italy*. And therefore, if at that time they forbare to pay any more tribute (as [f] *Zonaras* ſaith they did) it was not becauſe the Pope forbad them ſo to do (as hauing ſupreme power in ciuill things) but being auerſe from the Emperor, as for other diſlikes, ſo by the Popes perſwaſions, they ſtayed the tribute of themſelues, as of themſelues they put downe the Magiſtrates of the Emperour, without the liking of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

[f] *Vbi ſupra.*

That which [t] *Otho Friſingenſis* hath, that the Pope hauing often admoniſhed the Emperour, and found him incorrigible, perſwaded the people of *Italy* to depart from the Empire, ſeemeth to be contrary to the reports of [u] the Author of the great Chronicle, [x] *Nauclerus*, [y] *Rhegin*, and others; but yet maketh the Pope onely a perſwader, and the people of *Italy* the doers of that was done. And in like ſort it muſt bee vnderſtood that *Zonaras* ſaith, the Biſhop of *Rome* ſtayed the paying of tribute to the Emperour, namely, that his diſlike of the Emperours courſes, together with their owne diſtaſte of his actions, did ſo auert the minds of the *Italians* from the Emperour, that they refuſed to pay him tribute; that beeing attributed to him, as done by him, which his perſwaſions (though tending to another purpoſe) did worke without his liking, and againſt his will. And in the ſame ſence it is, that [z] *Sigebert* ſaith, *Gregorie* charged the Emperour with error, blamed him for it, and turned away the people of *Rome*, and the tribute of the Weſt from him.

[t] *Lib. 5. cap. 18. Chronici.*

[u] *Lib. Chronic. ab initio mundi cum figuris & imaginibus, in 6. ætate mundi.*

[x] *Vbi ſupra.*

[y] *Chronic. lib. 1.*

[z] *Chronic. anni 731.*

The third inſtance of Popes intermedling in the diſpoſition of the kingdomes of the world, is that of *Zacharius* the Pope, of whom *Gregory* the ſeuenth in his Epiſtles writeth thus: [a] *Another* Romane *Biſhop alſo, to wit*, Zacharias, *depoſed the* French *king from his kingdome, not ſo much for any fault done by him, as for that he was vnfit to ſway ſo great power; and put* Pipine, *the father of* Charles *the great, afterwards Emperor, into his place, freeing and abſoluing all the Frenchmen from their oath of fealty.*

[a] *Gregor. 7. lib. 8. epiſt. 21.*

Which

Which words of *Gregorie* are found likewise in the [b] decrees. To this allegation [c] *Occham* answereth, that *Zacharias* did not depose *Childericke* the *French* King (as *Gregorie* the seuenth vntruly reporteth) but onely gaue allowance of the Peeres deposing of him. And to that purpose alleageth the Glosse vpon the decrees, which saith, [d] *Dicitur deposuisse quia deponentibus consensit:* that is, The Pope is sayd to haue deposed the King, because he gaue consent to those that did depose him, & allowed their act. But he noteth also, that there are others, that do not so excuse the Pope, but doe thinke he put his sickle into another mans harueſt, and tooke vpon him to do that he had no authority to doe; which other Popes likewise haue not feared to doe, in preiudice of the right of the laity, as they shew out of another [e] Glosse. So that the [f] Centurie writers are not alone in the reprehension of this fact of *Zacharias*, as [g] (*Bellarmine* vntruly auoucheth) notwithstanding I rather follow the iudgemēt of the author of the Glosse, and thinke, that he did but giue his opinion, what might be done, and approue the act when it was done. For confirmation whereof, I will lay downe the circumstances of the narration touching the proceedings in this matter, as I find them reported by ancient wryters. First, all [h] Historians agreee, that the Kings of *France* in those times, giuing themselues to idleneſſe and pleasures, wholy neglected the gouernement; that they were seene but onely once in the yeare of their subiects; and that the gouernor of the Kings house ruled all. Neither did things stand thus for a short space, but [i] *Sigebert* saith, they continued so 88 yeares. In this office of a prefect or gouernor, *Pipine* succeded his aunceſters, but exceeded them in the greatneſſe of worthy exploits; neither did any thing hinder the course of his great and honorable actions, but that he was forced to suffer and endure a King almost witleſſe and mad with diuers senceleſſe fooleries. Wherefore they who write the Histories of *France* report, that the nobles & people of that nation duely weighing the vertue of *Pipine* & the witles follies of *Childericke* the King, consulted *Zachary* then Bishop of *Rome*, & desired him to tell them, whether he thought so fooliſh aud vnworthy a king were any longer to be endured; or *Pipine* to be defrauded of royall dignity which he deserued, and was right worthy of. Who when they had receiued answere from the Pope, that he was to be esteemed the King, who knew best how to performe kingly duties; the *French* by the publicke and common aduice and counsell of the whole nation, proclaimed *Pipine* King, and shore the head of *Childerick*, and made him a Clearke. [k] *Naucle-rus* saith, the *French* men anciently had their Kings descended of an ancient stocke, who of *Merouens* the sonne of King *Clodius* the second, were called *Merouingians*; the race of which kings continued till *Childerick*, & in him ended. For long before, they were of no esteeme or authority, neither had they any thing, but the vaine and empty title of Kings, for the riches and power of the kingdome were in the hands of the prefects of

b *Parte 2. Cauſa. 15. cap. 6.*
c *Dialog. lib. 1. tract. 2. 3. part. cap. 18.*
d *Gloſſe ſuper. cap. allegat.*
e *Gloſſ. extra de foro competen. ti. Ca. Siquis Clericus.*
f *Cent. 8. ca. 10.*
g *De Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 8.*
h *Lib. Chron. Attate. 6. in Pipino.*
i *Chronico, anno 750.*
k *Nauclerus Chronol. vol. 2. Gener. 26.*

the Pallace, who were called the chiefe of the Kings house, and swayed the whole kingdome, who at that time were the successors of *Charles Martell*, and were named Dukes. Neither was there any other thing permitted to the King, but that contenting himselfe with the bare name of a King, hauing long haire and a long beard, he should sit vpon the throne, and haue some shew of a ruler, and heare Embassadors comming from all parts, and giue such answers vnto them (as out of his owne power) which he was taught, and commanded to giue. He had nothing to liue on, but such a stipend and allowance, as the Prefects was pleased to allow vnto him. He possessed nothing but one little village: once onely in the yeare, he was seene of his subiects in a publick & solemne Assembly, and hauing saluted them all, returned againe to his priuate course of life, leauing the gouerment of all to the Prefects. *Pipine* therefore, who then supplied that place, as succeeding his ancestors in the same, considering the slouth and idlenesse of these Kings, who neglecting the common wealth did hide themselues in their owne priuate houses: and that both the nobles & people tooke notice as well of his vertue, as of the senceless follies of *Childericke*, consulted the Pope (as we heard before:) vpon whose answere (that he was to be reputed King, that could best doe the duty of a King) the *French* by the publicke decree of the whole nation, chose *Pipine* to bee King, which thing *Zachary* approued. [l] *Otho Frisingensis* saith, that the *French* sent messengers to *Rome scisciti andi gratiâ*, to aske the Popes aduice, and to be resolued by him: vpon whose answere, and by whose authority (warrãting them it was lawful so to do) *Bonifacius* Arch-bishop of *Mentz*, and the other Princes of the kingdome, met together, and chose *Pipine* King. And [m] *Rhegino* saith, *Pipine* was chosen king according to the manner and custome of the *French*, and being annointed by the hands of *Bonifacius* Arch-bishop of *Mentz*, was by the *French* lifted vp into the royall throne; and *Childericke* who was but in title onely a King, was shorne, and thrust into a Monastery. With these agreeth [n] *Sigebertus*, and the rest. Wherefore to conclude this point, touching the deposition of *Childericke*, we must obserue. First, that he was not deposed for heresy, or any way going about to hinder the course of religion; and that therefore the Pope could not depose him, vnlesse Princes be subiect to such censures for defects of nature, and negligence in doing their duties. Secondly that he and his predecessors for almost an hundred yeares, were put from all gouernement, & were but in name onely Kings, others hauing the authority, and that with the allowance of the whole state. So that it is the lesse to be maruelled, if the Pope being consulted as a Diuine, answered, it was fit rather that he should haue the name, title, and inauguration of a king, that was to do the duty, then he that was to be but a shadow onely. Yet doe I not say, that he spake like a good Diuine. Thirdly, that in those times the Vniuersity of *Paris* was not yet

l *Chron. lib. 5. decad. 21. & 22.*

m *Lib. 2.*

n *Loco citato.*

yet founded: and the kingdome had few learned men, and that therefore they sought to forrainers. For otherwise wee know that afterwards the Kings and Princes of *France* rather [o] beleeued the Diuines of *Paris* then the Court of *Rome*, in greater matters then this. Fourthly, that the Bishop of *Rome* as Patriarch of the West, was the chiefe Bishop in these parts of the world, and therefore not vnfitly consulted in a matter of such consequence as this was.

o *Gerson in Serm. de paschate part. 4. operis eius*

Wherefore let vs now proceed to the fourth instance, which is that of the translation of the West Empire, from the Emperours of *Constantinople* to *Charles* the great, which, our Aduersaries say, was done by Pope *Leo* the third.

But surely whosoeuer shall looke into the course of Histories shal find, that this instance maketh rather against them, then for them. For it is most certaine, that the Pope by his Papall power, did not translate the Empire. [p] The *Romanes* (saith *Sigebert*) who long before in their hearts were fallen away from the Emperour of *Constantinople*, now taking the opportunity of the occasion offered, while a woman hauing put out the eyes of *Constantine* the Emperour her sonne, tooke vpon her to rule ouer them, with one consent proclaimed *Charles* the King their Emperour, & by the hands of *Leo* the Pope set the crowne vpon his head, and gaue him the title of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*. With *Sigebertus* the Author of [q] the great Chronicle agreeth.

p *Sigebert. anno. 801*

q *Aetate. 6. in Leone*

His words are these. In the time of the solemnities of the Masse celebrated vpon *Christmas* day in Saint *Peters* Church, *Leo* the Pope by the decree of the people of *Rome*, and at their entreaty crowned *Charles* proclaimed Emperor of *Romanes*, and set such a Diademe vpon his head, as the ancient Emperours were wont to weare; & then the people, which was present in great number, with ioy full acclamation cryed out thrise: *Carolo Augusto, à Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Imperatori, vita & victoria.*

So that we see, it was the decree of the *Romanes* that made *Charles* Emperour, and that they vsed *Leo* for the performance of the solemne rites of his Coronation, and vnction. With *Sigebert* and the Author of the great Chronicle, we may ioyne [r] *Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis*. His words are, *Carolus à Romanis Augustus est appellatus*. That is: the *Romanes* proclaimed *Charles Augustus*, And [s] *Nauclerus* saith, *Pontifex populi Romani consensus Carolum Romanorum Imperatorem declarat hic*. that is: The high Bishop, with the consent of the people of *Rome*, proclaimeth *Charles* Emperor of *Romans*, & crowneth him with a Diademe. The people with a ioyful shout, crying out thrice, *Carolo Augusto, à Deo coronato, magno & pacifico Imperatori, vita et victoria*. But to cleare this point: and to make it euident to al the world, that howsoeuer the Pope & Clergy might concur in this act, with the people and nobles of *Italy*, as hauing part & interest in

r *Lib. Chron. a principio mundi cum figuris et imaginibus Anno. 800.*

s *Chronog. vol. Generat.*

matters of ſtate as well as other; yet the Pope by his Papal power did not tranſlate the Empire, three things are to be obſerued. The firſt, that in the time of *Gregory* the ſecond, there was a great rebellion in *Italy* againſt the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and a deſire to chuſe a new Emperour, & that they of *Rauenna* and *Venice* proceeded ſo farre in it, that they would haue forced the Biſhop of *Rome*, and others to concurre with them: whereby it appeareth, that the act of tranſlation was not proper to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but proceeded from the concurring deſires of the *Italians*, and was their act, rather then his. The ſecond, that *Charles* [f] was a mighty, potent, and great Prince, hauing vnder him all *France*, *Spaine*, and a great part of *Germany*, with many other countries; and by his ſword had ſubiected to him, the *Lombardes*, & was Lord of the greateſt part of *Italy*, before either the people proclaimed him, or the Pope crowned him Emperour. So that howſoeuer the *Italians* by *Leo* the Biſhop, proclaimed, crowned, and accounted him Emperour; yet it was his right of inheritance, and his ſword that had poſſeſſed him of the thing, before euer they gaue him the title of the Weſt Empire. The third, that whether the *Italians* had right to chooſe an Emperour or not, it mattereth nothing, ſeeing they rebelled againſt their Emperour, and thought, that in caſe of ſuch neceſſity they might ſo doe; and that therefore the obiection of *Bellarmine* againſt our poſition, is too weake, when he ſaith the people had no power to chooſe the Emperour. For howſoeuer anciently the Emperours were choſen by the ſouldiers, or came to it by inheritance, yet the people at this time *de facto* took vpon them to chooſe, without curious diſputing the queſtion of right. The fourth inſtance of the Popes intermedling in the diſpoſition of the kingdomes of the world, is that of *Gregory* the 5, who (as *Bellarmine* ſaith) appointed the forme of chuſing the Emperour by the ſeauen Princes of *Germany*, and ordained that the Emperour ſhould euer after be choſen by them.

[f] *Great chron. in Carolo.*

For the clearing of which point, we muſt obſerue [t] that the Empire of the Weſt, being tranſlated from *Conſtantinople* into *France* in the perſon of *Charles* the great, he dyed, and *Ludouicus* his ſonne ſucceeded him. *Lotharius* ſucceeded *Ludouicus*, and *Ludouicus* his ſonne ſucceeded him. *Carolus Caluus* his vncle ſucceeded *Ludouicus*; *Carolus Craſſus* his brother *Ludouicus* ſonne, ſucceeded him. This *Carolus Craſſus* for his vnfitneſſe, was put from the Empire, & *Arnulphus* his nephew, ſonne of *Carlomane* was choſen in his place; who was the laſt of the race of *Charles* the great, that was crowned Emperour, whom *Ludouicus* his ſonne ſucceeded, but was neuer crowned. In whom dying without children, the race of *Charles* did wholy ceaſe. After him *Otho* the Duke of *Saxony* was greatly deſired; but refuſing to be Emperour in reſpect of his old age, the *French* by his aduice choſe *Conradus*; and *Conradus* when he dyed named *Henry* the ſonne of *Otho* Duke of *Saxony*, who reigned in *Eaſt-France*.

[t] *Great chron. in Gregory 5. Naucler. vol. 2. Generat. 28. & ſequentibus.*

But

But vpon the death of *Ludouicus* the third, the *Lombardes* possessed themselues of the Empire in *Italy*, eight of them successiuely holding it for the space of 50 yeares, till *Otto*, the sonne of *Matilda* (daughter of *Theodoricus*, king of the *Saxons*) & *Henry* the king; who succeeding his father, & being very famous for the things he had done in *France* & *Germany*, was desired by *Agapetus* the Pope, and many nobles of *Italy* now weary of the tyranny of the *Lombards*, to come and releeue them; which he did, and entring *Italy* with 50000. armed men, put *Berengarius* the *Lombard* from the Empire, and *Albertus* from the kingdome of all *Italy*; and was crowned Emperour in *Rome* by *Iohn* the twelfth, who dyed Emperour, and *Otho* the second his sonne succeeded him, and *Otho* the third his sonne succeeded him. This third *Otho* (as [u] *Nauclerus* saith) hauing no heires male, by the aduice, and with the consent of the Princes of *Germany*, made a Decree, that after the death of the Emperour, an election of the new Emperour to succeed should for euer be made in the citty of *Franckford*; and appointed electors, three Arch-bishops, of *Mentz* for *Germany*, of *Colein* for *Italy*, and of *Treuers* for *France*: and with these foure other secular Princes, to wit, the *Palatine* of *Rheme*, who by office should be the Emperors Pantler; the Duke of *Saxony*, who should be his Marshal; the Marquesse of *Brandenburge*, who was to be his Chamberlaine; and the King of *Boheme*, who was to be chiefe Butler.

u *Vol 2. Generat. 34.*

This ordinance greatly displeased the *Romanes*, yet notwithstanding *Gregory* the fifth then Pope, who was a *Germane* borne, & of the Emperors house, seeing how hardly *Otho* the Emperor came to the Empire, though it were his inheritance, called a Synode; and with the consent of the Princes of *Germany*, confirmed the ordinance of the Emperor, & decreed, that these 7 electors, should for euer haue power to chuse the Emperor in the name of all; who being chosen, should be called *Cæsar* and king of *Romanes*, and after his coronation by the Pope, be named *Augustus* & Emperor. [x] Cardinall *Cusanus* saith, the Emperor *Otho*, with the consent of the nobles, Primates, and both the states of the Clergy & people, ordained electors in the time of *Gregory* the 5. who was a *Germane*, and decreed, that they should haue power for euer to chuse the Emperor in steed of all. It is not therefore to be granted (saith he) that the Princes electors haue their power of chusing the Emperor from the Pope, so that without his consent they should not haue it, or that he might take it from them if he would. Who therefore gaue the people of *Rome* power to chuse the Emperour, but the law of God, and nature? whence the Electors, appointed by the common consent of all the *Germanes*, and others subiect to the Empire in the time of *Henry* the second, haue their power originally from the common consent of them all, who by natures right had power to constitute them an Emperour; and not from the Bishop of *Rome*, who hath no power to giue to any prouince of the world, a King or Emperour, without

x *Concord. Catho. lib. 3. cap. 4.*

the

the consent thereof. But the consent of *Gregory* the 5. who as Bishop of *Rome* in his degree and place, had interest to giue voice in the chusing of the Emperour, concurred with the resolution of the Princes and people. The fifth instance is of *Gregory* the 7. deposing *Henry* the 4. who (indeed) was the first Pope that euer tooke vpon him to depose Emperour or King.

Wherfore for the better vnderstanding of the whole course of the proceedings of this Pope, we must obserue, y that in the time of *Henry* the 3. about the yeare of our Lord 1040. there was an horrible confusion of Gods Church and people in the citty of *Rome*, three seueral pretenders inuading the chaire of *Peter*, and challenging the name of his successors, and (which more increased the misery) the reuenues of the Church were diuided among these three, and seuerall Patriarchicall places assigned to them; one of them sitting at S. *Peters*, another at S. *Mary* the greater, and the third named *Benedict*, in the palace of *Lateran*; and all of them liued very lewdly and wickedly (as *Otho* saith the *Romanes* reported vnto him being in *Rome*.) A certaine religious Presbyter named *Gratian*, considering this miserable state of the Church, and taking pitty on his distressed mother, moued with the zeale of piety went to the three pretenders, and perswaded them for money to leaue the holy seate of *Peter*; assigning to *Benedict*, as being of greater esteeme among them, the reuenues of *England* for his maintenance, and as a recompence of his voluntary relinquishing the claime to the Popedome. The Citizens of *Rome* admiring the happy atchieuement of this Presbyter, chose him to be Pope, as being the deliuerer of the Church from so great a schisme; and changing his name, called him *Gregory* the 7. But when *Henry* the king heard of it, he passed into *Italy*. *Gratian* vnderstanding of his comming, met him at *Suterium*, and to pacifie his wrath, offered him a precious Diademe. The king at the first honorably receiued him; but afterwards calling a Councell of Bishops, induced him to giue ouer the Popedome, as hauing by Symony obtained it at the first; & with the consent of the *Romane* Church placed *Suidegerus* Bishop of *Babenberge* in the Papall chaire, who was named *Clemens*. This *Clemens* dyed, and *Popio* Patriarch of *Aquileia* succeeded him, and was named *Damasus*. *Damasus* dyed, and *Bruno* Bishop of the *Tullians* succeeded him, and was named *Leo*. This man being of a noble race in *France*, was appointed Pope by the authority of the Emperor; and hauing put on the Papall purple robe, iourneyed through *France*, till he came to *Cluniacke*, where one *Hildebrand* was Priour. This *Hildebrand* moued with zeale came to *Leo*, and told him he did ill to assume the Papall office by vertue of the Emperours nomination being a Lay-man, but that if he would be aduised by him, he would direct him into a course, whereby he might without offending the Emperour, preserue the liberty of the Church in chusing her chiefe Bishop.

y Otho. Frisingens. Chronic. lib. 6. ca. 32, 33.

3 Popes in 1040.

Hildebrand Priour of Cluniacke.

This

This aduice *Leo* hearkned vnto, and putting off his purple robe, put on the weede of a pilgrime, and so going to *Rome* with this *Hildebrand* in his company, by his aduice and counsell, found the meanes to get himselfe chosen Pope by the Clergy and people of *Rome*. *Leo* dyed, and *Ienebardus* afterwards named *Victor*, succeeded him, and *Stephen* him: about whose time *Henry* the third dyed, and *Henry* the fourth his sonne succeeded him; and after *Stephen*, *Benedict*, and *Nicholas*. *Alexander* gate the papall Sea, [z] against whom great exception was taken, for that contrary to the custome, he was chosen without the Emperours consent, and with the liking of the yong Emperour & his mother (as some report.) Another was set vp by the Bishops of *Lombardy*, affirming that no man might be chosen or designed to the Popedome without the Emperours allowance. And besides, *Anno* Arch-bishop of *Coleyn* went to *Rome* to expostulate the matter with *Alexander* and the Cardinals adhering to him, and to know of him, how he durst contrary to custome, and the law prescribed and imposed anciently vpon the Popes, assume the Popedome without the consent of the Emperour; alledging many things to shew the vnlawfulnesse of this fact, and beginning at *Charles* the great, he named many Emperours who had either chosen or confirmed Popes, and made good their election. But being ready to go forward, & to adde more proofes vnto that which he had said, *Hildebrand* the Arch-deacon (the whole company of Cardinals becking vnto him so to do) stood vp, & answered in this sort. Arch-bishop *Anno*, the Kings and Emperours of *Rome* neuer had any authority, right, or commanding power in the choyce of the Pope; and if at any time, any thing were done violently or disorderly, it was afterwards corrected and set right againe by the censure of the Fathers. After the death of *Alexander*, this *Hildebrand*, who thus euer opposed himselfe against the Emperours claimes, was by the *Romanes* chosen Pope without the Emperors consent. Which the Bishops of *France* vnderstanding, knowing well of how violent, seuere, and vntractable a disposition hee was, vnwilling to haue him possesse so high a place in the Church, told the Emperour, that if he did not in time preuent the matter, and voyde his election, greater euils and perils would beset him, then hee could at first thinke of. Whereupon he sent Embassadours to *Rome*, to know the cause why the *Romanes* contrary to the ancient custome, had chosen a Pope without his consent. And if they gaue not satisfaction, to put *Hildebrand* from the Papall dignity which he had vniustly gotten. The Embassadours comming to *Rome*, were kindly and courteously entertained, and when they had deliuered their message, *Hildebrand* (like a vile dissembling hypocrite) contrary to his owne practise, & that which he had perswaded other vnto, answered, that he neuer sought this honor, but that it was put vpon him; and that yet hee would not accept of it, till by a certaine Embassadour, he was assured, that not onely the Emperour, but

z Nauler, Vol. 2. Gener. 36.

but the Princes of *Germany* consented to his election. Which answer whē the Emperour receiued, he was fully satisfied, and with all readinesse, by his royall consent, confirmed his election, and commanded, that he should be ordained. Thus we see, how to serue his owne turne, he could now acknowledge the Emperours interest, and refuse to be ordained before hee had obtained his confirmation, which yet before in the case of *Alexander* he disclaimed; though [a] some say, he neuer yeelded so much to the Emperour, but euer held out against him, disclaiming his intermedling, and that a most horrible schisme ensued thereupon. Howsoeuer, he was no sooner Pope, but he began to molest the Emperour, challenging him for Symony in conferring Ecclesiastical dignities, and requiring him to come to some Synodall answer; which when he refused to do, he excommunicated him, depriued him of his Empire, and absolued his subiects from their oath of obedience.

a *Otho. Frisingēs. li. 6. c. 34. & 35.*

This was the first Pope that euer presumed to depose any Emperour. *Lego & relego* (saith [b] *Otho Frisingensis*) *Romanorum Regum & Imperatorum gesta, & nusquam inuenio quenquam eorum ante hunc à Romano Pontifice excommunicatum, vel regno priuatum; nisi fortè quis pro anathemate habendum ducat, quòd Philippus ad breue tempus à Romano Pontifice inter pœnitentes collocatus; & Theodosius à beato Ambrosio propter cruentam cædem à liminibus Ecclesiæ sequestratus sit:* that is, I reade, and I reade ouer againe and againe, the acts of the *Romane* Kings and Emperours, and I no where find any one of them before this, excommunicated by the *Romane* Bishop, or depriued of his kingdome; vnlesse haply any man do thinke that is to be taken for an excommunicatiō, that *Philip* was for a short time, put among the Penitents by the Bishop of *Rome*; & *Theodosius* for his bloudy murther stopped by blessed *Ambrose* from entring into the Church. And therefore whatsoeuer [c] *Gregory* pretendeth to the contrary, professing that hee treadeth in the steps of the Saints, and his holy predecessors; yet it is true that [d] *Sigebert* saith, (which he hopeth hee may say with the leaue of all good men) that this nouelty (that hee say not heresie) had not shewed it selfe in the world in their time, that the Priests of that God which maketh hypocrites to reigne for the sins of his people, should teach his people, that they owe no subiectiō to wicked Kings; and that they owe no fealty vnto them, though they haue taken the oath of fealty: that they are free from periury that lift vp their hands against the King to whom they haue sworne: and that they are to bee taken for excommunicate persons that do obey him. What horrible confusions followed vpon this censure of *Gregory*, [e] *Otho Frisingesis* reporteth in most tragical manner. His words are these. How great euils, how many warres and dangers of warres followed thence? How often was miserable *Rome* besieged, taken, and sacked? How one Pope was intruded vpon another; as likewise one King set vp against another, it is irksome to me to remember. To conclude

b *Otho. Fris. li. 6. Chron. cap. 35.*

c *Decr. part. 2. caus. 15. quæst 6. & lib. 8. epist. 21.*

d *In Chronic. anno. 1088.*

e *Chron. lib. 6. cap. 36*

clude, the whirle-wind of this tempest inwrapped in it so many euils, so many schismes, so many perils of the soules & bodies of men, that it alone may suffise in respect of the cruelty of the persecution, & the long continuance of the time thereof, to set before our eyes the infelicity of mans miserable condition. For [i] first, the Emperor offended with the Pope for molesting him about the Inuestitures of Bishops, which his predecessours anciently had and enioyed; and the Clergy discontented with him for his forbidding marriage; he was in an assembly of the states and Bishops of *Germany*, holden at *Wormes*, deposed, and a letter written to him, requiring him no longer to meddle with the Episcopal office. But such was the resolution & stoutnesse of this turbulent and vnquiet spirit, that being encouraged by certaine Bishops of *Germany*, and promised their aide & helpe, he depriued the Bishops that had giuen sentence against him, and deposed *Henry* the Emperor, absoluing his subiects from their oath of obedience. Whereupon many of the Princes of *Germany*, and first of all the *Saxons* formerly auerse from him, withdrew their subiection; pretending, that they might iustly cast off the yoake, and refuse to obey him any longer, seeing hauing bene called to giue satisfaction to two Popes, concerning certaine crimes obiected to him, he had refused to appeare, and was thereupon excommunicated. These rebellions & defections so affrighted the Nobles & Princes of the Empire that still remained well affected to the Emperor, that for the staying of present confusiõs, & preuenting of other, they thought good that the Pope shold be intreated to come into *Germany*, & that then the Emperor should submit himselfe vnto him, and aske forgiuenesse; which thing accordingly was effected: for the Pope was perswaded, & consented to come into *Germany*, & was cõming towards *Augusta*, as farre as *Versella*. But whẽ he came thither, pretending feare that the Emperor meant not well towards him, he brake off his iourney, and went to *Canossum*, & there staied. Which the Emperour hearing of, and doubting what might be the cause of his stay, hastned thither; and putting off all roiall robes, on his bare feete came to the gates of the towne, humbly beseeching that he might be let in; but was staied without 3. daies, thogh it were extreme cold winter weather; which he endured patiently, continually intreating, til in the end he was let in, & absolued; but yet conditionally, that being called, he should appeare in an assembly of Princes & Bishops, to answer such crimes as were obiected to him; and either to purge himselfe and so retaine his kingdome; or otherwise failing so to do, to lose it. This his submission afterwards he made knowne to the *Italians*, who vnderstanding what he had done, were exceedingly enraged against him, derided the Legates of the Pope, and contemned his curses, as being deposed by all the Bishops of *Italy* for iust causes, as namely, for simony, murther, adultery, & other most horrible & capitall crimes; and told him, that he had done a most intollerable thing, in submitting himselfe & his kingly Maiesty to an heretick & most infamous person. Yea they proceeded so farre, that

[i] *Naucler. Vol. 2. Gener. 37.*

that they told him, becauſe he had ſo done, they were reſolued to make his ſon Emperor in his ſteed; and to go to *Rome* & chuſe a new Pope, by whō he might be conſecrated, & all the proceedings of this falſe Pope voided. But the Emperor excuſing himſelfe for that which he had done, as driuen by neceſſity ſo to do, & promiſing to reuenge theſe wrongs, when opportunity ſhould be offered, pacifyed thē in ſuch ſort, that they began to incline to him againe. Yet were not his euils at an end hereby. For his enemies among the *Germanes* preſently tooke the opportunity of this his relapſe, & calling an aſſembly with the Legats of the Pope, choſe a new Emperor, *Rodolphe* Duke of *Sueuia*; to whō the Pope ſent an imperial crowne, hauing this inſcription: *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.* Which when he heard of, he called a Councell of the Biſhops of *Italy* & *Germany*, and charging *Hildebrand* the Pope with moſt horrible crimes of hereſie, necromancy, periury, murther, & the like, depoſed him; choſe *Guibertus*, Biſhop of *Rauenna* in his place, and gathering together a great & mighty army, went againſt *Rodolphe* abiding in *Saxony*; where a moſt terrible and bloudy battell was fought betweene them: in which battell *Rodolphe* was woūded; & going aſide frō his cōpanions, with many other likewiſe woūded, was carried to *Mersberge*, where he died; who a litle before his death, beholding his right hand cut off in that battel, fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid to the Biſhops which by chance were preſēt: *Behold, this is the hand with which by ſolemne vow & oath I obliged my faith & feaulty to* Henry *my Lord. Behold now I leaue his kingdom & this preſent life, ſee you that made me climb vp into his throne, what you haue done: would to God you had led me the right way, who you found ſo willing to follow your aduice & counſell, & to be directed by you.* Yet did neither the ill ſucceſſe of the former attempt, nor the ſpeeches of *Rodolphe* at his death, blaming thoſe that had ſet him a work, & condēning himſelfe for that which he had done, diſcourage the ill affected from proceeding on in their rebellious practiſes. For they ſet vp *Hermannus*, Prince of *Lorayne*, in ſteed of *Rodolphe*, & proclaimed him Emperor, whō the Emperor *Henry* ſlew likewiſe, as he had done the other; & reſted not till hee made Pope *Hildebrand* leaue *Rome*, & flye to *Salernū*; & brought the new Pope named *Clement*, to be inthronized, & himſelfe crowned by him in *Rome*. The acts of *Hildebrand* (ſaith *Nauclerus*) were ſuch, that the writers be very doubtful, whether the things that were done by him, were done out of any loue of vertue, or any zeale he bare to the faith, or not. They that loued him beſt, diſliked his ſtiffenes, as [k] *Auentinus* witneſſeth. [l] *Otho Friſingenſis* noteth, that his diſpoſition was ſuch, that for the moſt part, he euer liked that which others diſliked. So that that of *Lucane* might be verified of him: *Victrix cauſa Diis placuit ſed victa Catoni*: that is, the preuailing part & cauſe beſt pleaſed God, but that which fel, & had the ouerthrow, had *Catoes* wiſhes. And though he commend his zeale, yet in his prologue of his 7. booke he taxeth him, & others like vnto him, in very bitter ſort. His words are theſe: *Videntur tamen culpandi Sacerdotes per omnia, qui reg-*

[k] *Annal.*
[l] *Lib. 6. cap. 32.*

num ſuo gladio, quem ipſi ex Regum habent gratia, ferire conantur. Niſi fortè Dauid imitari cogitant, qui Philiſtæũ primò virtute Dei ſtrauit, poſtmodùm proprio gladio iugulauit: that is, Notwithſtanding whatſoeuer may bee ſaid, the Prieſts ſeeme altogether blameable, & worthy of reproofe & reprehẽſion, which go about to ſtrike Kinges & Princes with that their ſword which they haue by the grace & fauour of Princes; vnleſſe haply they do thinke it lawfull for them to imitate *Dauid*, who firſt ouerthrew and caſt to the ground the proud Philiſtine by the power of God, & afterwards ſlew him with his owne ſword. Of this *Hildebrand*, [l] *Sigebert* ſaith, he found it thus written: We will haue you know, you that manage the Eccleſiaſticall affaires, & to whom the care of the Church is cõmitted, that the Lord, Pope *Hildebrand*, who alſo was called *Gregory*, being in *extremis*, & drawing neare his end, called vnto him one of the 12 Cardinals, whom hee loued dearely, & more then any of the reſt; and in his hearing confeſſed to God, to holy *Peter*, & to the whole Church, that he had ſinned exceedingly, & grieuouſly offended in the Paſtorall charge committed to him, & in gouerning the people of whom he had vndertaken the care; and that by the perſwaſion & inſtigation of the Diuell, he had ſtirred vp hatred & wrath againſt mankind: & then commanded the forenamed Confeſſor to make haſte to go to the Emperour, & to the whole Church of God, to aske forgiueneſſe for him, becauſe he ſaw the end of his life was neare at hand. And beſides all this, in great haſte put on him an Angelicall veſture or robe, & releaſed & brake in ſunder the bands of all thoſe bitter curſes whereunto he had ſubiected the Emperor. Theſe were the turbulent proceedings of this curſed *Hildebrand*, indeed a brand taken out of the very fire of hell, to ſet on fire the courſe of nature, & to put the whole world into a cõbuſtion, wherof (if this report mentioned by *Sigebertus* be true) it repẽted him not a little before his death. But howſoeuer, it is moſt certaine, that his beſt friends in the end began wholy to diſlike him, when they ſaw whither his violent & furious paſſions carried him, & what wofull effects followed the ſame. *Gerochus* (ſaith [m] *Auentinus*) then whom no man was found more earneſtly to defend *Hildebrãd* by books writtẽ to iuſtifie his proceedings, and who publiſhed to the world diuers crimes obiected to the Emperor, mentioned by no other writer, at the laſt, cõſtrained by the force of truth, taxed the pertinacy, if not the tyranny, of the Pope & his adherents, in this ſort. *Romani (inquit) ſibi diuinum vſurpant honorem, rationem actorum reddere nolunt, nec ſibi dici æquo animo ferunt, cur ita agis? Illud Satyricum inculcant, Sic volo, ſic iubeo, ſit pro ratione voluntas*; that is, The *Romanes* take vnto themſelues the honour that is proper vnto God: they will giue no account for any thing they do; they will be ſubiect to no controll, neither can they endure with any patience, that any man ſhould ſay to any of them, ſir, why do you ſo? That Satyricall ſaying they haue often in their mouthes: So I will haue it, ſo I command it to be. Let my will ſtand for a reaſon, for ſo it ſhall. Thus we ſee how ill a beginning the Popes made of depoſing

[l] *Anno* 1085.

[m] *Annot. lib. 5. pag. 563.*

Emperours,

Emperors, & how bad ſucceſſe they had. Which is not to be marualled at, ſeeing in theſe attempts & practiſes they were contrary to Chriſt and his Apoſtles. For theſe (as *Auentinus* noteth) acknowledged the Emperors, as alſo al the holy Fathers did, to be in the ſecond place & ranke after God, & before all mortall men, giuen, appointed, & choſen by the immortal God, and honored them, as hauing the crowne ſet vpon their heads by God himſelfe; they prayed daily for their proſperity, they paid tribute vnto them, & proclaimed them rebels againſt God, that refuſed to be ſubiect to them. After this bad beginning, ſome 2. or 3. other Popes ſucceeding, attempted in like ſort as *Hildebrand* had done, to depoſe ſuch Emperors as they were offended with. Concerning whoſe attempts & practiſes, let the Reader conſider the cenſure of Cardinall *Cuſanus*. His words are theſe:

n *Cuſanus. de Concord. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 41.*

n Let it ſuffiſe the Pope, that he excelleth the Emperor, as much as the Sun doth the Moone, and the ſoule the body; and let him not challenge that which pertaineth not to him: neither let him affirme, that the Empire is not but by him, & in depẽdance on him: & if haply the depoſing of ſome kings & Emperors, the tranſlation of the Empire moue him ſo preſumptuouſly for to thinke, let him know, that if the reſpect of religion, & due cõſideration of humility hindered not, it were eaſie to anſwer all thoſe things truly & moſt clearely; and ſo, that haply theſe things ſhould no way argue ſo great a power in the Pope, as Pope, without the conſent or willing acceptation of the parties contending, as is imagined. For there wanted not in ancient times men to defend *Henry* the 4. crowned at *Baſil* by the Legates of *Rome*, from the excommunication of *Gregory* or *Hildebrand*. Yea ſuch there were that were Cardinals at that time, and a certaine Councell holden at *Rome*, nay which more is, the generall Councell at *Baſil*, holden at that time, did the ſame things cõcerning the chuſing of *Honorius* Pope, for which *Henry* the Emperor was pronounced excõmunicate. And in like ſort, there are found things excellently & ſtrongly written in defence of *Fredericke* the ſecond, a moſt valiant man, & a moſt conſtant defender of the faith, as alſo in defence of other Emperors. How much the Popes proceedings againſt *Fredericke* the ſecond, hindered the courſe of the ſacred warre vndertaken at that time againſt the Infidels, how many things the Pope charged him with, which he vtterly diſclaimed, and how much all Chriſtiã Princes in the end begã to diſlike the pride of the *Romane* Court, the o Hiſtories of thoſe times do ſufficiently make known vnto vs. Wherefore to conclude this point, touching the Popes pretẽded power of deposing Princes; ſeeing the firſt that euer attẽpted to excerciſe the ſame, was that brãd of hel, *Gregory* the 7. ſeeing he had ſo il ſucceſſe in this his proud attempt, & cauſed ſuch confuſions in the Chriſtian world, as the like had ſeldom, or neuer bene before; & ſeeing the beſt learned about thoſe times, & ſince, condemned the opinion of them that think the Pope may depoſe Princes, as new & ſtrange, if not hereticall: we may ſafely reſolue, that the Pope taking vpon him to giue and take away kingdomes, which is proper to God, is that Antichriſt that ſits in the tẽple of God, as if he were God.

o *See Matth. Pariſ. Henric. 3. pag. 632.*

CHAP.

Chap. 47.

Of the Ciuill dominion which the Popes haue by the gift of Princes.

HAuing prooued, that the Popes neither directly nor indirectly, haue power ouer Princes and the Kingdomes of the world, or any thing to doe in the managing and disposing of ciuill affaires, by vertue of any grant from Christ, let vs proceed to see what temporall dominion and ciuill power they haue by the grant of Princes. It is the resolued opinion almost of all men (saith [a] *Cusanus*) that *Constantine* the Emperour gaue the whole Empire of the West, to *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*, and to his successors for euer, so that there can bee no Emperour of the West, but such a one as must wholy depend of the Pope, and acknowledge that he holdeth the Imperiall crowne of him. Neither were there many found in ancient times, that durst make question of this donation of *Constantine*, yet doth this great Cardinall and worthy Diuine professe, that hauing sought diligently to finde out the originall of this supposed grant, and the certainty of it (presupposing that *Constantine* might make such a grant which yet will neuer bee prooued) hee greatly wondereth if euer there were any such thing. For that there is no such thing to be found in authenticall bookes, and approued Histories. I haue read ouer (saith he) againe and againe, all the acts of Popes and Emperours, that by any meanes I could meete with, the histories of Saint *Hierome*, who was most diligent in collecting all things, the workes of *Augustine*, *Ambrose*, and other learned Fathers, and the actes of generall Councels which haue beene since the Councell of *Nice*, and can finde no such thing, as this supposed donation, nor any thing that may import, that euer there was any such donation; neither can it stand with the course of things reported vnto vs by the ancient Historians & writers: *Damasus* at the request of *Hierome*, wrote the liues and actions of his Predecessors: and yet in the life of *Sylvester* reporteth no such thing. Hee addeth further, that hauing diligently perused the Charter of this grant, hee found in it most euident arguments of forgery and falshood, and therefore saith, hee thinketh these things concerning *Constantines* donation to bee apocryphall, as some other large writings attributed to *Clemens* and *Anacletus* the Popes. For first the Epistle of *Melchiades* touching the Primitiue Church, and the bounty of *Constantine* is prooued counterfaite, in that hee speaketh of the Councell of *Nice* holden after his death, and of *Constantines* donation, supposed to haue beene granted in the time of *Sylvester*, who succeeded him. Besides this in the Charter of donation, *Constantine* professeth that he was a Leper, that he was freed from the same by *Sylvesters* meanes, by whom he was baptized, and that he was first instructed in Christi-

[a] *De Concord. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

Emperors,& how bad ſucceſſe they had. Which is not to be maruailed at, ſeeing in theſe attempts & practiſes they were contrary to Chriſt and his Apoſtles. For theſe(as *Auentinus* noteth)acknowledged the Emperors,as alſo al the holy Fathers did,to be in the ſecond place & ranke after God,& before all mortall men,giuen,appointed, & choſen by the immortal God, and honored them, as hauing the crowne ſet vpon their heads by God himſelfe; they prayed daily for their proſperity, they paid tribute vnto them,& proclaimed them rebels againſt God,that refuſed to be ſubiect to them. After this bad beginning, ſome 2.or 3. other Popes ſucceeding,attempted in like ſort as *Hildebrand* had done, to depoſe ſuch Emperors as they were offended with. Concerning whoſe attempts & practiſes,let the Reader conſider the cenſure of Cardinall *Cuſanus*. His words are theſe:

n *Cuſanus. de Concord.Cathol, lib.3.cap. 41.*

n Let it ſuffiſe the Pope, that he excelleth the Emperor,as much as the Sun doth the Moone, and the ſoule the body; and let him not challenge that which pertaineth not to him: neither let him affirme, that the Empire is not but by him,& in depẽdance on him: & if haply the depoſing of ſome kings & Emperors,the tranſlation of the Empire moue him ſo preſumptuouſly for to thinke,let him know,that if the reſpect of religion,& due cõſideration of humility hindered not,it were eaſie to anſwer all thoſe things truly & moſt clearely; and ſo,that haply theſe things ſhould no way argue ſo great a power in the Pope, as Pope,without the conſent or willing acceptation of the parties contending,as is imagined. For there wanted not in ancient times men to defend *Henry* the 4. crowned at *Baſil* by the Legates of *Rome*, from the excommunication of *Gregory* or *Hildebrand*. Yea ſuch there were that were Cardinals at that time, and a certaine Councell holden at *Rome*,nay which more is,the generall Councell at *Baſil*,holden at that time,did the ſame things cõcerning the chuſing of *Honorius* Pope, for which *Henry* the Emperor was pronounced excõmunicate.And in like ſort,there are found things excellently & ſtrongly written in defence of *Fredericke* the ſecond,a moſt valiant man,& a moſt conſtant defender of the faith,as alſo in defence of other Emperors. How much the Popes proceedings againſt *Fredericke* the ſecond, hindered the courſe of the ſacred warre vndertaken at that time againſt the Infidels, how many things the Pope charged him with,which he vtterly diſclaimed, and how much all Chriſtiã Princes in the end begã to diſlike the pride of the *Romane* Court, the o Hiſtories of thoſe times do ſufficiently make known vnto vs. Wherefore to conclude this point, touching the Popes pretẽded power of depoſing Princes; ſeeing the firſt that euer attẽpted to excerciſe the ſame, was that brãd of hel,*Gregory* the 7. ſeeing he had ſo il ſucceſſe in this his proud attempt, & cauſed ſuch confuſions in the Chriſtian world,as the like had ſeldom,or neuer bene before;& ſeeing the beſt learned about thoſe times, & ſince,condemned the opinion of them that think the Pope may depoſe Princes,as new & ſtrange,if not hereticall: we may ſafely reſolue, that the Pope taking vpon him to giue and take away kingdomes, which is proper to God,is that Antichriſt that ſits in the tẽple of God, as if he were God.

o *See Matth.Pariſ.Henric.3.pag. 632.*

CHAP.

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[a] *De Concord. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

Christianity by him. Whereas it is a meere fable that is reported of *Constantines* leprosie, and it is most certaine, that hee was a Christian before *Sylvester* was Bishop of Rome. I no where euer read (saith [b] *Melchior Canus*) in any good and approoued authors, that *Constantine* was a Leper. But another of that name surnamed *Copronymus*, whence haply, through ambiguity of the name, this error might spring, vnlesse this rumor concerning the Leprosie of *Constantine* may seeme to haue sprung from that we finde reported of him; that he went out of the Citty of Byzantium to certaine hot bathes for his healths sake. *Thomas Aquinas* in his [c] summe mentioneth this vulgar history of *Constantines* Leprosie, & (as it seemeth) approoueth the same; but [d] *Caietane* doth not so, writing vpon *Thomas*; neither wanteth hee good authors to induce him to reiect this fabulous report: for he hath [e] *Platina* in the life of *Marke*, *Ludouicus Vives* in his booke *de corruptis disciplinis*, and [f] *Alciat*, all flatly denying and reiecting this report; and he hath all ancient writers of that age, passing it ouer in silence: who would neuer haue omitted it, if they had knowne of any such thing, and would vndoubtedly haue knowne it, if there had been any such thing. Touching his Baptisme, all the ancient Historians [g] *Hieronie*, [g] *Eusebius*, [h] *Socrates*, [i] *Theodoritus*, [k] *Zozomen*, [l] *Cassiodorus*: *Pomponius Lætus*, and other of that ranke affirme, that hee was Baptized by *Eusebius* Bishop of Nicomedia, a little before his death, and not by *Sylvester*. The author of the Pontificall, who is full of fables, the fained Charter of *Constantines* donation, and some late writers, deceiued by these forgeries, affirme, that hee was first conuerted to Christianity by *Sylvester* Bishop of Rome, and by him baptized, which by no meanes can bee true; it beeing most certaine he was a Christian in the time of *Melchiades*, *Sylvesters* predecessor. It is most certainely true (saith [m] *Cusanus*) that *Constantine* the Emperor was a Christian in the time of *Melchiades* the Pope, as it appeareth by *Austine* in diuers places, especially in his Epistle to *Glorius & Elersius*. These are prooses more then sufficient, that the Edict of donation attributed to *Constantine* is counterfaite and forged; and therefore [n] *Melchior Canus* writeth thus of it. The Lawyers do sufficiently shew, that that forme of donation, which is attributed to *Constantine*, and commonly carried about, is fained and counterfaite, in that they brand it with the disgracefull inscription of Chaffe. *Eusebius*, *Ruffinus*, *Theodoret*, *Socrates*, *Zozomen*, *Eutropius Victor*, and the other approoued authors, who most diligently wrote all the acts of *Constantine* do not onely passe by this supposed donation, without making any mention of it, but also deliuer, that *Constantine* by his last wil and testament, so deuided the Prouinces subiect to the Romaine Empire, among his three sonnes, that all Italy fell to the lot of one of them: which being so religious a Prince, hee would not haue done, if hee had formerly giuen Italy, and all the Westerne part of the Empire to the Pope. [o] *Ammianus Marcellinus* reporteth, that *Constantine* held the Soueraigntie of Rome, and appointed *Leontius*

[b] *Locorum Theologic. lib. 12. cap. 5.*
[c] *3. parte quæst. 69 in 4. argumento.*
[d] *Lib. 2.*
[e] *Lib. Partcg. 7. cap. 10.*
[f] *In Chronic.*
[g] *Lib. 4. de vita Constantin.*
[h] *Li. 1. cap. 39.*
[i] *Lib. 1. hist. Eccl. cap. 31.*
[k] *Li. 3. cap. 34.*
[l] *Tripart. hist.*
[m] *Concord. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 2.*
[n] *Vbi supra.*
Dist. 96. cap. Constantinus.
[o] *Lib. 15.*

to

to bee his Lieutenant there, and all Historians do report that sundry Emperors long after the time of *Constantines* supposed donation, ruled and raigned as soueraigne Lordes in Italy: and euen in Rome it selfe. [p] Pope *Agatho* writing to *Constantine*, that called the sixth Generall Councell, acknowledgeth that Rome is *Imperatoris seruulis vrbs*, that is, the Emperors citty in all humble and submissiue subiection: and it is most euident that [q] in the time of *Gregory* the first, the Emperor held the citty of Rome, and gouerned it by a Lord Deputy. But some man perhaps will say, that the acts of *Syluester* in which this donation is found, are approued by *Gelasius*, and a synode of Bishoppes, and that therefore wee may not doubt of it. This allegation is easily answered. For (as [r] *Cusanus* rightly noteth) it is a very weake and slender confirmation of the actes of Pope *Syluester*, that is found in *Gelasius*, and the synode of Bishpps holden by him. For *Gelasius* saith onely, the author of these Actes is not knowne, and that yet they are read by some Catholikes in the Church of Rome, and many Churches by ancient vse imitate the same. The writings also (saith hee) concerning the inuention of the holy crosse of our Lord, and some other writings concerning the inuention of the head of S. *Iohn Baptist*, are truely but nouell and late reuelations, and yet some Catholikes read them. But when writings of this kind shall come into the hands of Catholikes, let that sentence of blessed *Paul* the Apostle go before them [t] *Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete. Proue all things, and hold that which is good.* Touching *Gratian* in whome this Charter of Donation is now found: [u] *Antoninus* Arch-bishop of Florence noteth, that in the old bookes it was not found, and therefore is rightly noted and distinguished from other things of more credit by the inscription of *Palea*, that is chaffe, because there is no good corne in them as *Platina* obserueth in the life of *Iohn* the seauenth with whome [x] *Contius*, the author of a Preface before the Decrees, agreeth; affirming that those things that are so noted, were at first put into the margent onely, and so after crept into the text, and that many of them are not found in the most ancient booke of Decrees. And in his Annotations vppon that [y] part of the Decrees, where this fayned charter of *Constantine* is found, insinuateth, that this Chaffe is not in all bookes of Decrees. Touching *Isidore*, the [z] *Magdeburgians* testifie, that in old copyes there is nothing found concerning this supposed donation, and the like may bee thought of *Iuo*; so that there is no Author of any credit, that giueth testimony to this donation: and they that doe speake of it, speake so differently and vncertainely, that from thence [a] *Nauclero* gathereth that the whole is but a forged matter, and meere deuise. For in the [b] Decrees there is mention of a donation of the citty of Rome, of all Italy, and other Prouinces of the West, but in the fained [c] Epistle of *Melchiades*, and in the [d] Decretall of *Bonifacius* the eighth there is no mention but onely of the citty of Rome: so that though it be

[p] *Epist. Agathonis. lect. a in 6. actione. 4.*
[q] *Io. Diaconus in vita Gregory. lib. 1. cap. 40.*
[r] *Concord. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 2.*
[s] *Dist. 15. cap. 3.*
[t] *1. Thess. 5. 21.*
[u] *Hist. part. 1. tit. 8. cap. 2. Citatus ab Flyrico in Catolog. test. veritatis. tit. Donatio Constantini.*
[x] *Cap. cum Enixa Dist. 5. in annot.*
[y] *part. 1. decr. Dist. 96. cap. Constantinus.*
[z] *Centur. 4. cap. 7.*
[a] *Chronogr. vol. 2. Gener. 11.*
[b] *vbi supra.*
[c] *Decret. 2. parte. causa. 12. quæst. 1. cap. 15.*
[d] *6. Decretal. Bonifac. 8. lib. 1. tit. 6. electione & elect. potest. cap. 17.*

not to bee doubted, but that *Constantine* gaue Princely gifts vnto the Church, and other Emperours and Princes augmented the same in such sort, that the Church long since had ample possessions, great reuenues, and a goodly patrimony in sundry parts of the West: yet I thinke wee may most safely affirme with *Platina*, *Otho Frisingensis*, *Cusanus*, *Valla*, *Naucle-rus*, *Canus*, and sundry other, that there neuer was any such donation as is imagined, but that both *Rome* and all *Italy*, with the Westerne Prouinces remained still subiect to the Emperour, till the time of *Pipine* the father of *Charles* the great, beeing gouerned either by the Emperours them-selues, or by such as they appointed when they liued away and made their abode in other places, as in processe of time they resided in a manner altogether at Constantinople, made great by *Constantine*; and better liked of by his successors then Rome it selfe. Whereupon wee read of one [e] *Narses* the Emperours Lieutenant, a good man, and a good gouernour, who hauing vanquished the Gothes, ruled the Romaines in great peace and quietnesse for a long time; till mooued with enuie they made complaints of him to the Emperour *Iustinus*, and *Sophia* his wife, professing that it were better for them to be vnder the Gothes againe, then to endure the proud and insolent command of this Lieutenant. Vpon which complaints the Emperor displaced him, and sent one *Longinus* to succeed him. Which thing so offended *Narses*, that hee called the *Lumbards* into Italy, whose comming made the Greeke Emperours in time to lose Rome, and all Italy. *Longinus* the successor of *Narses*, after he was established in his place, (whereas before there were no Garrisons in the townes of Italy, but euery citty was gouerned by her owne Magistrates) put garrisons into diuerse townes, and brought in a new forme of gouernment into Rome, & into all Italy, which more afflicted it, then all the calamities that it had beene subiect vnto for the space of 160. yeares before, though such and so grieuous, that Rome was some-time left desolate, to bee inhabited by wilde beasts. This man brought in a new name of dignity to expresse the honourable place and office of the chiefe commander in Italy vnder the Emperour, calling it the *Exarchate*, and him that so ruled the *Exarch*. This *Exarch* remained at Rauenna, and went not at all to Rome: hee appointed no one President ouer a whole Prouince or country, but left euery Citty to bee gouerned by her owne Magistrates, whome hee called Dukes, and made none other difference betweene Rome and other citties, but that whereas the Gouernours of other places were called Dukes, the Gouernour of Rome first placed, was called a President, and they that followed him Dukes, whence wee reade of the Romaine Dukedome. Neither had the Romaines after the times of *Narses* and *Basilius*, either Consulls or Senate lawfully assembled together, but all their affaires were managed by some Grecian Duke, whom the *Exarch* sent vnto them. This forme of gouernment continued till the time of *Leo* the third, who breaking downe Images in the

[e] *Naucler. vol. 2. Gen. 19. & 20.*

East

East parts of the world, and seeking to bring the Pope and Christians of the West to doe the like, procured himselfe so great dislike and ill will among them, (the Pope perswading them to contemne his commandements in this behalfe as vnlawfull) that they of Rauenna and Venice began to rebell against him and his *Exarch*, and would haue chosen a new Emperour, but that the Pope (in hope that he would amend) staide them by his perswasions from so dooing. [f] Yet this rebellion proceeded so farre, that the Cities deposed the Magistrates set ouer them by the *Exarch*, and appointed new of their owne. The City of Rome slew *Marius Spatharius*, that was her Duke, and his sonne *Adrian*, and chose another. They of Rauenna were deuided among themselues: wherupon the *Exarch* was slaine, and in the meane while the Lombards brought into Italy by *Narses*, and now growne to be strong, possessed themselues of Bononia, and other places. The Emperour hearing of these innouations in Italy, [g] sent another *Exarch*, who sought to appease the Lombards with gifts, and to incite certaine Romaines against the Pope to take away his life. So that the Pope was greatly distressed on euery side, fearing both the Emperour and the Lombards. But being incouraged by the people so to do, hee excommunicated the *Exarch*, whom the Emperor had sent, & pacified the Lombards, and afterwards wrought a reconciliation betweene the *Exarch* and himselfe: and perswaded him to go to Rauenna, and there to make his abode as other his predecessors had done. After this the Lombard besiegeth Rome againe, and putteth the Pope and the inhabitants in great feare, yet did they not send to the Emperour for helpe, by reason of the great dislikes that were betweene them, as also for that there was little hope of any helpe to come from him, beeing scarce able to defend the Citty of Constantinople from the Saracens, but to *Charles Martell*, Father of *Pipine*, who by intreaty perswaded the Lombarde to remooue his siege and goe away. After this againe *Aistulphus* King of the Lombards besieged Rauenna, and tooke it, and put the Romains into as great a feare, as euer they had bin in before. Where-upon the Pope writeth to the Emperour, signifying in what state Rome and all Italy was, and that if hee did not presently send aide, they must fall into the hands of *Aistulphus*. Vpon these letters of the Pope, the Emperor sendeth to *Aistulphus* to perswade him to desist from inuading his countries and territories, but effecteth nothing. And therefore the Pope consulteth with the Romaines what was fit to be done. Who resolue to send to the Emperour, and to let him know, that if hee would not presently come in person with the forces of the Empire to relieue Italy, they must be forced to seeke defence and relieue elsewhere. According to this resolution, messengers were presently sent to Constantinople, but not returning in time, the Romains were forced to seeke to *Pipine* for helpe: who came in person, and restored the Bishop of Rome to his place from whence hee was fled, forced *Aistulphus* to sweare and giue

[f] *Idem gener. 25. Rhegino. lib. 1.*

[g] *Naueler. gener. 25.*

pledges to restore all things to him that hee had taken away: but he was no sooner gone out of the countrey, but he did more mischiefe then euer, whereof *Pipin* vnderstanding, gathered a new army and returned into Italy, with a full resolution to subdue this Tyrant, and to settle the peace of the Church of Rome. The Emperour hearing that the Romans had sought helpe of *Pipin*, sendeth to him great gifts and presents, and beseecheth him to restore *Rauenna* and the *Exarchate* to the Empire, whereunto of right it pertained, and not to giue them to the Romans or Pope. Whereunto *Pipine* answered; That hee was now the second time come into Italy, not for gaine, but for his soules health, and to represse the insolencies of the Lombards, that they might not hurt the Church, and that therefore hee meant to take Rauenna and the *Exarchate*, and other parts of Italy out of the Lombards hand, and to giue them to the Pope and Romaine Church, and so he did. Now the *Exarchate* was deuided into two regions, the one named Pentapolis, containing fiue cities, to wit, Rauenna, Cæsena Classis, Forum Liuii, and Forum Popilii: the other Æmilia wherein were Bononia, Rhegium Parma, Placentia, and whatsoeuer land there is from the bounds of those of Placentia and Ticine to Adria, and from Adria to Ariminium: But the state of things was not so setled by *Pipine*, but that *Desiderius*, who succeeded *Aistulphus* in the kingdome of the Lombards, began a fresh to wrong the Church of Rome againe, and therefore in the time of *Adrian* the Pope, *Charles the Great*, was intreated to come into Italy; which thing hee willingly yeelded to performe, and came to relieue them whom his father before had set free, and rested not till hee had subdued the Lombards, and restored to the Church of Rome all that which *Pipin* had giuen, confirming his gift with more ample priuiledges then before, and therefore to shew their thankfulnesse to him, the Romans did him all the honour that possibly they could deuise, and a Synode was holden in Rome called by *Adrian*, consisting of an hundred fifty and three Bishops, religious men and Abbots, and *Adrian* the Pope and the Bishops assembled in Councell, with vnanimous consent yeelded to *Charles* right and power to choose the Pope, and to order the Apostolicke Sea, they granted vnto him also the dignity of beeing *Patricius* or Father of the common-wealth, and besides all this decreed, that Archbishops and Bishops in all Prouinces, should receiue inuesture from him; and that no man should bee consecrated a Bishop, vnlesse hee were first approoued and commended by the King, and inuested by him; subiecting all such as should dare to goe against this decree, to excommunication and confiscation of goods, if they should not speedily repent, and shew themselues sorry for so doing. This priuiledge the French Kings enioy in a sort vnto this day, especially in certaine Prouinces of France. After this, the second time, *Charles the Great* was occasioned to come to Rome, by reason of some violences offered to *Leo* Bishop thereof, at what

[a] *Dist. 63. cap. Adrianus.*

hat time the Bishop of Rome considering, that the Emperours of Constantinople did hardly holde the title of Emperours, that they were able o yeeld little reliefe in time of neede, and that they did in a sort forsake he Westerne part of the Empire, and besides all this, differed in some atters of religion: and on the other side, considering that *Charles* was most mighty Prince, and one that deserued well of the Church, as *Pipin* and *Martell* had done before him, with the consent of the people Rome, proclaimeth him Emperour, and taketh from him the name of *Patricius*, or Father of the common-wealth.

Thus we see *Pipin* gaue certaine countries to the Pope and Church, nd *Charles* confirmed the same gift. But they did not so giue them, but hat they retained (as [h] *Sigonius* noteth,) *Ius, principalem & ditionem*, hat is, the right soueraignty and royalty to them-selues, and their successors, so that the Romaines were to doe the Emperour seruice, and pay im tributes, they were by an oath of fealtie to oblige them-selues vnto im, and [i] hee by his princely power might appoint Magistrates to iudge nd rule the people, yet such was the encroching of the Romaine Bishops, that they could not endure long to bee in this subiection, but ought wholy to cast off the yoake of the Emperours. Whereupon *Frederike Barbarossa* (as [k] *Nauclerus* reporteth out of [l] *Frisingensis*) som differences growing betweene him and the Pope, and Citties of Italy, inquired of the Princes and Lawyers, in what sort and how farre forth he Citties of Italy were subiect to the Empire: and they with one consent did all adiudge vnto him all royalties, as coynes, tolles, shippings, confirmation of dignities, of Iudges and Consulls, tributes and iudgements ancient'y established, besides such other things as hee might require when the Empire should stand in need. But the Pope alleadged at the same time, that the Emperour might send no Embassadors to Rome, without his conniuence, and that they of his Eschequer might make no collection of money, in the Castles, Villages or townes, subiect to the Pope, but onely at that time when first hee putteth on the Imperiall Crowne in Rome.

And *Otho Frisingensis* addeth, [m] that these articles were proposed to the Emperour by the Popes Legates, to witt, that no messengers or Embassadors should be sent to the citty without the Popes priuity, seeing all the Magistrates of that towne are the officers of Saint *Peter*, with all royalties: that no money should bee collected out of the Popes Lordships, but onely at the time of the Emperours Coronation; that the Bishops of Italye should onely take the oath of fealtie, and doe no homage to the Emperour; and lastly that the Emperours Embassadours should not challenge any entertainement in Bishoppes Pallaces. To these Articles [n] the Emperour answered in this sort.

I truely desire not the homage of the Bishoppes of Italye, if

h *De regno Italiæ. lib. 4.*

i *As Lotharius did. Naucler. vol. 2. generat. 28.*

k *Gener. 39.*

l *de gestis Frederici. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

m *Radevici Frising. append. ad Othonem de rcb. gestis Frederici lib. 2 cap. 30.*

n *Ibid.*

if they pleaſe to renounce thoſe royalties that doe belong vnto vs who, if they willingly heare from the Pope, What haſt thou to doe wit the King? they muſt be content to heare from the Emperour alſo, Wh haſt thou to do with mundane poſſeſſions? That our Embaſſadors are no to be receiued and intertained, I will eaſily graunt, if any Biſhop may be found, whoſe Pallace ſtands vpon his owne ground, and not vpon our But whereas the Pope pretendeth that the Emperor may ſend no Emba ſadors to Rome without his priuity, that all Magiſtrates there are the o ficers of Saint *Peter*, this matter, I confeſſe, is of moment & conſequenc and will require a more graue and mature deliberation. For ſeeing by th prouidence and ordinance of God, I am the Emperour of Rome, and called, I ſhall but onely carry a ſhew of a Soueraigne Lord, and haue th empty title without the thing, if the ſoueraignty and command of th Citie of Rome bee taken from mee. Thus did the good Emperour ſee to maintaine the right of the Empire, yet out of a good and Chriſti diſpoſition, was willing to referre all differences betweene the Pope a him, to the tryall of law, or of arbitrement. But the Pope would not co ſent to any ſuch thing. Wherein hee ſhewed more pollicy, then goo diſpoſition, as knowing that hee muſt needes fall in this ſuite, if the ma ter came to tryall. For it is moſt euident, that ° *Lotharius* appointed M giſtrates euen in Rome it ſelfe, to iudge the people; That the Nobles Rome tooke the oath of fealty to the Emperour *Ludouicus* father to *L tharius*. This oath was taken in the time of *Fredericke* the firſt, in Veron The forme of the oath was this: ᵖ *I doe ſweare that from this time forwa I will bee faithfull and true to my Lord Fredericke Emperour of Roma against all men, &c. And that I will neuer goe about to take from him royalties, &c.* Theſe were the differences betweene *Frederick Barbaro* and the Pope, and the oppoſition grew ſo great and ſtrong, that diuerſe the Cardinalls conſpired againſt the Emperour, and gaue large ſummes money to *Adrian* the Pope to excommunicate him. And this co ſpiracie was confirmed with oathes, that none ſhould drawe backe ſeeke the Emperours fauour without the reſt. And that if the Pop ſhould dye, they ſhould chooſe none, but one of the conſpiring Ca dinalls to ſucceed him, But as *Dauid* ſayd, ᵠ *They ſhall curſe, but tho ſhalt bleſſe*: ſo GOD that ſpake by the mouth of *Dauid*, turned a that theſe conſpiratours did to a contrary effect. For it came to paſ ʳ that ſome fewe dayes after the Pope had denounced excommunic tion againſt the Emperour at Anagnia, going forth to refreſh himſel with ſome few accompanying him, he dranke of the water of a certain Well, & preſently a Flie entred into his mouth & ſtuck ſo faſt in his throa that by no skill of Phiſitions it could be drawne out, till hee had breathe out his laſt breath. Yet were not the conſpirators diſcouraged by this ac cident, but after his death, the greatet part of Cardinalls choſe *Rom*

° *Supra.*

ᵖ *Radeuici append. ad. Othon. m li. 1. cap. 19.*

ᵠ *Pſal. 109. 28*

ʳ *Naucler. vol. 2. gener. 39.*

the Chancelor a professed enemie to the Empire, and one of the conspirators in contempt of *Fredericke* and the Germaine Nation, (though there were some other that chose Cardinall *Octauian* and named him *Victor*.) This *Rowland* naming him-selfe *Alexander* the third, after hee came to the Popedome, had many dangerous conflicts with the Emperour, and was oftentimes put to the worse by him, in so much that in the end hee was forced to disguise him-selfe, and in the habite of a Cooke, to flye to Venice, where hee liued for a certaine space in base condition; till in the end being knowne, hee was honorably entertained, and kindly intreated by the Venetians: which when *Fredericke* vnderstood off, hee was greatly displeased with them for intertayning his enemy, and sent his Sonne with a great Nauy and stronge army by force and violence to fetch him thence. But such was the ill hap of the yong Prince, that beeing incountred by the Venetians, hee was by them taken prisoner: neither could his deliuerance by any meanes bee procured, vnlesse *Fredericke* would come in Person to Venice, and seeke to bee reconciled to the Pope: This hard condition the Emperour yeelded to for his Sonnes sake; went to Venice in Person, and was reconciled to the Pope vppon this condition; that hee should restore to the Pope the City of Rome, and whatsoeuer belonged to the royalty of it, and that hee should doe such pennance as hee should inioyne him: which beeing yeelded vnto, hee came to the dore of Saint *Markes* Church, and all the people looking on, the Pope commanded him to prostrate him-selfe vppon the ground, and to aske forgiuenesse, and then treading on his necke said: It is written: *thou shalt goe vppon the Aspe and Basiliske, and thou shalt treade vppon the Lyon and the Dragon*: and when *Fridericke* said vnto him. *Non tibi sed Petro cuius succeſſor es, ſteto*: that is, I do not thus submit my selfe to thee but to *Peter*: the Pope answered, *et mihi et Petro*: that is, thou shalt doe it both vnto mee and vnto *Peter*. This story so liuely describing the insolency and pride of the Pope, which hitherto hath gone for current, is by now certaine Romanists called in question, (so litle do they regard their owne Historians, and so freely may they cast aside whatsoeuer standeth in their way.) Howsoeuer, wee see how mainely the Popes did striue, after they had gotten a kind of ciuill dominion vnder the Emperours to cast off their yoke wholy, and not content therewith, sought to be Lords also ouer the Emperours, and to make them acknowledge that they hold their Empire from them.

[Psal. 91. 13.

How and vppon what occasion *Leo* the third, with the consent of the people of Rome proclaimed, and annointed *Charles* the Great, King of France by inheritance, and of Italy by conquest Emperor of Rome, I haue shewed before. Yet (as [t] *Sabellicus* noteth) the opinions of men in the world were greatly altered & changed after this new inauguration, for whereas before the Empyre was thought to be from heauen, and the gift

[t] *Sabel. Ennead. 8. lib. 8.*

gift of God. Now many began to [u] thinke it to bee the gift of the Pope. Whereupon we read that *Adrian* the fourth vpon the report of some vile nies offered to the Bishop of Landa in the parts of Germany as he returned from Rome, and not so pursued, sought out and reuenged, as was expected by [x] *Fredericke Barbarossa* then Emperor, writeth vnto him, and maruayling at his negligence in reuenging wrongs offered to men of the Church putteth him in mind, what benefits he had receiued from him, and the Church of Rome, as namely the fulnes of Imperial dignity and honor and the crowne appertayning there-vnto, and professeth that hee would haue beene willing to haue conferred greater benefits, then these vppon him, knowing right wel how much good he might doe vnto the Church. [y] This letter being brought to the Emperor by two Cardinals, *Bernard* and *Rowland*, offended the Emperor and Princes exceedingly, especially in that it was said in the letter, that the fulnesse of dignity and honor was conferred vppon the Emperour by the Pope, and that hee had receiued the Imperial crown of his hand; & that it would not grieue him if he had receiued greater benefits of his hand. They which heard this letter read were induced to make a strickt construction of the words, and to thinke the Pope vttered them in the sence which they conceiued, because they knew well, that certaine Romanists had not feared to affirme, that the Emperors had hetherto possessed the Empyre of Rome, and the Kingdom of Italy by the Popes guift, & that they had not only vttered such words but that by writing they had affirmed the same, and by painting, liuely represented it, that so it might be transmitted and sent ouer to posterities.

For in the Pallace of *Lateran* they had painted the manner of *Lotharius* the Emperour his receiuing the crowne of the Pope, and written ouer it these wordes. *Rex venit ante fores iurans prius vrbis honores, post homo fit papa sumit quo dante coronam.* That is, the King doth come before the gate, first swearing to the Cities state; the Popes man then doth hee become, and of his gift doth take the crowne. This painting and superscription, being reported to the Emperour the yeare before, when hee was neere the Citty, by certaine faithfull and trusty subiectes of his, greatly displeased him. But the Pope perceiuing his dislike, promised that both the writing and the painting should bee taken away, that it might giue no occasion of contention and discord.

These Romish practises making the Emperor and his Nobles to vnderstand the wordes of the Popes letter in the worst sence, caused the message of these Cardinals to bee very offensiue, and a generall murmuring against them was heard among the Princes: which growing more lowd, and being heard and discerned by the Legates, one of them aduentured in the quarrell of his maister to demand of whome the Emperor hath his Empyre, if he haue it not of the Lord Pope? Which speach of the Cardinal so inraged the Princes, that one of them (to wit *Otto* the County *Palatine*

[u] *which Ockã. Dial. lib. 1. tract. 2. part. 3. proueth to bee false & heretical by many reasons.*

[x] *Radeuicus. Frising. in Append. ad Othon. lib. 1. Cap. 9.*

[y] *Ibid. c. 10.*

of Boiaria had with his sword run him through, had not *Fredericke* the Emperor interposed his authority, and pacified the present rage. The Emperor seeing in what termes things stood, tooke the best course he could for the security of the Legates, and commanded that they should presently be had to their lodgings, & that the next morning they should be gon, and returne directly to him that sent them, and not to wander vp & down in the Territories of Bishops and Abbots, and as he thus happily dispatched them away in safety; so after they were gon (prouidently by letters) he caused it to be made known throughout the whole Empyre, what had passed betweene him and the Pope. The Tenor of his letters was this.

Wheras the diuine power, from which all power proceedeth both in heauen and earth, hath committed to vs, his annoynted, the rule of the Kingdome and Empyre; and ordayned that by Imperial armes we should preserue the peace of the Churches, we are forced not without great griefe of heart to complain vnto you, that from the head of the holy Church (in which Christ imprinted the Character of his peace and loue) the causes of dissention, the seminary of euils, and the poyson of a most pestiferous disease do seeme to flow: by meanes wherof if God turne not away this euill, there is danger, least the vnity betwixt the Priest-hood and Kindome bee broken, and a schisme follow. For of late, as we were in the Court of Bitonium, consulting about things concerning the honor of the Empyre & good of the Churches, there came vnto vs certain Legates from the Pope who professed to bring such a message as tended greatly to the increase of the honour of the Empyre. But when wee had the first day honorably intertayned them (as the manner is) and the second day sat with our Princes to heare their message, They (as it were) puffed vp by reason of the flammon of iniquity, out of the height of their pride, out of the haughtinesse of their arrogant mindes, and out of the execrable elation of their swelling hearts, presented vnto vs an Ambassage contayned in letters written by the Pope, the tenor wherof was: That we should alwaies haue before the eyes of our minde in what sort the Lord Pope had conferred vpon vs, the Ensigne of the Imperiall crowne, and that yet notwithstanding it would no way repent him, if he had done vs greater fauors, and had receiued more benefits of him. These thinges not onely much afflicted, but so moued the Princes, and inraged them in such sort, that if we had not stayed them by our Princely authority, the two wicked Priestes, (the Legates) had neuer returned aliue.

Wherfore seeing they had many schedules sealed to be written in at their pleasure, by which (as formerly they were wont to do) they might scatter the poyson of their iniquity throughout al the Churches of the Germaine Kingdom; make bare & naked the holy Altas, & carry away with them the vessels of ỹ house of God as a prey; that they might proceed no further in their mischief, we cõmanded them without wandring or going aside to returne

the

the ſame way they came. For wheras we haue our Kingdome by the elec-
tion of the Princes from God only, who in the paſſion of his ſon ſubiecte
the world to two ſwordes, and the Apoſtle *Peter* informed the worl
y 1 Pet. 2. 17. with the ſame doctrine ſaying, *Feare God and honour the King*. We are we
aſſured, that who-ſoeuer ſhall ſay, that we receiue our Imperial Crown
as a benefit from the Pope, hee is contrary to the inſtitution of God, the
doctrine of bleſſed *Peter*, and is a lyar: and therefore our hope is, that you
will not ſuffer the honour of the Empire (which hath continued from
the Conſtitution of the Citty, and the Inſtitution of Chriſtian Religion
inviolable till our times) to be diminiſhed by ſuch vnheard-off noueltie
and preſumptuos pride. But how-ſoeuer know yee, that we will rathe
runne into perill of death it ſelfe, then ſuffer ſuch a ſhameful confuſion t
fall out in our times.

z *Radeuic. vbi ſuprá. cap.* 15. z After the returne of the Cardinalls, and their complaints made, th
Pope wrote letters to the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops of Germany, tellin
them with what indignity the Emperor diſmiſſed his Legates, and how
hee forbad any to come to Rome out of his Kingdome: and prayed them
to aduiſe him better, and to let him know that the Church (which is buil
ded vppon a moſt firme and ſure rocke, ſhall continue for euer, how-ſoe
a *Cap.* 16. uer it may be ſhaken with windes and tempeſts. a The Biſhoppes of Ger
many hauing receiued theſe letters from the Pope, writ back vnto him
that how-ſoeuer the Church cannot bee moued, yet they were greatly
ſhaken by reaſon of theſe differences betweene him and the Emperor: and
tell him that the wordes of his letter were ſuch as that neyther the Empe
ror and Princes could indure them, nor they knew how to defend them
as being ſtrange and vnheard-off before theſe times. Not-withſtandin
they let him know, that after the receipt of his letters, they commune
with the Emperor about theſe affaires, and receiued from him ſuch a
anſwer, as beſeemed a Catholike Prince, to witt, that there are two thing
whereby his Empire muſt be ſwayed; the Lawes of Emperors, and the v
and cuſtome of his anceſtors. Theſe limits hee is reſolued not to paſſe, &
whatſoeuer wil not ſtand with theſe, he wil vtterly refuſe and reiect: he i
willing to giue all due reuerence vnto his ghoſtly father, but that he aſcri
beth the crowne of his Empire to the diuine fauor onely, the firſt voice i
the election to the Arch-biſhop of Mentz, & the reſt to the other Princ
in order: that hee acknowledgeth to haue receiued the vnction of a Kin
from the Arch-biſhop of Coleyn, & the ſupreme vnction, which is that o
an Emperor, from the Pope: and that what-ſoeuer is beſides theſe, is mor
then ynough, and proceedeth from that which is euil: that he had not ſen
away the Cardinals in contempt, but forbad them to proceed any furthe
with ſuch writings as they had, tending to the diſhonour and ſcandal
of the Empire: and that hee had not reſtrayned the going of me
into Italy vppon neceſſary occaſions, to bee allowed by their Biſhop

not simply inhibited the comming of men from thence, but that his meaning was to meete with certaine abuses, whereby the Churches of his Kingdome had bene greeued, impouerished, and oppressed; all discipline of men liuing retyred and in cloysters vtterly ouerthrowne. Lastly, that God hauing exalted his Church, by meanes of the Empire, in the head Citty of the world, it should not be by any meanes, that the Church in the head Citty of the world should ouerthrow the state of the Empire, that the matter began with painting, that it proceeded from painting to writing, that the writing now begins to be vrged as good authority, but that he will not suffer it, nor indure it so to be, being resolued first to lose his crowne before hee giue any consent to the abasing of the crowne of the Empire in such sort: and therfore requireth the paintings to be raced out, and the writings to be recalled, that such monuments of emnity between the Kingdome and the Priest-hood may not remaine: and here-vppon they beseech the Pope by new letters to mollifie that which was too hard, and to sweeten that which was too sowre in the former. [c] This so wise, iust, and reasonable an answer of the Germain Bishops, preuayled so farre with the Pope that hee sent other Legates of a milder spirit and better temper to the Emperor, with new letters, wherein he sought to qualifie what-soeuer was offensiue in the former: for [d] touching that hee wrote of the benefit the Emperor had receiued of him (which so highly displeased the Emperor, supposing that hee meant that hee had receiued the Imperiall crowne, as a meere fauor or good turne from him) he answered that how-soeuer the word *Benefit* bee taken in another sence, some times, yet he vsed it in that signification which it hath by Originall institution and first imposition. So that the word Benefit being compounded of two simple wordes, *bene* and *factum*, signifieth a good fact, or a thing well done, and in this sence his setting of the crowne vpon the Emperors head might be called a Benefit, not as being a meere fauor or good turne, but for that it was well and honorably done of him to set the Ensigne of Imperiall maiesty and power vpon the head of him, to whome such power pertained: and so were things at that time pacified by the good indeauor of the Cardinals, and by this milde letter of the Pope. But afterwards they brake out againe; Where-vppon the Pope wrote in this sort to the Emperor.

[c] Cap. 17.

[d] Cap. 22.

[e] *Adrian* the Bishop, seruant of the seruants of God, to *Frederick* the Romaine Emperor, greeting and Apostolical blessing. The diuine law, as it promiseth long life to them that honour their parents, so doth it pronounce the sentence of death against them that curse father or mother. For we are taught by the voyce of truth, that who-soeuer exalteth himselfe shall be brought low. Wherefore sonne beloued in the Lord, we do not a little maruaile, that you seeme not to giue so much reuerence to blessed *Peter*, and vnto the holy Church of Rome as you ought to do. For in your

[e] *Appendix veteris scriptoris ad Radewinum in fine hist. Othonis Frisingēsis. Naucler. vol. 2. genera. 39.*

your letters written to vs, you put your name before ours. Wherein you incurre the note of insolency: That I say not arrogancie, what shall I say of the fealty you promised and sware to blessed *Peter*? how doe you obserue it, when you require of them, who are Gods, and the sonnes of the most high, to wit Bishops, the doing of homage vnto you, and exact fealty of them, inclosing their sacred hands in your hands, and manifestly opposing your selfe against vs, that not onely the doores of the Churches, but the gates of the Cities of your kingdome also, against our Cardinalls sent as Legates vnto you from our owne side? Repent, repent therefore wee aduise thee, of vs thou receiuedst thy consecration, and therfore take heed least affecting things denyed vnto thee, thou lose that which is yeelded to thee. To this letter of the Pope, the worthy Emperor answered in this sort. [t] *Fredericke* by the grace of God Emperour of Romans, to *Adrian* Bishop of the Catholick Church, wishing vnto him a firme adhering and cleauing to all those things which *Iesus* began to doe and speake. The law of Iustice giueth to euery one that which is his owne. Neither doe wee offend in this behalfe; for wee derogate nothing from our parents, but giue vnto them in this our Imperiall state all due honour, to wit, to those our noble progenitours, from whome wee receiued the dignity of our kingdome, and our crowne, and not from the Pope. Had *Sylvester* Bishop of Rome any thing pertaining to royall state and dignity in the time of *Constantine*? was not liberty restored to the Church, and peace by his meanes? And hath not your Popedome receiued all such royall dignities as it now enioyeth from Princes? And why then is it so much disliked that when wee write vnto the Bishop of Rome by ancient right, and after the old manner, wee put our name before his, and according vnto the rule of iustice, permitt him writing vnto vs to doe the like? Turne ouer the Histories and Monuments of Antiquitie, and if you haue not yet obserued it, you shall there finde that which wee auouch: and why should wee not require homage and the performance of other duties due from subiects to Princes, of them who are Gods by adoption, and yet thinke it no disparagement to hold things pertaining to our royall state? especially, seeing hee who was author and beginner both of your dignity and ours, who neuer receiued any thing of any mortall King, but gaue all good things vnto all, paide tribute vnto *Cæsar* for himselfe and *Peter*, and gaue you an example to doe the like; eyther therefore let them put from them the things they hold of vs, or if they thinke it behouefull to retaine and keepe them still, let them yeeld vnto God the things that are Gods, and to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars*. The doores of our Churches, and the gates of our Cities are shut against your Cardinalls, because wee finde them not to be Preachers, but men desirous of a prey, not Confirmers of peace, but polling companions to get money, not such as come to repayre the breaches of the world, but

[t] *Ibidem.*

but greedily and insatiably to gather gold. But when-soeuer wee shall see them such as the Church requireth them to bee, men bringing peace, enlighting their country, assisting the cause of those of mean degree in equity and right; they shal want nothing that is necessary for them. To conclude; When you thus contend about things little pertayning to religion, and striue with secular persons about titles of honour, you seeme to haue forgotten that humility which is the keeper of all vertues, and that meeknesse that should be in you. Let your Father-hood therfore take heed, least while you moue questions about things vnworthy to be stood vpon, you scandalize them, who with attentiue eares listen to the wordes of your mouth, and waite for your speaches as for the latter raine. Wee are forced thus to write vnto you, because we see the detestable beast of pride hath crept vp euen to the seate of *Peter*. Prouide alwaies well for the peace of the Church, and fare you alwaies well.

Thus we see how the Popes not contenting them-selues with the fulnes of Ecclesiastical iurisdiction, though they had no iust title vnto it, proceeded yet further; & partly by the fauour of Christian Princes, and partly by fraud and violence gate to be great Princes in the world, & stayed not till they made challenge to be ouer the mightiest Emperors, and to dispose of their crownes and dignities. So shewing them-selues to haue the perfect marke and character of him, of whome the Apostle speaketh: [9] *Who sitteth in the temple of God as God, and is lifted vppe aboue all that is called God.* Yet could they not so preuaile in these their hellish practises, nor to carry away the truth of God, and the liberty of his Church into captiuity, but that there were euer found both Christian Emperors, and learned Diuines to resist them in their vniust claymes.

9. 2. Thes. 2 4.

Cahp. 48.

Of Generall Councels, and of the end, vse, and necessity of them.

Hauing examined what may bee said for proofe of the Vniuersality of the Bishoppe of Romes power and iurisdiction, first wee finde that the Sonne of GOD gaue him no power in the common-wealth, bnt a Father-hood onely in the Church. Secondly, that in the Church, hee neyther gaue him an illimited power of commanding, nor infallible iudgement in discerning, but that the greatest thing that eyther hee can challenge or wee yeelde vnto him, is to bee the prime Bishop in order and honour; the first and not of him-selfe alone, or out of the fulnesse of his owne power, but with the

ioyne

ioynt concurrence of others equall in commission with him, to manage the great affaires of Almighty God, and to gouerne the Christian church: so that the fulnesse of Ecclesiasticall power and iurisdiction is in the companies, assemblies, and synodes of Bishops and Pastors, and not in any one man alone.

a Chap. 27. I shewed a before, that in the Churches founded and established by the Apostles, containing whole Cities and places adioyning, though there were many ministers of the word and sacraments, yet one was set the Pastor of each of these Churches, that the rest were but his assistants, & might do nothing without him: and that therfore there was an inæquality established euen from the beginning, not of order only, but of degree also, betweene such as are Pastors of Churches, and are named Bishops, and such as are but their assistants named by the common name of Presbyters: yet is the power of him that excelleth the rest in degree in each Church b fatherly not princely: for things were so ordered in the beginning, that as the Presbyters could doe nothing without the Bishop, so the Bishop in matters of moment might do nothing without his Presbyters: and therevppon the Councel of Carthage decreeth, c that the Bishop shal not presume to heare and sententiate any mans cause without the presence of his Cleargy. And though it be said that the Bishop alone may heare and determine the causes of such Cleargy men as are below the degree of Presbyters and Deacons; yet that alone excludeth not his Cleargy, but the concurrence of other Bishoppes, which in the causes of Presbyters and Deacons is necessarily required. For without the presence and concurrence of his Cleargy, the Bishop may proceed to no sentence at all. If any difference grew betweene the Bishop and his Cleargy, or [consenting] any one found him-selfe greeued with their proceedings, there was a prouinciall synode holden twise euery yeare, in which the acts of Episcopall synodes might bee re-examined. These prouinciall synodes were subordinate to Nationall and Patriarchicall synodes, wherein the Primate of a Nation or Kingdome, or one of the Patriarches sat, as President. And in these Nationall or Patriarchicall synodes, the acts of prouinciall synodes might bee re-examined and reuersed. Of all which d Chap. 30. haue spoken before, in due place and vpon fit occasion, and haue shewed at large of whome these synodes do consist. So that it is euident, that the power of Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction resteth not in Bishops alone, but in Presbyters also, being admitted to Prouinciall and Nationall synodes and hauing decisiue voyces in them as well as Bishops, nor in any one Mettropolitane, Primat or Patriarch, within their seuerall precincts and diuisions, but in these and their fellow Bishops iointly, and that much more if there is any one in whom the fulnesse of all Ecclesiastical power, and the right to command the whole Church doth rest. So that this fulnesse of power is found only in the Generall assembly of Pastors, called a generall Counc-

b See D. Bilson of the perpetual gouernment of the Church. cap. 14. Pag. 307.

c Concil. Carthag. 4. Can. 23.

ll. Wherefore now it remaineth that we ſpeake of General Councels. Wherin, firſt wee are to conſider the vtility and neceſſity of ſuch ſyno- all aſſemblies and meetings. Secondly, of whom they muſt conſiſt. hirdly, what aſſurance they haue of diuine aſſiſtance and direction: and, ourthly, who muſt call them.

Touching the firſt, the cauſes why Generall Councels are called, are 3. he firſt is, the ſuppreſſing of new hereſies, formerly not condemned. he ſecond, a generall and vniforme reformation of abuſes crept into the hurch. The third, the taking away of Schiſmes growing in Patriarchi- l Churches, about the election of their Paſtors, and the reiecting of in- ders, violently & diſorderedly poſſeſſing them-ſelues of thoſe Patri- chicall Thrones. And ſo we find, that the Councell of Nice was called y *Conſtantine*, for the ſuppreſſing of the damnable hereſie of the Arrians: he eyght generall Councell, by *Baſilius*, for the ending of the diffe- nce that was growne in the Church of Conſtantinople about *Ignatius* d *Photius*, contending for the Epiſcopall Chayre: and that all Generall ouncels, intended and ſought the reformation of abuſes, there beeing arce any one wherein Canons were not made, for the reformation of orders, in ſo much that the Fathers of the ſixth Generall Councell, ha- ng onely condemned the Hereſie of the *Monothelites*, and made no anons, met afterwards againe many of them, and made thoſe Canons at are now extant, and are the chiefe direction of the Greeke Church to this day. Theſe beeing the cauſes for which Councells are called, is euident that the holding of them is not abſolutely and ſimply ne- ſary, but in a ſort onely. For Hereſies may bee ſuppreſſed by the con- rence of Prouinciall Synodes, holden in the ſeuerall parts of the orld; as they were in the firſt 300. yeares, when there were no Generall ouncels: But one part of the Chriſtian Church ſeeking the helpe of nother in common dangers, and one part readily concurring with ano- er (as for the extinguiſhing of a dangerous fire threarning all, or the preſſing and repeiling of a common enemy) by mutuall intelligence ſing from one to another; they abandoned Hereſies newly ſpring- g vp, and preſerued the vnity of the common faith. Neither was this ourſe holden onely in the time of perſecution, duringe the firſt 300. eares, but afterwards alſo, in the time of the Churches peace, we finde e ſame courſe to haue beene followed, in the ſuppreſſing of the *Pela- ans*; and therefore * *Auſtine* affirmeth, that there were but ſome few reſies of that nature, that a Generall Councell of all the Biſhops of the aſt and Weſt, was neceſſarily to bee called for the ſuppreſſing of them. nd indeed wee finde, that, if ſome fiue or ſixe hereſies haue beene con- mned by the cenſure of Generall Councels, an 100. haue been ſuppreſ- ed and extinguiſhed by other meanes. And of thoſe, for the condem- ing whereof Generall Councels were holden, ſome were not extinguiſ-

* *Aug lib. 4. contra duas Epiſt. Pelagian. cap. 12.*

shed a long time after. For that of the *Arrians* grew stronger after, th
euer it was before, and those of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, continued fo
hundreds of yeares after the ending of those Councels, in which th
receiued the sentence of condēnation. How is it then that [f] *Isidore* sai
the Church before *Constantines* time was diuided and rent into dine
Factions and Sects, because there was no Generall Councell? as if the
were no other meanes to preserue Vnity, but Generall Councels, a
that whersoeuer they may be had, Peace were presently established. F
the clearing hereof we say, that such new opinios, as growing vp in tho
times, found a concurring dislike in the seuerall Churches, seeking o
to another, were then suppressed, when yet there could bee no Gener
Councels, as the heresies of the *Marcionites*, *Valentinians* and the lik
But they, wherein there grew difference among the cheise Pastours a
Bishops of the Churches, could not be determined in those times, as t
errours of the *Millenaries*, of those that kept Easter after the Iewish c
seruation, and of those that held the necessity of re-baptizing of such
were baptized by heretickes: in which poynt many worthy Pastors a
Bishops of the Church did erre, in the first ages of the Church, neyth
could their error bee extinguished, as *Austine* noteth: nor the truth
cleared, as that all dissenters should incurre the note of hetesie, till t
decree of a Councell passed about it. [g] *Quæstionis hnius obscuritas*, (sai
Austine) *Prioribus Ecclesiæ temporibus ante schisma* Donati, *magnos vi
& magna charitate præditos, Patres & Episcopos, sta inter se compu, sal
pace, disceptare & fluctuare, vt diu Conciliorū in suis quibusq; regionibus
uersa statuta mutauerint, donec Plenario totius orbis Concilio, quod salub
rimè sentiebatur, etiam remotis dubitationibus formaretur.* That is, the o
scurity of this question, in former ages of the Church before the schis
of *Donatus*, did cause great men, and Fathers, and bishops, indued wi
great charity, so to striue among them-selues, and to wauer as doubtf
& vncertaine, without breaking the bond of Peace, that for a long ti
the Decrees of Councels in seuerall regions, were diuerse and differe
without any settled certainty, till that which was most wholesom
conceiued, was fully formed, settled and established, by a plenary Co
cell of the Bishops of the whole world, and no place left for doubti
and vncertainty any longer. Thus we see, that some heresies may eas
be suppressed, without troubling all the Bishops of the world to meet
a Generall Councell, and that some others cannot easily bee suppres
without Generall Councels: and as heresies may bee suppressed by
mutuall concurrence of seuerall Churches; so by the like correspondenc
the seuerity of discipline may be vpholden vniformely, and Schisme
preuented. [h] When *Cornelius* was elected, and ordained Bishop
Rome, at the first, because there was some opposition, *Cyprian* and
ther were fearefull to write vnto him as to the Bishop of Rome, but a
terwards being fully informed, touching the lawfulnesse of his electio

[f] *In præfat. Conciliorum.*

[g] *Aug lib. 7. de Baptismo. Contra Donatist. cap. 7.*

[h] *Cypriā. Epist. 45. & 55.*

ordination, they reiected his Competitors, and communicated him onely: and the like wee shall finde to haue beene practised generally by all Bishops, carefully seeking to bee certified out of other prouinces and Partes of the Church, by such Bishoppes as were knowne to be Catholikes, who came lawfully into places of Ministery, and become, held the vnity of Faith and Charity, that so they might hold communion with them, and reiect those that entered otherwise. Whereupon *Cyprian* telleth *Cornelius*, Bishop of Rome, to whome in Affrica he might write as to Catholike Bishopps, and from whome he might receiue letters, as from Catholikes. i *Vbi supra.*

Not-withstanding, Generall Councells are the best meanes for preserving of vnity of doctrine, seuerity of discipline, and preuenting of Schismes, when they may be had: and though they be not absolutely necessary to the being of the Church, yet are they most behooefull for the best, readiest, and most gratious gouerning of the same: and how-soeuer there may be a kind of increase of the supreme iurisdictiō that is in the Church, by the concurrence of particular Synodes, and the correspondence of seuerall Pastors, vpon mutual intelligence, of the sence, iudgement, and resolution of euery of them; yet the highest and most excellent exercise of the supreme Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, is in Generall Councels. Heere the Papists are wont to argue, that the Protestants hauing no Generall Councels, haue not the exercise of the supreme Ecclesiastical iurisdiction, and consequently ỹ they are not that Church, out of which no saluation is found: but this is a very silly trifeling and playing with their owne shadowes; neyther is it any thing else but a meere abusing of themselues and others, thus idely and fondly to iangle. For, first the Protestants being but a part of the Christian Church, neuer challenged to them-selues the authority that belongeth to the whole, as the Papists do, who excluding al the Christians of Græcia, Armenia, Russia, & Æthiopia, out of the fellowship & communion of Saints, and (as much as in them lieth) casting them into hell, suppose a generall meeting of those of their owne faction, to be a Generall Councell. And secondly, if the Protestants did thinke them-selues to bee the whole Church, yet their argument were of no force, seeing the whole Church may be without the benefit of Generall Councels, much longer then the Protestants haue bene, since the diuision betweene them & the Papists: for the Christians of the Primitiue Church had no Generall Councel for the space of 300. yeares after Christ. But to returne to the point from which wee are a little digressed (occasioned to do by this friuolous obiection of the Papists) touching the good & profitable vse of Generall Councels, there is no difference betweene vs and our aduersaries, but it is agreed on both sides, that though they bee not absolutely necessary, yet they are very behoofefull and much to be desired in diuers cases: neither euer was there any man of iudgemēt that thought otherwise. For, that which k *Nazianzen* hath, that he neuer saw k *Epist. ad. Procopium* 102.

saw good end of any Councell, is not to bee vnderstood as spoken generally and absolutely, but respectiuely, to the turbulent time wherein he liued, and the Arrian faction so preuayled, that many Synodes were holden for the ouerthrow of the Nicene faith, without all respect to the good of the Church.

Cahp. 49.

Of the persons that may bee present in Generall Councels: and who they are of whome Generall Councels do consist.

HAuing spoken of the necessity, profit and vse of Generall Councells, it remaineth that wee proceed to see who they are, that may bee present in such Councells, and of whome they doe consist. The persons that may bee present, are of diuers sorts. For some are there with authority to teach, define, prescribe, and to direct: others are there to heare, set forward and consent vnto, that which is there to bee done.

In the Councell of *Eliberis*: in the first Councel of Carthage about rebaptization. & in the third Councell of Rome vnder *Felix* the 3. many of the People were present.

In the former sort, none but only *Ministers* of the word, and sacraments are present in Councels, and they onely haue decyding and defining voyces; but in the latter sort, [a] Lay-men also may be present: whereupon wee shall find, that Bishoppes and Presbyters subscribe in this sort: *Ego N. definiens. subscripsi*: that is, I, as hauing power to define & decree, haue subscribed. But the Emperor or any other Lay-person, *Ego N. consentiens, subscripsi*: that is, I, as one giuing consent to that which is agreed on by the spirituall Pastors, haue subscribed. That the Emperor and other Lay-men of place and sort may bee present in Generall Councels, no man maketh doubt. For though Pope [a] *Nichol.* seeme to deny, that the Emperors may bee present in other Councels where matters of faith are not handled; yet he confesseth, they may be present in Generall Councels, where the faith, which is common to all and pertayneth not to Cleargy men alone, but to Lay-men and al Christians generally, is treated off, it being a rule in nature and reason, [b] *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debere*: that is, that that which concerneth all, may be handled and medled with by al, so farre forth as conueniently it may, & as there is no manifest reason, in respect of the disturbance and hinderance of the deliberation, to repell them from such intermedling: for, in such cases there may bee a repelling of men hauing interest in such businesses and affaires: and therefore [c] *Pulcheria* the Empresse, cõmanded the Captain of Bythinia, with violence to driue out of the Councel of Chalcedon, such Monks, Clearks & Lay-men, as being of no vse, did but pester the Councel, & to leaue none there but such as the Bishops brought with thẽ. But our [d] aduersaries say the Protestants affirm

[a] *Dist. 96. cap. Vbinam.*

[b] *Ockam. Dialog. 2. part. lib. 6. part. 1. cap. 85.*

[c] *In Epist. ad Strateg. Bythiniæ ante Concil. Chalcedon.*

[d] *Bellarm. lib. 1 de conciliis. cap. 15.*

that Lay-men ought not onely to bee present in Generall Councells, but also to haue decisiue voyces, as well as they of the Cleargy, and there-vppon charge vs with great absurdity.

Wherefore, for the answering and clearing of this obiection, wee must obserue, that there is a three-fold decision of things doubtfull and questionable. The one, such as euery one vpon the knowledge of it must yeeld vnto vppon perill of damnation, vppon the bare worde of him that decideth. The second, to which euery one must yeeld vpon like perill, not vppon the bare worde of him that decideth, but vppon the euidence of proofe hee bringeth. The third, such as euery one must yeeld vnto, not vppon perill of damnation, but of excommunication, and the like censure Ecclesiasticall. In the first sort the Protestants say, that onely CHRIST the sonne of God hath a decisiue voyce: In the second sort, that any Lay-men as wel as Cleargy-men: for who-soeuer it is that bringeth conuincing proofes, decideth a doubt in such sort, as that no man ought to resist against it.

Where-vppon [c] *Panormitan* saith, that the iudgement of one priuate man is to bee preferred before the sentence of the Pope, if hee haue better authorities of the Old and New Testament, to confirme his iudgement. And [f] *Gerson* saith, that any Learned man may and ought to resist against a whole Councell, if hee discerne it to erre of malice or ignorance; and what-soeuer Bishoppes determine, their determinations binde not the conscience further then they approue that they propose, some other way then by their authority onely. So that in this sence, the Protestants truely say, that Bishops must not proceed Prætor-like, but that all that they doe, must be, but in the nature of an Inquiry, and their Decrees no farther of force, then reason doth warrant them. For how-soeuer the Sonne of GOD haue promised to bee with his Church to the end of the World, which shalbee fulfilled in respect of his Elect and Chosen, who cannot erre damnably and finally, yet hath hee not tyed him-selfe to any one sort or company of men, neyther is it certainely knowne, but that all they that meete in a Councel, may erre notwithstanding Christes promise.

To which purpose it is, that *Brentius*, and others say, Wee cannot bee certaine of the determination of Councels, because euery company of men professing CHRIST, is not the true Church, seeing all that so professe, are not Elect; neither do they deny al authority and iurisdiction to such as are not knowne to bee Elect, nor giue it all to such as no man can knowe who they bee (as [g] *Bellarmine* vntruly saith they do,) for in the third [b] sort they willingly acknowledge, that Bishops haue deciding voyces, and power so to iudge of things, as to subiect all those that shall thinke and teach otherwise then they do, to excommuni-

[c] *In Cap. Significasti de Electione.*

[f] *Part. 1. de examin. Doctrinarum.*

[g] *Li. 1. de concilijs cap. 19.*

cation and censures of like nature. And that therefore they are properly Iudges; that their course of proceeding is not a bare Inquiry and search, but a binding determination, and that they haue a Prætorlyke power, to bind men to stand to that they propose and decree: and in this sort, wee all teach, that Lay-men haue no voyce decisiue, but Bishops and Pastors only, which may be confirmed by many reasons.

First, because, when the question is, in what pastures it is fitte the sheepe of CHRIST should feed, and in what pastures they may feed without danger, the duty of consulting is principally, and the power of prescribing, wholy, in the Pastors, though the sheepe of CHRIST being reasonable, haue and must haue a kinde of discerning, whether they bee directed into wholesome and pleasant pastures or not.

[h] Ephes. 4. 11. Secondly, none but they, whome *Paul* saith,[h] *CHRIST going vppe into heauen; gaue for the gathering together of the Sayntes for the worke of the Ministery*, haue authority to teach, and to prescribe vnto others, what they shall professe and beleeue: of whome the LORD said by *Ieremy* the [i] Ierem. 3. 15. Prophet:[i] *I wil giue you Pastors, that shall feed you with knowledge and doctrine.*

Thirdly, because in all Councels, Bishoppes and Pastors only, are found to haue subscribed to the decrees made in them, as defining and decreeing, how-soeuer other men testified their consent by subscription, and Princes and Emperors, by their royall authority, confirmed the same, and subiected the contemners and violaters thereof to imprisonment, banishment, confiscation of goods, and the like ciuil punishments; as the Bishoppes did to excommunication, and censures Spirituall. So that it is agreed on, that Bishoppes and Ministers only, haue decisiue voyces in Councels, in sort before expressed, but, the question is onely whether all Ministers of the Word and Sacraments haue such decisiue voyces, or none but Bishops.

The Papists thinke, that this is the peculiar right of Bishoppes; but they are clearely refuted by the Vniuersall practise of the whole Church, from the beginning. For, in all Prouinciall and Nationall Synodes, Presbyters did euer giue voyce and subscribe in the very same sort that Bishoppes did, whether they were assembled, to make Canons of discipline, to heare causes, or to define doubtful pointes of doctrine, [k] chap. 30. as I haue[k] before shewed at large: and that they did not anciently sitte, and giue decisiue voyces in Generall Councels, the reason was; not, because they haue no interest in such deliberations and resolutions, but, because seeing all cannot meete in Councels, that haue interest in such businesses, but some must bee deputed for, and authorized by the rest, therefore it was thought fitte that Bishoppes, who

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are the cheefest among such as haue interest in deliberation of this nature, should in giuing decisiue voyces, supply the places of the rest, especially seeing the manner was euer in all the first Councells, that the cheefe Patriarches, being acquainted with the matter, that should bee debated, sent to all the Metropolitanes subiect to them, who calling Prouinciall Synodes, consisting of their Bishoppes and Presbyters, discussed such doubtes, and then by common consent, choosing out certayne principall Bishopps, to go to the Generall Councel in their name, sent by them their resolutions. So, that in effect, Presbyters did subscribe as well as Bishoppes: seeing they that went and subscribed, were not to vary from the instructions they carryed with them.

That this was the course, it is euident by that of [l] *Iohn* Bishoppe of Antioch in the third Generall Councell, excusing his long tarrying, by reason that his Metropolitanes could not sooner assemble their Cleargy to consult: and by the Actes of the sixth Generall Councell [m] where wee finde the suggestion of *Agatho*, Bishoppe of Rome, sent to the Councel, subscribed by him-selfe and the whole Synode of the West subiect to the Sea Apostolike: in which Synode sundry Bishoppes doe subscribe as Legates sent from Nationall Synodes. But if wee shall come to Latter Councells, holden in the West, and esteemed (by the Papists) to bee General, we shall finde that Presbyters did giue voyces decisiue in them, as wel as Bishoppes.

[l] *Euagrius. li. 1. cap. 3.*

[m] *Epist. Agathon. & Rom. Synod. in actione 4. Synodi sextæ.*

For [n] in the great Councel of *Lateran* (as they call it) vnder *Innocentius* the third, there were but foure hundred eighty two Bishoppes, but of Abbots and Priours Conuentuall, eight hundred: who yet haue much lesse to doe in the gouernment of the Church, then Presbyters hauing care of soules. And [o] *Bellarmine* him-selfe confesseth, that by priuiledge and custome, Presbyters, as namely Cardinalls, Abbots, and the Generalls of the Orders of Fryers, may giue decisiue voyces in Generall Councels; which they could not doe, if by Gods Lawe it pertayned to Bishoppes onely. For there is no prescribing against the Lawe of GOD; and therefore I cannot see why the Romanists should so bitterly [p] censure the Councell of *Basill*, because Presbyters were admitted to giue voyces in it.

[n] *Platina in Innocentio. 3.*

[o] *Lib. 1. de Concilys. cap. 15.*

[p] *Bellarm. ibid.*

Hauing cleared who they are, that are to be admitted to be present, and to giue voices in Generall Councells; let vs proceed to see what number of Bishops is required to make a General Councel, & what order must be kept in the holding of it. Touching the first, the Diuines require three conditions to make a General Councel, wherof the first is, that the summons bee Generall, and such as may bee knowne to all the principall Parts and Prouinces of the Christian World. The second, that no Bishop

cation and censures of like nature. And that therefore they are properly Iudges; that their course of proceeding is not a bare Inquiry and search, but a binding determination, and that they haue a Prætorlyke power, to bind men to stand to that they propose and decree: and in this sort, wee all teach, that Lay-men haue no voyce decisiue, but Bishops and Pastors only, which may be confirmed by many reasons.

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[l] *Euagrius. li. 1. cap. 3.*

[m] *Epist. Agathon. & Rom. Synod. in actione 4. Synodi sextæ.*

For [n] in the great Councel of *Lateran* (as they call it) vnder *Innocentius* the third, there were but foure hundred eighty two Bishoppes, but of Abbots and Priours Conuentuall, eight hundred: who yet haue much lesse to doe in the gouernment of the Church, then Presbyters hauing care of soules. And [o] *Bellarmine* him-selfe confesseth, that by priuiledge and custome, Presbyters, as namely Cardinalls, Abbots, and the Generalls of the Orders of Fryers, may giue decisiue voyces in Generall Councels; which they could not doe, if by Gods Lawe it pertayned to Bishoppes onely. For there is no prescribing against the Lawe of GOD; and therefore I cannot see why the Romanists should so bitterly [p] censure the Councell of *Basill*, because Presbyters were admitted to giue voyces in it.

[n] *Platina in Innocentio. 3.*

[o] *Lib. 1. de concilys. cap. 15.*

[p] *Bellarm. ibid.*

Hauing cleared who they are, that are to be admitted to be present, and to giue voices in Generall Councells; let vs proceed to see what number of Bishops is required to make a General Councel, & what order must be kept in the holding of it. Touching the first, the Diuines require three conditions to make a General Councel, wherof the first is, that the summons bee Generall, and such as may bee knowne to all the principall Parts and Prouinces of the Christian World. The second, that no Bishop

whence-soeuer hee come, bee excluded, if hee bee knowne to bee a Bishop, and not excommunicate. The third, that the principall Patriarches bee present with the concurrence of the particular synodes vnder them, eyther in person, or by their substitutes and vicars, or at least by their Prouinciall letters, as the Patriarch of Rome was present in the second generall Councell, (though hee were not there in person nor by substitutes.)

q *Actione. 6.* And heere-vppon the second q Councell of Nice taketh exception to a certaine synode holden in Constantinople as not Generall, because neyther all that were present did consent, neither was there a concurrence in it of the Bishoppe of Rome and his Bishoppes, eyther by his Vicars, or Prouinciall letters; nor of the Patriarches of the East, to witte of Alexandria, Antioch, and Ierusalem, and the Bishoppes subiect to them, and therefore pronounceth, that the wordes of those foolish men, assuming to them the name of a generall Councell, were not a Candle sette on a candelsticke, to giue light to all in the house, but a meere smoake full of darkenesse blinding the eyes of men, and were vttered as it were vnder the bedde, and not vppon the mountaine of right beleefe, and that their sound did not go forth into all the earth, nor their wordes to the vttermost endes of the World, as the sound, voyce and wordes of the former sixe Generall Councells did. But that wee may the better discerne how farre forth the presence of the cheefe Patriarches is necessary in General Councels, and that we be not deceiued in this point, wee must obserue, that when wee speake of Patriarches, either wee vnderstand them and their synodes, or them-selues singly and apart: If we speake of them in the former sence, no synode can bee accounted fully and perfectly Generall, to which the presence of any one of the chiefe Patriarches is wanting; and therefore the first Councell of *Ephesus*, was an imperfect generall Councell, when before the comming of *Iohn* of Antioch, and his Bishops, it proceeded to the condemnation of *Nestorius*.

And we see how great turmoyle and confusion that hath caused, which could neuer bee quieted and taken away, till *Cyrill* President of that Councell, and *Iohn* were reconciled, and the actes of the Councell confirmed by the ioynt consent of them both: and hence r *Custanus* saith it is, that the eight generall Councell, when the Vicar of the Apostolicall throne of Alexandria came, reioyced greatly, and said, we glorifie the GOD of all, who hath supplyed vnto this vniuersall synode what was wanting, and hath now made it most full and perfect. But if wee speake of them in the second sence, that is, singly and by them-selues alone, in case of heresie or wilfull refusall, the Councell may proceed without them, and yet want nothing that pertaineth to the perfection of a generall Councell, as did the Councell of *Ephesus*, and the Councel of *Chalcedon*, proceeding to the condemnation of *Nestorius* and

r *Concord Catholi. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

Dioscorus

Dioscorus, vpon such euidence as they had against them, though they refused to present them-selues in those Synodes; so that the concurrence of the Bishops subiect to them be not wanting, as in the case of *Nestorius* and *Dioscorus* it was not. For the Bishops subiect to *Nestorius* subscribed to his condemnation, and the Bishops of *Alexandria* gaue their consent to the condemnation of *Dioscorus* their Patriarch, and approoued the proceedings of the synode against him, though they [s] refused to subscribe to the actes and decrees of it, till they had a new Patriarch chosen in his place. Which refusall though it were ill taken at the first, yet were the fathers in the end perswaded, by the mediation of the Iudges, to forbeare their subscription, till they might haue time to choose a new Patriarch, so that it is not the personall presence, or concurrence precisely of these chiefe Bishops or Patriarches, to whom all other Bishops are subiect, that is required to the fulnesse and perfection of a Generall Councell, but the comming of some from the seuerall Synodes subiect to the Patriarches, or from the Patriarchicall synode, where some out of all these doe meete, or at the least the sending of Synodall letters, that so the consent of all may bee had: The Prouinces that are neere the place where the Synode is holden, sending the greater number, and they that are most remote, sending some few, with instructions from the rest, or at the least their Synodall letters, expressing their opinion, iudgment, and resolution. [t] So in the councell of Nice there were many Bishops out of the East, but out of the West onely two Presbyters out of Italy, one Bishop out of Spaine, one Bishop out of France, and one out of Affrica. But [u] in the second and third Councells, there were many out of the East, and none out of the West. But the Bishops of Rome, [x] *Damasus* and *Celestinus*, as Patriarches of the West, confirmed those Councells, and gaue consent vnto them in their owne names, and in the names of all the Bishops of the West, whome they had gathered together in Synodes.

In the Councell of Chalcedon, there were none present out of the West but the Legates of *Leo*, but he sent by them the consent of the Bishops of Spaine, France, Italy, and other parts of the West: who hauing holden Synodes in their seuerall Prouinces, wrote vnto him, that they approoued his iudgment, touching the point in controuersie, which was to bee debated in the Generall Councell; and that they would most willingly concurre with him in the forme of instruction, which he meant to send to the Councell. Touching the order that must bee kept in Generall Councels, [y] first the Booke of God must be laide in the middest of them that are present. Secondly, the meeting must bee openly and not in secret. Thirdly, it must bee free, and euery man must bee permitted boldly to speake what hee thinketh. Whereupon Pope *Nicholas*, when some obiected to him the number of Bishops that mette in the Councell of *Photius*, answered, that the great concourse of Bishops in the Councells of Nice and Chalcedon,

[s] *Concil. Chalcedon. actione 5.*

[t] *Bellar. lib. 1. de Concil. cap. 17.*

[u] *Theodoret hist. Eccle. lib. 5. cap. 9.*

[x] *Bellar. vbi supra.*

[y] *Cusan. de Concord. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

Was

was not so much respected as their free and religious vttering of their iudgments and resolutions; and *Agatho*, writing to *Constantine* the Emperor, touching the Bishops that were to meete in the sixt Generall Councell, hath these words: *Grant free power of speaking, to euery one that desireth to speake for the faith which hee beleeues and holdes, that all men may most clearly see and know, that no man, desirous and willing to speake for the truth, was forbidden, hindered, or reiected, by any terrors, force, threatning, or any other thing, that might auert and turne him away from so doing.* And as there must bee a liberty, and freedome of speech, in Generall Councils, so there must bee a desire of finding out the truth, and an intending and seeking of the common good, that priuate respects, purposes and designes bee not set forward vnder pretence of religion; and therefore [z] *Leo* the first, writing to the Emperor, of the error of the second Ephesine Councell, hath these words. While priuate intendments, and designes were set forward, vnder pretence of religion, that was effected by the impiety of a few, that wounded the whole vniuersall Church; wee finde by certaine report, that a great number of Bishops, came together vnto the Synode; who beeing come together in such great *multitudes*, might very profitably haue been employed in deliberating and discerning what was fit to bee resolued, if hee who challenged vnto himselfe the chiefe place, would haue obserued such Priestly moderation, as that (according to the manner and custome of such meetings, all men hauing freely vttered their opinions) that might peaceably and rightly haue beene decreed, that might both agree with faith, and bring them into the right way that were in error. But heere wee finde, that when the Decree was to bee passed, all they who were come together, were not permitted to bee present: for wee haue beene informed, that some were reiected, and other brought in, who, at the pleasure of the foresayd Bishop, were brought to yeeld captiue hands to those impious subscriptions: for that they knew it would bee preiudiciall to their state, vnlesse they did such things as were inioyned them. Which kinde of proceedings, our substitutes sent from the Apostolicall Sea, discerned to bee so impious, and contrary to the Catholicke faith, that by no violent meanes they could bee inforced to consent thereunto, but constantly protested, and professed, (as beseemed them) that that which was there agreed on and decreed, should neuer bee admitted or receiued by the Apostolicall Sea. And a little after hee hath these words: All the Bishops of those parts of the Church, that are subiect vnto vs, as suppliants in most humble manner; with sighes and teares, beseech your most gratious Maiesty, that, seeing both those Substitutes which wee sent, did most constantly resist against such impious and bad proceedings, and *Flauianus* the Bishop offered a bill of appeale vnto them, you would bee pleased to command a Generall Councell to bee holden in Italy. [a] Thus wee see what things are essentially required

[z] *Leo. epist. 25.*

[a] *Vide hæc omnia apud Cusanum. loco citato.*

required to the being of a Councell, and what order is to be obserued in it. The next thing that followeth in order to be intreated of, is the Presidentship of such and so sacred an assembly.

Chap. 50.

Of the President of Generall Councells.

TOuching the Presidentship of Generall Councels, it pertained, in a sort, to all the Patriarches, and therfore *Photius* in his discourse of the seauen Synodes, in diuerse of them, nameth all the Patriarches, and their Vice-gerents, Presidents; as hauing an honourable preheminence, aboue and before other Bishops in such assemblies; yet wee deny not, but that as these were ouer all other Bishops, so, euen amongst these also there was an order; so that one of them had a preheminence aboue and before another. For the Bishop of *Alexandria*, was before the Bishop of *Antioch*, and the Bishop of Rome before him, anciently, euen before the time of the *Nicene* Councell; and afterwards the Bishop of *Constantinople*, made a Patriarch, was set before the other two, next vnto the Bishop of Rome. And as these were thus one before another in order and honour, so they had preheminence of honour in Synodall Assemblyes, accordingly in sitting, speaking, and subscribing, though this were not alwayes precisely obserued. For [a] in the Councell of *Nice*, there beeing two rankes of seates; the one in the one side of the hall, and the other in the other, where the Councell mette, the Emperour sitting in the middest, in the vpper part of the hall, *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*, sate in the highest seate in that rancke, that was on the right hand, and made the Oration to the Emperour; but in subscribing, many were before him. And *Hosius* the Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spaine*, a man of great fame was cheife president, composed the forme of faith there agreed on, and subscribed it first, and then in the second place the Presbyters, that were the Vicegerents of the Bishop of Rome, who in respect of his old age could not be present, subscribed to the same forme of faith, and after them *Alexander* the Bishop of *Alexandria*. That *Hosius* was President of the Councell of *Nice*; and of many other Councels besides, wee haue the testimony of [b] *Athanasius*. The reason why he being a Bishop of so meane a place, should bee so honoured and set before all other, was, the good opinion that all men held of him, being a man famous and renowmed throughout the world, [c] which mooued *Constantine*, after he heard of the differences in the Church of *Alexandria*, betweene *Alexander* and *Arrius*, to send him thither, before euer hee thought of calling this Councell, hoping

[a] *Euseb. de vita Constantini. lib. 3. cap. 10. & 11.*

[b] *Epist. ad solitariam vitam agentes.*

[c] *Theodoret. hist. eccle. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

hoping that by his wisedome and authority he might quiet all. But our aduersaries, least any preiudice might growe to the Church of Rome by this ill president of the Councell of Nice, in admitting so meane a Bishop to bee her President, and neglecting the Bishop of Rome, aduenture to say, that *Hosius* was not President in his owne right, but as the Bishop of Romes Vicegerent, and supplying his place, though they bee no way able to prooue the same, and the cleare euidence of the thing it selfe reprooue them. For the [d] Histories speake of Presbyters the Bishop of Rome sent to supply his place, but mention not *Hosius* as imployed in that sort; which they would not haue omitted, if hee had beene imployed so also; and besides, in the subscriptions, both as they are found in the ordinary Edition of the Councell of Nice, and that which is out of the Greeke booke found in the *Vatican*, put forth by *Pisanus* the Iesuite, *Hosius* subscribeth first without any signification of his supplying the place of the Bishop of Rome, as Legates are euer wont to doe, and as *Vitus* and *Vincentius* his Legates doe in this Councell: for the forme of their subscription is this; Wee haue subscribed for and in the name of the most reuerend man, &c. So that that which [e] *Bellarmine* alledgeth out of a certaine Preface before the Councell of Sardica, the author whereof is not knowne, is little to bee esteemed, as no way able to weaken the authorities and reasons which wee bring.

[d] *Euseb. lib. 3. de vita Constantin. cap. 7.*

[e] *Lib. 1. de Conciliis. cap. 19.*

Touching the second Generall Councell, the Councell of [f] *Chalcedon* expressely affirmeth, that *Nectarius* bishop of *Constantinople* was President of it: and, if wee looke to the subscriptions, wee shall finde that hee subscribed first and before all other. So that it is euident, that *Damasus* then Bishop of Rome, was not President of that assembly. And [g] *Bellarmine* confesseth as much; but hee saith, if hee had beene present, hee had doubtlesse beene President; which haply may bee true, yet his reason to prooue it, is not good, which hee taketh from the Epistle of the Councell to *Damasus*. For in that [h] Epistle, the Fathers and Bishops acknowledge themselues members of that body, whereof *Damasus* and his company are a part; but doe not call him their head, as hee vntruely reporteth. Neither doth the Epistle of *Damasus* to the Fathers of the Councell yeeld any better proofe. For though hee call them sonnes, yet it will hardly follow, that they would haue taken him for a President of their meeting, especially seeing it is probably supposed, that they therefore staid of purpose at *Constantinople*, that more freely, and with greater authority they might compasse such things as they intended, then if they should haue gone to Rome, where *Damasus* with his Westerne Bishops might haue crossed, or at least in some sort hindered their intendments and designes.

[f] *Actione. 6. pag. 136. apud Binnium.*

[g] *Vbi supra.*

[h] *Apud Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 9.*

In the third generall Councell, which was the first at *Ephesus*, *Cyrill* Bishop of *Alexandria* was President, as it appeareth euidently by the Actes of the Councell, & the Histories of those times: and had also the authority

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of *Celestinus* Bishop of Rome ioyned vnto him, as may bee seene by the Epistle of *Celestinus* written vnto him, which is found among the Actes of the *Ephesine* Councell. Whereunto agreeth that of *Valentinian* and *Martian*, in their [k] Epistle to *Palladius*, expresly saying, that both *Celestine* Bishop of Rome, & *Cyrill* Bishop of *Alexandria*, were Presidents of the Councell of *Ephesus*; and also that of the whole Councell of [l] *Chalcedon*, professing expresly, that both *Celestinus* and *Cyrill*, were Presidents of that assembly: which thing the very Actes of the Councell it selfe, sufficiently proue; in which he is described to haue moderated all, as cheife and principall among the Bishops present, yet not by his owne authority alone, but supplying also the place of *Celestinus* Bishop of Rome. And in like sort [m] *Euagrius* doth not say, that hee supplyed the place of *Celestinus*, as if he had not beene President in his owne right; but that hee *also* supplyed the place of *Celestinus*; for so it is in the Greeke: and [n] *Photius* saith; *Cyrill* Bishop of *Alexandria*, (who also supplied the place of *Celestinus* Bishop of Rome) and *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus*, and *Iuuenall* Bishop of *Ierusalem* were Presidents of the first Councell of *Ephesus*.

Thus is it euident, that *Cyrill* sate as President in the Councell of *Ephesus*, though not without the concurrence of the Bishop of Rome, who ioyned his authority with him, and sent his owne resolution, and the resolutions of his Bishops vnto him, and the Councell; though he [o] sent none out of the West to that meeting, till long after the Councell was begun, and many things therein done.

In the fourth Generall Councell, holden at *Chalcedon*, the Legates of the Bishop of Rome, had the first and chiefest place: but in the fift, *Eutychius* Bishop of *Constantinople* sate as President, and had the first place. And [p] though *Vigilius* then Bishop of Rome, being at that time at *Constantinople*, could neither bee induced to bee present, nor to agree vnto it, while it was holden, nor to confirme and allow it when it ended, yet it was iudged a lawfull Generall Councell, and hee and so many moe as resisted against it, for their wilfull dissenting, were sent into banishment. This Councell was called by *Iustinian* the Emperour, to examine and condemne an Epistle of *Ibas*, certaine workes of *Theodoret*, and the person of *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, who all were thought fauourers of *Nestorius*, and yet receiued to grace in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, in hope that they would thereupon embrace & receiue that Councel, which were averse from it; as thinking (though vntruly) that it fauored the *Nestorians*; and also to condemne the errors of *Origen* and his followers. That this Councel, notwithstanding the contradiction of *Vigilius*, was admitted and receiued as a true and lawfull Generall Councell, it appeareth by *Gregory* Bishop of Rome, who hauing allowed the first foure Generall Councells, addeth these words; [q] *I do also in like sort reuerence and honour the fift Councell, in which the Epistle of Ibas, full of errors is reiected, in which Theodoret*

[k] *Act. Concil. Ephes. Tom. 1. cap. 16.*
[l] *Concil. Chalcedon. Action. 3.*
[l] *Action. 4.*
[m] *Lib. 1. cap. 4.*
[n] *De 7. Synod.*
[o] *Act. Concil. Ephes. tom. 2. cap. 27.*
[p] *Binnius in Annotat. in Concil. 5.*
[q] *Gregor. lib. 1. Epist 24. ad Ioannem Constantinopol.*

dorus, *separating and dividing the person of the Mediator of God and Men, and imagining two subsistences in Christ, is convinced to have fallen into perfidious impiety: and in which also the writings of Theodoret (wherein the fault of blessed Cyrill is reprehended,) are found and pronounced to have beene published by a bold foolishnesse: but I truely reiect all those persons, which the forenamed reuerend and sacred Councels doe reiect, and embrace and honour those which they reuerence and honour, but those being established and agreed vnto, and things setled in them by generall consent, hee destroyeth and ouerthroweth himselfe and not them, whosoeuer presumeth either to loose those whom they binde, or to binde those whom they loose. Whosoeuer therefore shall be otherwise minded, let him be Anathema.* So that the Presidence and presence of the Bishop of Rome is not so necessary in Generall Councels, but that in case of his wilfull refusall a Councell may proceed and bee holden for lawfull, without his consenting to it. It is true indeed, that the Canon of the Church prescribeth, that no Generall Councell shall bee holden without the Bishop of Rome, and the Bishops subiect to him; but the meaning of the Canon is not, that all proceedings are voyde and vnlawfull, wherein his presence is not had, but wherein it is not sought and expected: for, if he wilfully refuse to ioyne with the rest, or his negligence be intollerable, the state of the Church requiring, that order be presently taken, they may proceed without him, as appeareth by the Eight General Councell, wherein some things were resolued on, before the comming of the Vicars of the Bishop of Rome: and by this Fift, wherein neither the Bishop of Rome, nor any of his Bishops would bee present, nor giue any consent vnto it, and yet it is reputed a lawfull Generall Councell.

[a] *Socrates lib. 2. cap. 13.*
[b] *Cassanus Concord. Catbol. lib. 2. cap. 2. lib. 3. cap. 15.*

And, as a Councell may bee holden in such a case, without the presence or concurrence of the Romaine Bishop, and those that are subiect to him, so being present, if hee refuse to concurre in iudgement with the rest, they may proceed with-out him, and their sentence may bee of force, though hee consent not to it; as wee see in the Councell of *Chalcedon*. And though Generall Councels, wherein the Bishop of Rome, with his Bishops, refuse to bee present, or beeing present, to giue consent to that which is decreed, bee not so full and perfect, as they are, that haue his concurrence together with the Bishopps subiect to him, and therefore the like effect doth not presently follow; yet wee shall finde, that all such determinations, consented and agreed vnto vniformely by all the other Patriarches, doe in the end generally take place. So that euen the Romaines them-selues are forced to yeeld vnto them; as wee see it came to passe, that the Decrees of the Fift Generall Councel, wherein the Romaines refused to bee present, and to which they would yeelde no consent, were soone after generally receiued; the Romaines themselues yeelding vnto them; and [c] likewise the Actes of the Fourth Generall Councell, wherein the Decree of equalling the Bishop of *Constantinople*, to the Bishop of *Rome*, and preferring him before the other Patriarches

[c] *Vide Actorum Conciliorum.*

archies, passing without the consent of the Bishop of *Romes* Legates; and resisted by the Bishops of the West, yet preuailed in the end, & forced the *Romane* Bishop to yeeld vnto it. For after the time of *Iustinian* the Emperour, none of the Bishops of *Rome* was euer found to contradict it any more. So, that to conclude & resolue this poinct, euen as no Chapter-act is good, wherin the meaneſt (hauing voyce in Chapter) is refuſed, neglected, or contemned; and much leſſe, wherein hee that is Chiefeſt and Preſident is contemned: and as the Actes of Prouinciall Synodes are voyde, wherein the meaneſt Suffragan is not called and expected; ſo there is no queſtion, but that all the Actes of Generall Councels are voyde, wherein the Bishop of *Rome*, ſo long as hee continueth Catholique, and keepeth his owne ſtanding, is not ſpecially aboue all other expected and deſired. But, as things may paſſe in theſe aſſemblies; without their conſent, whoſe preſence is ſo neceſſarily to bee ſought (as wee ſee in Prouinciall Synodes the *maior* part ſwayeth all, and the Metropolitane hath no negatiue,) ſo in a Generall Councell, things may paſſe by the conſent of the greater part, not onely without the conſent, but euen againſt the liking of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Bishops.

In the Sixt and Seauenth Generall Councels, the Bishop of *Romes* Legates, and Vice-gerents, (in a ſort) had the Preſidentſhip: yet ſo, as that *Tharaſius* Bishop of *Conſtantinople*, rather perſormed the duty of a Moderator and Preſident in the Seauenth, then they; as it will eaſily appeare to any one that will but take a view of the Acts of that Synode. So that we finde, that neither the Bishop of *Rome* had the Preſidentſhip in all Councels, nor that there was any certaine and vniforme courſe holden in giuing the preheminences to the chiefe Bishops, in the firſt ſeuen Generall Councels. For in the Councel of *Nice*, *Hoſius* doth firſt ſubſcribe: after him, the Preſbyters, that ſupplied the place of the Bishop of *Rome*: then *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*: the Bishop of *Ieruſalem*, after all the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Thebais* & *Lybia*, and the Bishop of *Antioch* after all theſe, & the Bishops of *Paleſtina*, & *Phœnicia* alſo, and yet he ſat in the higheſt place on the right ſide. In the ſecond, neither the Bishop of *Rome*, nor any Weſterne Bishops were preſent; the firſt that ſubſcribed was *Nectarius*, the next *Timothy* of *Alexandria* & after him *Dorotheus*, then *Cyrill* of *Ieruſalem*, & *Meletius* of *Antioch* after him, and after, all the Bishops of *Paleſtina* & *Phœnicia*. In the third, *Cyrill* ſubſcribed firſt, and after him *Iuuenall* Bishop of *Ieruſalem*, but *Iohn* of *Antioch* came not before the condemnation of *Neſtorius* Bishop of *Conſtantinople* (to which they ſubſcribed) was paſt. In the fourth, after the condemnation of *Dioſcorus* Bishop of *Alexandria*: Firſt the Legates of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* ſubſcribed: then *Anatolius* Bishop of *Conſtantinople*: after him the Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Iuuenall* Bishop of *Ieruſalem*, almoſt after all the Bishops in the Synode, though in the order of ſitting he was placed in the fifth place; but where they ſubſcribe to the Decree touching matter of faith, he ſubſcribeth in the fourth place, after *Rome*, *Conſtan-*

u See the acts of thoſe Councels.

Constantinople & Antioch. To the act for aduancing the see of Constantinople, and setting it before the rest of the Patriarchicall thrones next to Rome, the Legates of the Bishoppe of Rome subscribe not, but *Anatolius* Bishop of Constantinople in the first place; after him, *Maximus* of Antioch; and in the third place, *Iuuenal* of Ierusalem.

In the fifth, they sate and subscribed in this sort: First, *Eutyches*, Bishoppe of Constantinople, then *Apollinarius* of Alexandria, after him *Dominus* of Antioch, and last of all the Legates of *Eustochius* of Ierusalem: for the Bishop of Rome was not there in person nor by his Legates. In the sixth, the Emperour sate in the highest place in the middest: His great men, and the Consulls sate by him: on the left side the Legates of the Bishoppe of Rome, the Vicars of the Bishop of Ierusalem, and the Bishops that were present out of the Romaine Synode. On the right side, sate first, the Bishop of Constantinople, next him the Bishoppe of Antioch, then hee that supplyed the place of the Bishoppe of Alexandria, and so in order the Bishoppes subiect to them: yet in subscribing, the Bishoppe of Rome was first, Constantinople second, Alexandria third, Antioch fourth, and Ierusalem last. In the seauenth, the Legates of *Adrian* Bishoppe of Rome had the first place, and subscribed first: after them the Bishop of Constantinople, *Tharasius*; and then they that supplied the roomes of the other three Patriarchicall thrones. But *Tharasius* rather performed the duty of a President and Moderator, then the Legate of Rome, as I shewed before.

These are all the Generall Councells that the Greeke & Latine Churches ioyntly acknowledge; and by this view which wee haue taken of them wee may see how diuersly things haue bene carryed, both concerning the Presidentship in Generall Councels, and the preheminences of the chiefe Bishoppes in the same. Yet, as the Grecians were content in the [x] Councell of Florence, that the Bishoppe of Rome should haue all such preheminences againe, as hee had before the diuision of the Churches, other matters might bee agreed on: So, if the Bishoppe of Rome would disclaime his clayme of vniuersall iurisdiction, of infallible iudgement, of power to dispose at his pleasure the Kingdomes of the World, & would content himselfe with that all Antiquity gaue him, which is to be in order and honour the first among Bishoppes, wee would easily grant him to be in such sort President of Generall Councels, as to sit and speak first in such meetings: but to be an absolute Commander, we cannot yeeld vnto him.

[x] *Sessione vltima.*

Cardinal [y] *Turrecremata* rightly noteth, that the Presidentshippe of Councels, wherof men do speake, is of two sorts; the one of honor, the other of power. Presidentshippe of honour is to haue preheminence of place, to propose thinges to bee debated, to direct the actions, and to giue definitiue sentence, according to the voyces and iudgement of the Counc-

[y] *Sum. d. Ecclesia. li. 3. cap. 23.*

Councell. Presidentship of power, is to haue the right, not onely of di-
recting, but of ruling, their dooings also that are assembled in Councell,
and to conclude of matters after his owne iudgment, though the greater
part of the Councell like it nor, yea though no part like it, a President-
ship of the former sort, Antiquity yeelded to the Bishop of Rome, when
there was not wanting to himselfe. And if there were no other differences
betweene vs and him, wee also would yeeld it him; But the latter kinde
of Presidentship wee cannot yeeld, vnlesse wee ouer-throw the whole
vse of Councells, and goe against the streame of all Antiquity. This
seemeth (saith [t] *Duarenus*) to bee consonant vnto the Lawe of God,
that the Church, which the Synode doth represent, should haue the ful-
nesse of all power, and that the Pope should acknowledge him-selfe sub-
iect vnto it. For Christ did not giue the power of binding and loosing,
to *Peter* alone, whose successor the Pope is sayd to bee, but to the whole
Church: Although I doe not deny, but that hee was set before the rest of
the Apostles; yet so often as any one was to bee ordained, eyther Bishop
or Deacon or any thing to bee decreed, that concerned the Church, *Peter*
neuer tooke it to him-selfe, but referred it to the whole Church. But
herein did his preheminence stand and consist, that as Prince of the Apo-
stles it pertained to him to call the rest together, and to propose vnto
them the things that were to bee handled; as with vs at this day the
President of the Court of Parliament calleth together the whole Se-
nate, and when occasion requireth, beginneth first to speake, and doth
many other things, which easily shew the greatnesse of the person which
he sustaineth; and yet notwithstanding hee is not greater or superior
to the whole Court; neither hath hee power ouer all the Senators; nei-
ther may he decree any thing contrary to their iudgments. But the iudg-
ment of all controuersies, pertaineth to the Court it selfe, whose head
the President is sayd to bee; nay, which is more, the Court commandeth,
iudgeth, and punisheth the President as well as any other, if there bee
cause so to doe.

[t] *De sacris eccles. minist. & benef. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

And these things truely were likewise in the Ecclesiasticall state here-
tofore, but I know not by what meanes it is now brought about, that su-
preme power ouer all Christians is giuen to one, and that hee is set free
from all Lawes and Canons, after the example of the Emperors. This is the
iudgment of learned and worthy *Duarenus*: yet the Iesuites, and Iesuited
Papists at this day, will needs haue the Pope to bee President of Generall
Councels, in such sort, that hee may conclude of matters after his owne
iudgment and liking, though the greater part of the Councell like it not,
yea, though no part like it. But this their conceit is easily refuted; first, by
reason, & then by the practise of the Church from the beginning. For first,
whether Bishops are assembled in Generall Councels, onely as the Popes
Councellers to giue him aduise; or they are in ioynt Commission with

him, and sit as his fellow Iudges of all matters of faith and discipline. I
onely as Counsellers to aduise him, Councels should not consist onely o
principally of Bishops. For, as they say commonly, that many a doting ol
woman may be more deuout, and many a poore begging Fryer more lea
ned then the Pope him-selfe: so there is no question, but that many othe
may be as learned and iudicious as Bishops, [a] *though* (saith *Austine*) *ac-*
cording to the titles of honour, which the custome of the Church giueth men
Austine *a Bishop be greater then* Hierome *a Presbyter, yet* Hierome *in worth*
and merit is greater then Austine. In the late Councell of *Trent*, there i
no question, but that *Andradius*, *Vega*, & other Doctors that were there
were euery way comparable with the greatest Bishop or Cardinall; ye
Bishops onely as of ordinary right, and some few other, by speciall pri
uiledge, gaue decisiue voyces in that Councell: other, how learned so
euer, beeing admitted onely to discusse and debate matters, and thereb
to prepare and ripen them, that the Bishops might more easily iudge o
them: and therefore the current of most Papists is against that conceit o
making Bishops to be but the Popes Counsellers onely, as appeareth b
[b] *Andradius*, [c] *Canus*, [d] *Bellarmine*, and many moe. That Bishops (sai
Melchior Canus) are not Counsellers onely to aduise, but Iudges to de
termine all matters doubtfull touching Faith and Manners; may easily b
prooued by the proceedings of all ancient Councels. For the Fathers o
the *Nicene* Councell, desire *Syluester* to confirme what they haue decreed
and *Leo* professeth, that he approueth all those things which the Council
of *Chalcedon* decreed touching the Faith: and the Councell it selfe speak
ing to *Leo* saith, *Honour our iudgment with the concurrence of thy Decree*
And the Sixt [f] Generall Councell saith: *Wee anathematize Theodorus*
Sergius, Syrus, &c. And a little after: *All these things beeing determined by*
this holy Councell, and confirmed by our constant subscription, wee decree
that no man make any further adoe about matters of Faith, &c. Are these
the words of him that onely giueth aduice and councell? or of him that
iudgeth and determineth what shall be beleeued and done? and in all the
rest, the Fathers speake not as Counsellers that are to aduise, but as Iudges
that haue power to determine: For the third Chapter of the *Nicene* Sy
node hath thus: *The great Synode hath altogether forbidden, &c.*

Thus farre *Melchior Canus*, learnedly and strongly prooving, tha
Bishops are not present in Generall Councels, as the Popes Counsellers
to aduise him, but as Iudges together with him to define and determine
which if it bee granted, wee may easily in the second place proone, tha
the Pope may not determine things of him-selfe contrary to the iudg
ments of all the rest. For though, the chiefe President of a Company
may haue a **negatiue** voyce, against the affirmatiue of all the rest, ye
neuer was there any company of Iudges, hauing power to iudge
and determine, wherein one might not onely dashe what the re
agree

[a] *Augustin. epist. 19. ad Hieron.*

[b] *De Gener. Concil. authoritate. lib. 1. pag. 46. & 47.*
[c] *Loc. Theologi. lib. 5. cap. 5.*
[d] *De Concilijs lib. 1 cap. 18.*
[e] *Loco citato.*

[f] *Actio. 18.*

greed on, but determine also what hee pleased, though none concurred with him; when in any commission some, certaine number of men may determine and resolue, and none hath power to contradict, they are absolutely Iudges, & the power of iudging resteth wholy in them, their whē in solutions they may be so gain-said by others, that yet others can do nothing without them, they are Iudges in part, and the power of iudging resteth in part in them. But when another may dash what they consent to, and do what hee pleaseth, whatsoeuer they say to the contrary, they may bee in the nature of Counsellers to aduise, but not of Iudges to determine. For wheresoeuer there are many Iudges, either the power of determining, both affirmatiuely and negatiuely, resteth in the *Maior* part, or else any one hath an absolute negatiue, and onely the concurrence of all an affirmatiue, as in Iuries heere in England; or thirdly, either one man, or some certaine men haue their negatiue, and the affimatiue is onely in the *Maior* part: and therefore it is most fond and friuolous, that *Canus* saith in answer to this our argument; for whereas we say, if Bishoppes bee Iudges, the Pope may not resolue against the *Maior* part of them, [g] hee hath these words, I deny that it is necessary to follow the iudgement of the *Maior*, part when wee treat of matters of Faith, neither do wee heere measure the sentence by the number of voyces, as in humaine elections or iudgements; Knowing that oftentimes it comes to passe, that the greater Part doth ouer-come the better; that those thinges are not alwaies best, which please most; and that in things which pertaine to doctrine, the iudgement of the wise is to bee preferred, and the wise are exceeding few, whereas there is an infinite number of fooles.

[g] *Canus loco citato. pag. 164.*

Foure hundred Prophets did lye vnto *Achab*, but the truth came out of the mouth of one *Michaas* alone, and hee very contemptible, and therefore the Iudgements of Diuine thinges are not to be moderated by humaine reasons: The Lord saueth & deliuereth, sometimes, sooner with a few then with many. This saying of *Canus* is contrary to all course of Iudgment in the world, and contradicted by his owne fellow and friend Cardinal [h] *Bellarmine*, who saith, that in Councels, things are to be caried by number of voyces, and not by disputation; that in the Counsell mentioned in the *Actes*, the question was defined by the voyces of the Apostles: and that in the Councell of [i] *Chalcedon* the ten Bishoppes of *Egypt* were condemned as Heretickes, because they yeelded not to the *Maior* part of that Councell.

[h] *Lib. 1. de Concilijs. cap. 18.*

[i] *Actione. 4.*

Thus doth he crosse his fellow *Canus*. But let not *Canus* be offended with him for so doing; for he will presently crosse him-selfe also: for I hope he thinketh the Bishops of *Egypt* were rightly iudged Heretikes for refusing to subscribe to the Iudgement of the *Maior* part of Bishops in the Councell of *Chalcedon* (seeing hee bringeth this censure to proue that the determinations of Councells do bind the conscience) and then it will follow,

follow, that the greater part of Bishops in a Generall Councell cannot erre; which yet hee presently denieth, [k] and saith the greater part of this Councell did erre, and resolued that which was reuersed by the Pope. If hee say that those ten Bishops of *Ægypt*, refused to subscribe to that which was agreed on by the *maior* part with the Legates of *Rome*, and that therefore they might iustly bee iudged Heretickes, as contradicting the Iudgment of them that cannot erre, it standeth no better with his resolution [l] else where, that the *Maior* part of Bishops in a Generall Councell, with the Legates, may erre. But passing by these Contradictions and absurdities of the Cardinall, let vs see if he can cleare this doubt any better, which hath so much troubled *Canus*. For the auoyding of this one poore argument, hee is forced to diuide the Pope, as otherwise finding no meanes to escape the force thereof. [m] The Pope therefore (he saith) may bee considered two wayes; either as hee is President of a Councell, & so he is tied to follow the *Maior* part, or as he is chiefe Prince in the Church, and so he may go against the *Maior* part, and resolue what hee pleaseth of himselfe: and yet this deuided consideration no way deuideth or breaketh the force of our argument, but leaueth it intyre and whole as it found it. For wee seeke not the difference betweene a President and a chiefe and absolute Prince, but whether the Bishops sitting in Councell with the Pope, bee his fellow Iudges, or not: which they cannot bee, if hee may not onely dash what they would doe, but also doe what hee pleaseth with-out them. And besides this, if the Pope doe sit in Generall Councels as President, and so as bound to pronounce according to the *Maior* part of voyces in all Decrees, then hee sitteth not there as absolute Prince, hauing power not onely to dash what others would doe, but also to doe what hee pleaseth of him-selfe with-out them, and contrary to their iudgments; and so cannot define and determine contrary to the iudgment and resolution of the *Maior* part.

[k] *Eodem Capite.*

[l] *Lib.2.de Concil.cap.11.*

[m] *Lib.1.de Concilijs. cap.18.*

The onely answer that may bee imagined to this obiection, is, that as inferior Iudges may determine a thing, which yet by a superior authority may bee reuersed, and the contrary decreed, so the Bishops in a Generall Councell, as Iudges, may decree and determine, and yet the power of re-examining and reuersing all, if neede bee, may rest in the Pope as superior Iudge vnto them, which yet no way cleareth the doubt. For how-so-euer it bee true in Iudges and Iudgments, distinct, separate, and subordinate one to another, that one may dash that the other doth, and do the contrary without the consent of the other, yet of Iudges ioyned in one Commission and of the same iudgment it cannot be so conceiued.

Now the Iudgement of the Generall Councell includeth in it the Iudgement of the Pope; the Pope and Councell make one Iudge, and are not seperate, distinct, and subordinate Iudges, and therefore no such thing can bee sayd of them. If it bee sayd, that

that he who is ioined in Commission with others, in some inferiour court, and hath a Negatiue voyce in it onely, and no absolute affirmatiue, may in a superior Court haue both, and that therefore the Pope, who hath no absolute voyce affirmatiue and negatiue in a Generall Councell, may haue such a voyce in some higher Court, it will be found to bee too shameleſſe a saying. For, there neither is, nor can bee any higher Court then that of a Generall Councell consisting of the Bishoppe of *Rome*, and all the other Bishops of the world. So that all answeres failing, we may safely conclude that if Bishops be Iudges Ecclesiasticall, truely and properly, (as we haue proued them to be by vn-answerable reasons, and our aduersaries confesse) the Pope hath no absolute voyce affirmatiue and negatiue in Generall Councells, that is, to dash what the Maior part would doe, and to do that they by no meanes like of. This [n] *Andradius* saw, and therefore he disclaimeth the Position of *Bellarmine* [o] that all the assurance the Councell hath of finding out the truth, is Originally in the Pope, and from him communicated to the Councell: and holdeth that the Councell hath as good assurance of finding out the truth, and better then the Pope himselfe. And therefore he sayth, that though hee thinketh it impossible the Pope should dissent from the Councell, so as to define contrary to it, yet, if it should so fall out (as hee thinketh it not impossible) that the Bishop of *Rome* should altogether dislike in his opinion, that which the Councell resolueth on, and which he should consent vnto, and (though hee define not the contrary) yet despise the Decrees of the Councell, and in his priuate opinion gaine-say them; hee thinketh in such a case, men were to conceiue none other-wise of him, then if hee should depart from the faith and profession of the ancient Councells, which the consent of all ages hath confirmed, and [p] *Gregory* professeth to honour and esteeme as the foure Gospells, seeing the power and authory is as great in all Councells as in those which the same *Gregory* saith, that, *whosoeuer houldeth not their certaine resolutions, though he seeme to be a stone elect & precious, yet he lyeth besides the foundation.* And, because the authority of Cardinal *Turrecremata* is great with all those that defend the dignity of the Pope against the Bishoppes that were assembled in the Councell of *Basil*, and such as are of their iudgement, therefore hee produceth his opinion in these words: if such a Case should fall out (saith Cardinall [q] *Turrecremata*) that all the Fathers assembled in a Generall Councell with vnanimous consent, should make a decree concerning the faith, which the person of the Pope alone should contradict, I would say according to my iudgement, that men were bound to stand to the iudgement of the Synode, & not to listen to the gaine-saying of the Person of the Pope: for the iudgement of so many and so great Fathers in a Generall Councell, seemeth worthily to be preferred before the iudgement of one man. In which case that Glosse

[n] *Lib. 1. de General. Concil. authoritate.*

[o] *De Pontif. li. 4. cap. 3.*

[p] *Lib. 1. Epistolarum cap. 4. & 24.*

[q] *De Pont. mag. Generalium & Concil. authoritate ad Basilien. oratorem. Resp. num. 67. & 68.*

vpon the Decrees is most excellent, that when the faith is treated of, the Pope is bound to require the Councell of Bishops, which is to bee vnderstood to be necessary to be done, as often as the case is very doubtfull, and a Synode may be called, and then the Synode is greater then the Pope; not truely in the power of Iurisdiction, but in the authority of discerning, iudgement, and the amplitude of knowledge. This is the opinion of this great Champion, who so mainely in defence of the Popes vniuersall iurisdiction, impugned the Fathers, that were assembled in the Councell of *Basil*. Whereby it is euident, that the Pope may not go against the consent of a Generall Councell, and that he may not dissent from it, being greater in the authority of discerning iudgement then he is; and consequently that he hath no negatiue voyce in Councells. Which may further be proued; for that if he had a negatiue voyce, as the Councell hath, then were there two absolute negatiues: but where there are two absolute negatiues, it is vncertaine whether any thing shall bee resolued on or not, (whereas yet the state of the Church requireth resolution and certaine concluding of matters, that men may know what they are to beleeue.) Therefore the Pope hath none, but, the only negatiue is that of the Councell, a part whereof the Pope is, giuing a voyce as others do. And this the manner of other Synodes confirmeth. For in Prouinciall, Nationall, and Patriarchical Councels, the Metropolitanes, Primates, and Patriarches haue no absolute negatiue, but giue only a single voice: and the absolute negatiue, as also the affirmatiue, is onely in the *Maior* part; and as Cardinall *Turrecremata*. learnedly and rightly maketh the authority of the General Councel, in discerning & defining what is to be beleeued, greater then the authority of the Pope; and that the Councell is rather to bee listened vnto, then the Pope, dissenting from the Councell; so there is no doubt, but that (the authority of Councells being as great in making necessary lawes for the good of the Church, as in resoluing doubts and clearing controuersies) the Councell is greater then the Pope in the power of making Lawes, and consequently in the power of Iurisdiction; which he denyeth, and they of Basill affirme. The greatest allegation on the contrary side, is the confirmation that auncient Councells sought of the Bishop of *Rome*: for that may seeme to import, that their decrees are of no force, vnlesse they be strengthned by his authority: where-vnto [r] *Andradius* answereth out of [s] *Alfonsus à Castro* and others, that Generall Councells carefully sought to bee confirmed by the Bishoppe of *Rome*, not as if in themselues without his confirmation they were weake and might erre, nor for that they thought him to haue as much or more assurance of not erring then they; but that it might appeare, that hee that hath the first place in the Church of GOD, and the rest did consent and conspire together in the deliuery and the defence of the truth. But because happily this answere may seeme so

[r] *Vbi Suprà.*
[s] *De iusta Heret. punitione lib. 1. cap. 6.*

too weake, therefore for the clearing of this doubt, wee must obserue, that all the ancient Councels were holden in the East, and that in some of them, neither the Bishop of *Rome* : nor any of his Westerne Bishops were present, and in others very few: For, there were onely three out of the West, in the name of all the rest, in the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, wherein 630. Bishops met. Now, seeing the authority of Generall Councells is from the consent of all other Bishops of the Christian Church, as well as those that meete in them, it was necessary that the Bishop of *Rome*, as Patriarch of the West, and the Bishops subiect to him, though they were no more infallible in iudgement then the other, yet should by consenting with the rest, confirme that was done; seeing they were not present to giue consent when it was done. If it bee sayd, that in diuerse of them, there were some for the Bishop of *Rome*, and some in the name of the Synodes subiect to him, who hauing instructions from them, gaue consent in their names, and that therefore there needed no further confirmation, it will bee easily answered.

First, that it was possible for those Legates, being but few, to forsake their instructions, and to doe contrary to them, as [t] *Rodoaldus* and *Zachary* the Legates of Pope *Nicholas* did in the Councell vnder *Michaell* the Emperour, wherein *Photius* was set vp, and *Ignatius* put down. Secondly, that [u] it was not necessary, that the Fathers should wholy follow those instructions that they brought, and absolutely agree vnto them : and therefore when things were concluded, it was fitte there should bee a signifying of that which was done, and a desire of the confirmation of the same. Thirdly, some things might be concluded, to which the instructions reached not, and in respect of them, a confirmation was necessary : as the Councell of [x] *Chalcedon* decreed certaine things without the compasse of *Leos* instructions, and therefore sought his confirmation. Besides all this, wee must note that the confirmation which the ancient Councells sought, was not from the person of the Bishop of *Rome* alone, but from him and his Synodes, as I haue prooued before: And [y] *Bellarmine* himselfe confesseth; saying, that in the Second and Third Synodes, there were no Bishops of the West present, but that the Bishop of *Rome* in his owne name, and in the name of the Bishops, and Synodes subiect to him, did confirme them. So that this confirming of Councells by the Pope, proueth no more that he is infallible in iudgment, or that all the assurance of finding out the truth is originally in him, and from him communicated to Generall Councells; then that all the Bishops and Synodes subiect to him, are free from possibility of erring; and that Nationall or Prouinciall Synodes in the West, are more infallible in their iudgments, then those that are Generall in the East. The next allegation to proue that the Councell is nothing without the Pope, is, that a promise was made to *Peter*, that [z] *his faith*

[t] *Vt patet in Epist. Nicolai ad Patriarchas.*

[u] *Bellarm. de Conciliis. lib. 2. cap. 11.*

[x] *Act. ione. 3.*

[y] *De Conciliis lib. 1. cap. 17.*

[z] Luke. 22. 32.

faith should not faile, but that no promise was made to the Councell that
Matth. 18.20 promise of Christ, [a] *that where two or three are gathered together in his name, hee will bee in the middest of them*, being no way proper to Councells and Bishops, [b] having no authority when they are assembled, which they haue not when they are single and deuided. This allegation is contradictory to the resolution, and contrary to the practise of all times. For first, that promise of Christ, *that where two or three are gathered together in his name, hee will bee in the middest of them*, was euer thought to assure his presence in a lawfull Generall Councell, in very speciall sort, and otherwise then any where else; and that vpon very good ground of reason, for if God be present with priuate men, meeting together in his feare about the things that concerne them, and with a few particular Pastors of Churches, for the direction of them in things that concerne them, there is no question but in Generall meetings, wherein all the variety of the gifts of God, bestowed on men, is gathered together, and things concerning the state of the whole Christian Church treated of, hee is present in most peculiar sort and manner.

[b] *Bellar. lib. 2. de Concilijs cap. 16.*

Secondly, though Christ the sonne of God, gaue no authority to the whole vniuersality of Christian men, and therein the Church and Common-wealth may seeme to differ, yet he gaue Commission to the Generality of Pastors, more then to each one apart, and being assembled, they haue that power which seuerally they haue not, as to ordaine, iudge, suspend, and depose Pastors and Bishops. And howsoeuer, in each Prouince the rest are to know him that is the first among them, and to doe nothing pertaining to the whole Prouince, with-out consulting him first, yet may hee doe nothing without them. And as this is the Canon and Law of the Church in particular Prouinces, so in Churches of larger extent, comprehending whole Countries, subiect to one Patriarch, and much more in the whole Church, wherein there is no one hauing so much power in respect of the rest, as the Metropolitane hath, in respect of the Bishops of the Prouince; and the Patriarche, in respect of the Metropolitanes. For the Bishops are to be ordayned by the Metropolitane, and the Metropolitanes are to be ordained, or at least confirmed by the Patriarch; whereas among the Patriarches, there is no one, to whome it pertaineth to ordaine the rest, or to confirme them in any speciall sort, or otherwise then they are to confirme him.

Thus then it beeing prooued by conuincing reasons, and the confession, not onely of such Papists as make the Pope among Bishopps to bee but as the Duke of *Venice* among the great Senators of that State (greater then each one, but inferiour to the whole company of them) but of such also as attribute much more vnto him; that hee hath no such Presidentship in Generall Councells, as that he

hee may determine what hee will against the liking of all, or the greater part of Bishoppes, but that he is bound to follow the greater part; and that Generall Councels are of force, not from the absolute authority of the Pope, onely aduising with other Bishoppes, but from their consents as well as his: Let vs proceed to see if the practise of former times proue not the same.

I finde (saith [c] *Cusanus*) that in all the first Eight General Councells, the Popes, or the Legates of the Popes, (for them-selues were neuer present in person) did euer subscribe in the very same sort that the other Bishoppes did, without note of any singularity. For euery Bishoppe was wont to subscribe in this forme, *Annuens, vel consentiens, vel statuens, vel definiens, subscripsi*: and this was the forme the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* obserued. But (saith *Cusanus*) that no man may doubt, but that all things were determined by the ioynt consent of such as met in Generall Councels, and not by the sole authority of the Bishoppe of *Rome* alone, we find in the Actes of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, that *Dioscorus* being the third time warned to appeare, and refusing so to doe, *Paschasinus* the Legate of *Leo* the Pope, said vnto the Synode, *We desire to learne of your Holynesse, what punishment he is worthy off.* To whome the Synode answering, *let that bee done, that is agreeable to the Canons*: Paschasinus *said, Doth your religiousnesse or reuerend worthinesse command vs to vse Canonicall vengeance against him? Do you consent? or doe you resolue otherwise?* The holy Synode said, *wee consent, none dissenteth. This is the agreeing and consenting will of the whole Synode.*

[c] *Concor. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 8.*

Iulian the Bishop of *Hypepa* said to the Legates of *Leo*; We desire your Holynes, in that you are more eminent then the rest, hauing the place of ȳ most holy Pope *Leo*, to pronounce the sentence of iust vengeance against this contumacious person, the Canons requiring the same. For, wee all, and the whole Synode agree to the sentence of your Holynesse. *Paschasinus* said, *Let what pleaseth your Blessednesse bee pronounced with vnanimous consent.* *Maximus* of *Antioch* said, *what your Holynesse thinketh fit to be done, wee consent vnto.*

After this the Apostolicall Legates pronounced the sentence, whereby *Leo* the Pope had deposed and condemned *Dioscorus*, and then added, *Let not this holy Synode be slacke to determine what is agreeable to the Canons touching Dioscorus.* Where-vppon, *Anatolius* of *Constantinople*, and euery Bishoppe in the Councell gaue sentence against him, saying, *I iudge him to bee reiected from all Sacerdotall and Episcopal Ministery.*

Heere (saith *Cusanus*) the Reader may see, that the Apostolicall Legates (because they haue the first place in the Councell) pronounce the sentence, and yet no otherwise, but if the Councell command them so to doe; that all in order pronounce sentence likewise; and that the force of the sentence dependeth on the vnity and consent of will in them that are

present

presēt. Neyther is this course obserued onely in Generall Councells; but that, in those also that were Patriarchicall the other Bishops subscribed, in the very same forme, that the Bishoppe of *Rome* did, it is euident. For, in the Councell vnder Pope *Martine*, before the sixt Generall Councell, *Martine* subscribed in this sort.

I Martine, *Bishoppe of the Citty of Rome, decreeing and determining, haue subscribed to this definition of Confirmation of the true faith and condemnation of* Sergius *of Constantinople*, Pyrrhus *and* Paulus: And in the very same sort subscribed *Maximus* of *Aquileia*, defining and confirming the true Faith, and condemning the Heretikes: And so did a hundred and three Bishoppes more. And in the Councell vnder *Symmachus*, we read, that ỹ Synode sayd: what-soeuer Clearke, Monke or Layman, eyther of the superior or inferior order, shall presume to go against these decrees, lette him by the sentence of the Canon be reiected as a Schismatike. And the Bishopps subscribed thus.

I Symmachus, *of the holy Catholike Church of the Citty of Rome, haue subscribed to this Constitution made by vs, by the inspiration of the LORD.*

I Lawrence, *Bishoppe of the Church of* Millaine *haue subscribed to this Constitution made by vs. &c.* And so the rest in order.

In the Councell of *Affrica*, *Gennadius* said, *Wee must by our seuerall subscriptions giue force and strength to the things wee haue spoken*: And all the Bishoppes said, *Fiat, fiat*, that is, *Let vs so do.* So the Vicars of old *Rome* said in the Eight Generall Councell: *Seeing by the happy prouidence of God all things are come to a good end, wee must by subscription giue strength to that which is done.* And the like we finde in the end and conclusion of all Councels: [d] whereby it appeareth, that the strength, vigour, & force of all Canons made in Councels, is from the vniforme consent of them that haue voyces in Councels, and not from the Pope, or head of such assemblies.

[d] *Hactenus ex Cusano. Loco Citato.*

In the [e] Councel of *Chalcedon* we find that a forme of a Decree touching the faith was agreed on by al, besides the *Romaines*, and certaine of the East, who would haue some things added out of the Epistles of *Leo*. The Bishops vrged, that all had liked and approued that forme the day before, and that it did confirme the Epistle of *Leo*, which they all had receiued; and desired the Iudges, that all might be cast out of the Synode that would not subscribe.

[e] *Actione. 5.*

The Vicars of *Rome* on the contrary side, told thē, that if they would not consent to the Epistle of *Leo*, they would returne, that a Synode might be holden in the West; and the Iudges commanded them to come to some conference, a certaine selected number of them; or else to declare their Faith by their seuerall Metropolitaines, that so there might remaine no further doubt or discord; and told them, that if they would follow none of these courses, nor agree to make a certaine Decree touching the true

Faith

ſuith, a Synode ſhould bee holden in the Weſt.

So, that wee ſee, that without the concurrence of the other Biſhops, nothing could bee done by the *Romaines* and thoſe of the Eaſt: that there was no other remedy, in caſe they would not haue agreed, in determining the doubts then no foote, but to call another Synode, wherein a greater number of the Weſterne Biſhops might bee preſent; So that the Pope was not at that time reputed an abſolute Commander in Generall Councels.

CAHP. 51.

Of the aſſurance of finding out the Truth, which the Biſhops aſſembled in Generall Councells haue.

Auing ſhewed who haue deciſiue voyces in Generall Councels, what preſence of Biſhops is neceſſary to the beeing of them, what order is to bee obſerued in their proceedings, who is Preſident in them, and what his authority is; it remayneth that wee proceed to ſee what aſſurance they haue of finding out the Truth, and who is to cal them.

Touching the firſt of theſe two; ſome haue beene of opinion, that the Biſhopps and Fathers in Councells are ſo guided by the Spirit of Truth, that their Decrees and determinations may bee ioyned to the Canonical Scripture, and reckoned parts of it.

This poſition *Melchior* [a] *Canus* ſayth, a man excellently learned, and that had ſo profited in Diuinity, that hee might bee thought match-able with great and eminent Diuines, feared not to hold in his hearing: and addeth, that [b] *Gratian* ſeemeth to haue bene of the ſame opinion, where hee affirmeth, that the Decretall Epiſtles of Popes are Canonicall Scripture, and alledgeth *Auſtine* for proofe thereof. But the ſame *Canus* reiecteth that opinion as abſurd, and ſheweth that *Gratian* miſtooke Saint *Auſtine*.

For, whereas Saint *Auſtine* hath theſe wordes, [c] *In Canonicis ſcripturis Eccleſiarum Catholicarum quamplurium authoritatem ſequatur: inter quas ſanè illæ ſunt, quæ Apoſtolicas ſedes habere & epiſtolas accipere meruerunt.* That is: In reckoning the bookes of Canonicall Scripture, lette the diligent ſearcher of the Scriptures follow the authority of the greater number of Catholike Churches: Among which they truly which were ſo happy, as to haue Apoſtolike ſeats, & to receiue Epiſtles frō Apoſtles, are ſpecially and principally to be regarded. *Gratian* citeth the place thus; *In Canonicis ſcripturis Eccleſiarum Catholicarum quam plurimum ſcripturarum ſolertiſſimus indagator authoritatem ſequatur: inter quas ſanè illa*

[a] *Locor. Theologic. lib. 5. cap. 5.*

[b] *Diſt. 19. ca. In Canonicis.*

[c] *Aug. de Doct. trin. Chriſt. li. 2. cap. 8.*

ille sunt quas Apostolica sedes habere, et ab eâ alii meruerunt accipere epistolas. So that whereas Saint *Austine* saith, that in reckoning the Canonical bookes of Scripture, a man must follow the authority of the greater number of Catholicke Churches, and among them especially such, as either had Apostolicall seates, as *Ierusalem* and the like; or receiued Epistles from some of the Apostles, as did the Churches of *Corinth* and *Galatia*; *Gratian* maketh him say, that the Epistles, which the Apostolical Sea receiued, or other receiued of it, are to bee reckoned among Canonicall Scriptures.

This ouer-sight of [d] *Gratian*, *Picus Mirandula* long since obserued, and after him [e] *Alfonsus a Castro*: whereby we may see, how easie it was for men in former times to runne into most grosse errors, before the reuiuing of learning in these latter times, while the blinde did lead the blinde. For *Gratian* was the man, out of whome the [f] greatest Diuines of former times tooke all their authorities of Fathers and Councells, as appeareth by their marginal quotations. And how ignorantly and negligently he mistooke them, and misalledged them, this one example is proofe sufficient.

But what-soeuer we thinke of *Gratian*, wee shall finde that not onely our Diuines, but the best learned among our aduersaries also, put a great difference betweene the sacred scriptures of the holy Canon, and the Decrees of Councells. For, first they say, the Scripture is the word of God reuealed immediately, and written in a sort from his owne mouth; according to that of Saint *Peter*; [g] *The holy men of God spake as they were moued by the holy Ghost*: and that of Saint *Paul*; [h] *All scripture is by diuine inspiration*: which yet is not so to bee vnderstood, as if alwayes the holy Writers had had new reuelations, and had alwaies written that, which before they were ignorant off; for it is certaine that the Euangelists, *Mathew* and *Iohn*, wrote those things which they saw; and *Marke* and *Luke* those things which they heard from others, as *Luke* him-selfe confesseth in the beginning of his Gospel. But the holy Writers are therefore said to haue had immediate reuelation, and to haue written the words of God him-selfe; because eyther some new things, and not known before, were reuealed to them by God; or because God immediately inspired and moued the Writers to write those thinges which they had seene and heard, and directed them that they should not any way erre in writing: whereas Councels neyther haue, nor write immediate reuelations or wordes of God, but onely declare which is that word of God vttered formerly to the Prophets and Apostles, how it is to bee vnderstood, and what conclusions may bee deduced from it by discourse of reason.

Secondly, the holy Writers performed that which they did, without any further labour or trauel, then that, in writing & calling to mind what they

[d] *De fide et ordine credendi. Theorem.* 15.
[e] *Aduersus. Heres. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.
[f] *Turrecremata. lib.* 4. *summæ de ecclesia parte.* 2. *cap.* 9. *& Caietan. in lib. de primatu Rom. Ecclesiæ. cap.* 14. were misled in this point by *Gratian* as *Alphonsus* noteth.
[g] 2. Pet. 1. 21.
[h] 2. Tim. 3. 16.

ey had ſeene and heard ; but in Councels, the Biſhoppes and Fathers, ith great paine and trauel, ſeeke out the truth by diſcourſe, conference, eading, and deepe meditation : and therefore the holy Writers are wont attribute all to God only , and the Prophets were wont often to re-eate, *The Lord ſaith.*

Thirdly, in the Scriptures, not onely the whole ſentences, but euery ord pertayneth to Faith: for no word is therein vaine or ill placed. But Councels there are many diſputations going before reſolution, many aſons brought for confirmation of things reſolued on, many things ad-ed for explication and illuſtration, many things vttered *obiter*, and in paſ-ge, that men are not bound to admitte as true and right ; nay many ings are defined in Councels that men are not bound to ſtand vnto. For is the manner of Councels, ſometimes to define a thing as certainly and ndoubtedly true, pronouncing them Heretykes that thinke otherwiſe, d ſubiecting them to curſe and *Anathema*; and ſometimes as probable ely , and not certaine, as the [i] Councel of *Vienna* decreed, that it is ore probable, that both grace, and vertues accompanying grace, are in-ſed into Infants when they are baptized, then that they are not: and yet this no matter of Fayth in the Church of *Rome.*

[i] *Clementinâ vnicâ De Summa Trinitate & fide Catholica.*

Fourthly, in the ſcripture all things, (as well concerning particular per-ns, as in generallity) are vndoubtedly true. For, it is as certaine that *Peter* and *Paul* had the ſpirit of God, as that no man can bee ſaued with-ut the illumination and ſanctification of the Spirit : but in the determi-ations and decrees of Biſhoppes aſſembled in a Generall Councell it is ot ſo; for they may erre in iudging of the perſons of men, and therefore here is no abſolute certainty in the canonization of Saints, as both [k] *Tho-as* and [l] *Canus* do confeſſe.

[k] *Quodlibet. 9. art. vlt.*

[l] *Locorum Theol. li. 5. cap. 5. Citat etiam Antoninum. part. 3. tit. 12. cap. 8. Idem et Caietã. Opuſc. de indulgẽt ad Iulium. cap. 8.*

Fifthly, in Scriptures there are no precepts touching manners, either con-erning the whole Church, or any part of it, that are not right, equall, and uſt. But Councels may erre, if not in preſcribing things euil, in ſtead of ood , yet in preſcribing things not fitting nor expedient , if not to the hole Church, yet to ſome particular part of it, as not knowing the con-ition of things therein. Yea [m] ſome there are that thinke it not hereti-all to beleeue, that Generall Councells may preſcribe ſome lawes to the hole Church, that are not right, profitable , and iuſt; as to honour ſuch a ne for a Saint, who indeed is no Saint; to admit ſuch orders of Religious en as are not profitable ; to receiue the Communion onely in one kind, d the like.

[m] *Vide Canum Loco citato.*

And there are [n] many that confidently pronounce , that Generall ouncels may decree ſuch things as may breed inconuenience , and may nor of too great ſeuerity and auſterity, which the guides of the Church the execution of the ſame muſt bee forced to quallifie and temper. So hat the onely queſtion is , whether a Generall Councell may certainely

[n] *Andrad. de authoritate Concilior. li. 2. fol. 66.*

define

define any thing to be true in matter of faith, that is false; or commaund the doing of any acte as good and an acte of vertue, that indeed and in truth is an acte of sinne. Touching this point, there are that say, that all interpretations of Holy Scriptures agreed on in Generall Councels, and all resolutions of doubtes concerning things therein contayned proceed from the same Spirit from which the holy Scriptures were inspired; and that therefore Generall Councells cannot erre, eyther in the interpretation of Scripture, or resoluing of things doubtful concerning the faith. But these men should know, that [o] though the interpretations & resolutions of Bishops in Generall Councels, proceed from the same Spirit from which the Scriptures were inspired, yet not in the same sort, nor with like assurance of being free from mixture of error. For, the Fathers assembled in General Councels, doe not rely vppon immediate reuelation, in all their particular resolutions and determinations, as the Writers of the Bookes of holy Scripture did, but on their owne meditation, search and study, the generall assistance of Diuine grace concurring with them. That the Fathers assembled in Generall Councels rely not vppon any speciall and immediate reuelations, may easily bee proued by sundry good and effectuall reasons.

[o] Ockam. Dialog. lib. 3. primi tract. 3. part. cap. 8.

For first, whensoeuer wee hope to come to know any thing by speciall and immediate reuelation from God, wee vse not to betake our selues to study and meditation, but to prayer onely, and other good workes, or at least principally to these: Whence it is that *Daniell*, when hee hoped to obtaine of God the interpretation of *Nebuchadnezars* dreame by speciall and immediate reuelation, did not exhort his companions and consorts by study to search out the secret hee desired to know, but by prayer and supplication to seeke it of God. And after hee had found out the secret hee sought for, hee said, [p] *O God of my Fathers, I confesse vnto thee, and praise thee, because thou hast giuen mee wisedome and strength, and hast shewed vnto me those things which we desired of thee, & hast opened vnto vs the word of the King*: Whence also it is, that Christ promising his Apostles that hee would reueale vnto them what they should speake, when they should bee brought before Kinges and Rulers, willeth them *To* [q] *take no care how or what to speake, for that it should be reuealed vnto them in that houre, what they should speake; It is not you that speake* (saith our Sauiour) *but the spirit of my Father that speaketh in you.* When as therefore we hope to learne any thing of God by immediate reuelation, wee must not apply our selues to study, and meditation, but to prayer. But when men meete in Generall Councels, to determine any doubt or question, they principally giue themselues to meditation, study and search; therfore they hope not to be taught of God, by immediate reuelatiō. Secondly, when we desire to haue things made known vnto vs by immediate reuelation from God, we go not to them that are most learned, but to them that are most deuout and religious, whether they be learned,

[p] Dan. 2. 23.

[q] Math. 10. 19. & 20.

learned or vnlearned, whether of the Cleargy or the Laiety, whether men or women, because for the most part God reuealeth his secrets, not to them that are wiser and more learned, but to them that are better, and more religious & deuout; according to that of our Sauiour, [r] *I giue thee thankes O father, LORD of Heauen and earth, because thou hast hidde these thinges from the wise, and men of vnderstanding, and hast opened them vnto babes.* And therefore the [s] good King *Iosias*, when hee desired by reuelation to knowe the will of God touching the wordes of the volume that was found in the Temple, hee sent *Helkiah* the high Priest to *Huldah* the Propheteſſe, and sought not concerning the wordes of the Law among the Prieſtes, whoſe lippes are to preſerue knowledg, and at whoſe mouth men ought to ſeeke the Law: becauſe though the Law bee to bee ſought at the mouth of the Prieſt, in all thoſe thinges which may bee learned by ſtudy, meditation and ſearch, yet in thoſe thinges that are to bee learned by reuelation, recourſe muſt bee had to them that haue the ſpirit of Prophecy, if any ſuch bee; or elſe to them that are moſt holy, and whoſe prayers are moſt acceptable vnto God. Neyther are men for ſatiſfaction in theſe thinges, rather to go to the Prieſtes then to any Lay-man, that is vtterly vnlearned; But in Counſells men, go to them that are more learned, and of better place in the Church, though they bee not the beſt and holyeſt men: Therefore queſtions touching matters of faith, are not determined in Counſels by immediate reuelation.

[r] Math. 11. 25.

[s] 2 Kings. 22.

If it bee ſaid, that the Apoſtles and Elders, in that firſt Councell which is mentioned in the [t] *Actes*, relyed on the knowledge they had of the Scriptures and Truth of God, and did not wayte for a new immediate reuelation; and that therefore this kind of reaſoning will bring them within Compaſſe of the ſame danger of erring, that wee ſubiect their Succeſſors vnto, becauſe they rely not vpon immediate reuelation, but ſearch and ſtudy: It will be eaſily anſwered, that though the Apoſtles and Fathers aſſembled in that Councell depended not vpon immediate reuelation, but the knowledge they had of the Scriptures and Truth of God, and thence inferred what was to be thought of the matter then in queſtion, yet were they not in danger of erring, as their ſucceſſors are, becauſe they relyed not on ſuch imperfect knowledge, as ſtudy and meditation begets, but ſuch as diuine reuelation cauſeth; to wit, perfect and abſolute; whence they knew how to deriue the reſolution of any doubt or queſtiō, being ſpecially aſſiſted by the Spirit of Truth. Neither let any man thinke that the Apoſtles aſſembled in this Councel were any way doubtfull what to reſolue, when they heard the matter propoſed; becauſe there is mention made of great diſputation in that meeting: For, (as it may be thought) that queſtioning and diſputing was among the Elders and Bretheren, and not among the Apoſtles; the meaneſt

[t] Acts. 15.

of

of them being able to resolue a farre greater matter without any the least doubt or stay. So that it is absurd that [u] *Melchior Canus* from hence inferreth, that the Decrees of this Councell, wherein there was so great a dispute, are not Canonicall Scripture, any other wayes then the words of *Pilate* are, because they are recorded by the Euangelists in the holy Scripture. But to return to the matter, whence this obiection made vs digresse, it is no way necessary to thinke, that the Fathers are any otherwise directed by the spirit of truth in Generall Councels, then in Patriarchicall, Nationall, or Prouinciall; Seeing Generall Councels consist of such as come with instructions from Prouinciall, Nationall, and Patriarchicall Synodes, and must follow the same in making Decrees, as hath bene shewed before: and consequently, that they are not led to the finding out of the truth in any speciall sort or manner, beyond that general influence ỳ is required to the performance of euery good worke. So that as God assisting Christian men in the Church, only in a general sort to the performance of ỳ works of vertue, there are euer some wel-doers, & yet no particular man doth alwaies wel; and there is no degree or kinde of Morall vertue commanded in the Law, but is attayned by some one or other, at one time or other, one excelling in one thing, and another in another, yet no particular man, or company of men, hath all degrees and perfections of vertue, as [x] *Hierome* fitly noteth against the *Pelagians*: so in like sort, God assisting Christian men in the Church, in seeking out the truth only in general sort, as in the performance of the actions of vertue, & not by immediate reuelation & inspiration, as in the Apostles times; there are euer some that hold and professe all necessary truth, though no one man, or company of men doe finde the truth euer, and in all thinges, nor any assurance can bee had of any particular men, that they should alwayes hold al necessary truthes.

[u] *Loc. Theolog. lib. 5. cap. 5.*

[x] *Hieronym. lib. 1. contra Pelagianos.*

And therefore wee may safely conclude, that no man can certaynely pronounce, that what-soeuer the greater part of Bishoppes assembled in a Generall Councell agree on, is vndoubtedly true. Neyther are wee alone in this conclusion, but sundry excellently Learned among our aduersaries in former times, euen in the middest of the Papacy, concurred in the same.

For [y] *Waldensis* expressely affirmeth, that, *General Councels haue erred, & may erre; and confidently deliuereth, that it is no particular Church, that hath assurance of holding the truth, & not erring frō the Fayth, neyther that of Africa which* Donatus *so much admired, nor the particular Church of Rome, but the Vniuersall Church: nor that Vniuersal Church which is gathered together in a Generall Councell, which wee haue found to haue erred, sometimes, (as that at* Ariminum *vnder* Taurus *the Gouernor, and that at Constantinople vnder* Iustinian *the yonger, in the time of* Sergius *the Pope according to* Beda *and certayne other) but that Catholicke Church of Christ, which*

[y] *Doctrinal. fidei. lib. 2. cap. 19.*

ich hath beene disperſed throughout the whole world by the Miniſtery of
e Apoſtles, and others their ſucceſſors, euer ſince the Baptiſme of Chriſt,
d continued vnto theſe times, which vndoubtedly keepeth the true faith,
d the faithfull teſtimony of Chriſt, teaching Babes Heauenly wiſdome, and
aining the truth conſtantly in the middeſt of all extremities of errors. And
gaine in another place, ſpeaking of Councels, hee ſaith; [z] *that which the*
ultitude of Catholick Doctors, with vnanimous conſent, reſolueth & deliue-
th to bee true, Catholicke, and Orthodoxe, is not lightly to bee eſteemed;
ough haply all that are there preſent are not led by the ſpirit: for this very
nanimous conſenting is a great and excellent thing, and much to be reſpect-
l: though ſometimes by the faults of men carried with ſiniſter reſpectes, it
nd to ſcandall and ruine: and thereupon, hauing ſhewed the different de-
rees of authority found in the Church, (which I haue [a] elſwhere ſet down
large) he pronounceth [b]; *that onely the conſent of the Fathers ſucceſſiuely*
m the beginning (a abſolutely free from danger of erring, and next in de-
ee of authority to the Canonicall Scripture) is to bee liſtned and hearkned
nto: And that no man ſhould thinke it ſtrange that the Fathers ſucceſſiuely
all ages, ſhould bee accounted more certaine and infallible Iudges in mat-
rs of faith, then a Generall Councell of Biſhops meeting at one time and in
e place, ſeeing ſo many wiſe, iuſt and holy Fathers can neither be contained
ithin the ſtraites of one place, nor are in the world at one time, but were gi-
n ſucceſſiuely by almighty God, to giue teſtimony vnto the faith in their
neralltimes, in a conſtant and a perpetuall courſe: all which Fathers wee
ay gather together, and haue preſent all at once, ſo often as we deſire to con-
lt them, and to be reſolued by them in matters of difficulty and doubt, though
ey could neuer bee all aſſembled into one place, or meete together, while they
ued in the fleſh. Neither is this the priuate conceit of *Waldenſis* onely, but
icus Mirandula affirmeth, that howſoeuer many Diuines are of opini-
n, that Generall Councells, wherein the Pope is preſent, cannot define
y thing amiſſe concerning faith and good liuing, yet there are other
at diſſent from them, affirming that Councells haue erred, and may erre,
s that at *Ariminium*, and the Second at *Epheſus*.

Whereas the former ſort anſweare, that theſe Councells might erre,
eauſe the Pope was not preſent in them, they reply, that the Second
Councel of *Epheſus* was lawfully called, the Popes Legates being preſent,
nd yet tended to the ouerthrow of the true faith, ſo that *Leo* was for-
ed to procure the Councell of *Chalcedon* for the reuerſing of the Actes
f it. And this their opinion of the poſſibility of the erring of Generall
Councells, they proue and confirme by the poſſibility of their diſſenting
re from another; and the poſſibility of their diſſenting one from an
ther, by the directions which the * Diuines doe giue, to ſhew to
hich wee are to ſtand, when they are found contradictory one to a-
other. Beſides theſe, there are other who [d] ſay, that Generall Councells

[z] *Ibid. cap. 13.*

[a] *Booke. 4. cap. 5.*

[b] *Cap. 19.*

[c] *De fide et ord. credendi Theorem. 4.*

* *See Cleman-gis his diſputation, with a certain Scholeman of Paris, wherein hee prooueth by excellent reaſons that generall Councels may erre. This diſputation is found in the booke intituled Speculum Eccleſiæ Pontificiæ, lately printed at London.*

[d] *Sylueſt. v: vt eſt apud Canū. lib. 5. cap. 5.*

may erre for some short time, but that they cannot long persist in error; and a third sort, [e] who thinke, that General Councels may erre when they proceed disorderedly, or vse not that diligence they should. Neyther is this opinion of the possibility of the erring of Generall Councels, the priuate conceit of late Writers, but the Ancient accord with them in the same. For [f] *Austine* pronounceth, that the writings of the Bishoppes that haue bene published since the Canon of the Scripture was perfited may bee censured and reproued by such as see more, by the grauer authority of other Bishops, by the prudence of ỹ learned, and by Councels, if in any thing they be found to haue erred from the Truth; that Councels holden in seueral Regions & Prouinces, must without al resistance giue way to those that are Generall; & that among General Councells, the former must be content to be amended by the latter, when by experiment that which was shut vp is opened, & that which lay hid is found out & known. Neither doth [g] *Bellarmines* euasion, that *Austine* speaketh of matters of fact, wherin Councels may erre, or of conuersation & manners, which may vary, serue the turne: seeing the drift of *Austine* is to shewe, that no writings of men are free from errors, but only the Canonicall Scriptures; and that therfore they must be content to be examined, iudged, and controuled euen in matters of Faith. And [h] *Isiodore* speaking of differences in doctrine and matters of Faith, and not of Fact only, as *Bellarmine* in the same place confesseth, acknowledgeth that Councells may dissent one from another, and consequently erre: and giueth direction which is to bee followed, in case such difference do fall out.

[e] *Vt idem Canus refert.*

[f] *Lib. 2. de Baptismo. cap. 3.*

[g] *De Concil. lib. 2. cap. 7.*

[h] *Apud Gratian. Dist. 50. Ca. Dominus Sancte.*

I haue thought good (saith hee) to adde in the end of this Epistle, that so often as in the Actes of Councells, there is found disagreement of iudgement, the sentence and iudgement of that Councel is rather to be holden, which in Antiquity or Greatnes of authority excelleth the other. But what need wee insist vppon Authorities to proue that Councels may erre? In the time of *Constantius* the Emperor, we know there was a Generall Councel holden, consisting of exceeding many Bishoppes, gathered together out of al partes of the World, one part of them meeting at *Ariminium* in the West, and the other at *Seleucia* in the East. In both these diuided Assemblies, there were exceeding many right-beleeuing Bishops; & betweene these there was a continuall intercourse: and yet things were so carried, that both partes consented to the betraying of the sincerity of the Christian profession, and the wronging of worthy *Athanasius*; some purposely out of an Heretical dispositiō; some, out of a mistaking of things, being abused by cunning companions; some, for that they could no longer indure to stay in a strange Countrey, consenting to that which they should not haue consented vnto. If it be said that *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome* did not consēt to this Councel, it wil easily be answred, that though at the very first he did not consent to the Heretical practises of ỹ *Arrians*, yet in the

[i] *Socrates. lib. 2. cap. 29.*

nd he did, after he had bene in baniſhment for a time. As likewiſe *Vigi-* r refuſed to ſubſcribe to the Fifth Generall Councell, till hee was ba- iſhed for his refuſal. The onely thing that can be ſaid, is, that they procee- ed not orderly in this Councel, but violently and fraudulently. But his abſolutely ouerthroweth the infallibility of Councels, and their ecrees. For if Councels may erre when they proceed diſorderedly, and e not that diligence for the finding out of the Truth which they hould, what certainty can there be in their Decrees? Seeing it may bee oubted, whether they proceeded orderly, & conſequently, whether they ed or not. [k] *Leo* confeſſeth that in the Second Councell of *Epheſus* here were a great number of worthy Biſhoppes, who might haue beene fficient to haue found out and cleared the Truth, if hee that obtayned e Cheefe place, had vſed accuſtomed moderation, and ſuffered euery ne to ſpeake his minde freely, and not forced all to ſerue his vile de- gnes. If it bee ſaid, that howſoeuer this was a Generall Councell, and awfully called, yet the reſolution was not the reſolution of a Generall Councell, becauſe it was not conſented vnto, but mainely reſiſted by the egates of the Biſhoppe of *Rome*; wee ſhal find that in the [l] Councels vn- er *Michael* the Emperour, the Legates of the Biſhop of *Rome* conſented lſo to an il and vnlawful concluſion there made. If it be further alledged, at how-ſoeuer the Legates of the Biſhop of *Rome* may erre, as wel as o- er Biſhoppes in the Councel, when they preſume to define without in- ructions, or to go againſt their inſtructions, yet the Pope him-ſelfe can- ot giue conſent to any thing that is not true and right; it wil bee proued at Popes alſo may bee ſo miſ-led by ſiniſter affections, as not onely to onſent to that they ſhould not, but alſo to miſ-carry al in Councell aſ- el as others. For [m] *Sigebert* reporteth, that *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*, & fter him *Sergius*, called Councels, and proceeded in them in furious man- er againſt *Formoſus* their Predeceſſor, not onely pulling his dead body ut of the graue, & deſpightfully re-ordayning ſuch as he had ordayned, ut iudicially pronouncing and defining, that his ordinations were void: hich was an error in Faith, ſeeing he was knowne once to haue beene a ue and lawfull Biſhop, though in reſpect of periury or violent intruſion, e had bin iudged neuer to haue bin lawfull Biſhop of *Rome*. But heere I annot paſſe-by the contradiction of Cardinall *Bellarmine*, ſtrangely for- etting him-ſelfe, and ſaying hee knoweth not what.

For firſt hee ſayth, [n] it is certayne, and a matter of Faith, that a Ge- erall Councell confirmed by the Pope, cannot erre. Secondly, hee aith, [o] the infallibility of Councels is wholy in the Pope, & not partly in he Pope, partly in the Biſhops. And thirdly he ſaith, [p] he dareth not to aſ- irme it to be a matter of Faith, that the Pope is free from danger of erring, hough he haue a particular Councell concurring with him: So ſtrange- y doth the good man croſſe him-ſelf, & ouerthrow ỹ in one place which

[k] *Leo. Epiſtal.* 25.

[l] *Vt patet ex Epiſtola Nicolai ad Patriarchas & cæteros Epiſc. Orientis. & ex Zonarâ in vita Michaelis Imp.*

[m] *In Chronico Anni.* 90.

[n] *De Concillis Lib. 2. cap. 2.*
[o] *De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 3.*
[p] *De Conciliis. li 2. cap. 5.*

hee built in another. For how can it bee certaine and a matter of Fayth that the Generall Councell approued by the Pope cannot erre, if it haue no certaynty of not erring but from the Pope, and it be not certaine that the Pope cannot erre. That Councells, though lawfull, to which nothing wanted but the Popes consent, haue erred, he saith, it is most certaine and vndoubted. So that Generall Councels are not in them-selues free from error, but their infallibility resteth in the Pope. Now that it is not certain, that the Pope is free from danger of erring, he proueth, first, because they are still tollerated by the Church, and not condemned as Heretikes, that thinke the Pope subiect to error, euen in iudiciall sentence and decree. Secondly, out of q *Eusebius*, who saith that *Cornelius* the Pope with a Nationall Councell of all the Bishoppes of *Italy* decreed, that Heretikes ought not to be rebaptized, and *Stephen* afterwardes approued the same sentence, and commandeded that Heretickes should not be rebaptized: & yet r *Cyprian* thought the contrary, and earnestly maintained it, charging *Stephen* with error and obstinacy, which he would not haue done, if he had thought the Pope free from danger of erring. Neither would the Church haue honoured him as a Catholicke Bishop & blessed Martyr, that thus confidently contradicted the Pope, and resisted his decrees and mandates, if it were certaine, and a matter of Faith and all men vnder paine of Heresie bound to beleeue, that the Pope cannot erre.

q *Hist. Eccles. li. 7. cap. 2. 3. & 4.*

r *Epist. 74. ad Pompeium.*

Wherefore to conclude this point; how can we bee sure with the certainty of Faith, that General Councels cannot erre, if their infallibility depend on the Popes, who may be most prodigiously impious, and worse then Infidels; not onely erring in some particular points concerning the Faith, but ouerthrowing all, as he did, that *Picus* s *Mirandula* speaketh of, who peremptorily denyed that there is any God; and confirmed the same his execrable impiety by the manner of his entering into the Popedome, and liuing in it: And that other t hee speaketh off, who denyed the immortality of the soule, though after his death, appearing to one of them to whome in his life time hee had vttered that his impious conceit, hee told him hee now found, to his endlesse woe and misery that soule hee thought mortall to be immortall, and neuer to dye.

s *Theorem. 4.*

t *Ibidem.*

Yet u when there is a lawfull Generall Councell according to the former description, to witte, wherein all the Patriarches are present, eyther in person, or by their deputies, and the Synode of Bishoppes vnder them signifie their opinion, eyther by such as they send, or by their Prouinciall letters, if there appeare nothing to the contrary in it, that may argue an vnlawfull proceeding, nor there be no gayne-saying of men of worth, place, and esteeme, which are so strongly to presume that it is true and right, that with vnanimous consent is agreed on in such a Councell, that wee must not so much as

u *Ockam. Dialog. lib. 3 primi tract. 3. part. cap. 6.*

profeſſe publikely that wee thinke otherwiſe, vnleſſe wee doe moſt certaynely know the contrary, yet may wee in the ſecret of our hearts remaine in ſome doubt, carefully ſeeking by the Scripture and Monuments of antiquity to find out the Truth. Neither is it neceſſary for vs expreſly to beleeue whatſoeuer the Councell hath concluded, though it be true; vnleſſe by ſome other meanes it appeare vnto vs to bee true, and wee bee conuinced of it, in ſome other ſort then by the bare determination of the Councell onely. But it ſufficeth that we beleeue it, *implicitè*, and, *in præparatione animi*, that out of the due reſpect wee beare to the Councells Decree, wee dare not reſolue otherwiſe, and bee ready expreſſly to beleeue it, if it ſhall bee made to appeare vnto vs.

But, concerning the Generall Councells of this ſort, that hetherto haue beene holden, wee confeſſe that in reſpect of the matter about which they were called, ſo neerely, and eſſentially concerning the life and ſoule of the Chriſtian Faith, and in reſpect of the manner and forme of their proceeding, & the euidence of proofe brought in them, they are, and euer were expreſly to bee beleeued by all ſuch as perfectly vnderſtand the meaning of their determination. And that therefore it is not to bee maruayled at, if [x] *Gregory* profeſſe, that hee honoureth the firſt foure Councells as the foure Goſpells; and that whoſoeuer admitteth them not, though hee ſeeme to be a Stone elect and precious, yet hee lyeth beſide the foundation and out of the building.

[x] *Gregorius lib. 1. Epiſt. 24.*

Of this ſort there are onely ſixe; the firſt, defining the Sonne of GOD to be co-eſſentiall, co-eternall, and co-equal with the Father. The ſecond, defining that the holy Ghoſt is truely God co-eſſentiall, co-eternall, and co-equall with the Father and the Sonne. The third, the vnity of Chriſts perſon. The fourth, the diſtinction and diuerſity of his natures, in, and after the perſonall vnion. The fifth, condemning ſome remaines of *Neſtorianiſme*, more fully explayning things ſtumbled at in the Councel of *Chalcedon*, and accurſing the Hereſie of *Origen* and his followers, touching the temporall puniſhments of Diuells and wicked Caſte-awayes: and the Sixth, defining and clearing the diſtinction of operations, actions, powers and wills in Chriſt, according to the diuerſity of his natures. Theſe were all the lawfull Generall Councells (lawfull I ſay both in their beginning, and proceeding, and continuance) that euer were holden in the Chriſtian Church, touching matters of Fayth. For the Seauenth, which is the ſecond of *Nice*, was not called about any queſtion of Faith, but of manners: In which our Aduerſaries confeſſe there may be ſome-thing inconueniently preſcribed, and ſo as to bee the occaſion of great and greeuous euills: and ſurely that is our conceit of the Seauenth General Councel, the ſecond of *Nice*: for how-ſoeuer it condemne the religious adoration and worſhipping of Pictures and ſeeme

to allow no other vse of them, but that which is Historicall: yet in permitting men by outward signes of reuerence and respect towards the Pictures of Saintes, to expresse their loue towards them, and the desire they haue of enioying their happy society, and in condemning so bitterly such as vppon dislike of abuses, wished their might be no Pictures in the Church at all: it may seeme to haue giuen some occasion, and to haue opened the way vnto that grosse Idolatry, which afterwards entered into the Church. The Eighth Generall Councel was not called about any question of Faith or Manners, but to determine the question of right between *Photius* and *Ignatius*, contending about the Bishoppricke of *Constantinople*. So that there are but Seauen Generall Councells, that the whole Church acknowledgeth, called to determine matters of Faith and Manners. For the rest that were holden afterwardes, which our Aduersaries would haue to be accounted Generall, they are not onely reiected by vs, but by the *Grecians* also, as not General, but Patriarchicall onely: because eyther they consisted onely of the Westerne Bishoppes, without any concurrence of those of the East; or, if any were present (as in the Councell of *Florence* there were) they consented to those thinges which they agreed vnto, rather out of other respects, thē any matter of their own satisfaction. And therefore how-soeuer we dare not pronounce that lawfull Generall Councels are free from danger of erring (as some among our Aduersaries do) yet do we more honor and esteeme, and more fully admit all the Generall Councels that euer hetherto haue bene holden, then they do; who feare not to charge some of the chiefest of them with error, as both the [y] Second, and the [z] Fourth, for equalling the Bishop of *Constantinople* to the Bishop of *Rome*; which I thinke they suppose to haue beene an error in Faith.

7 generall cõncells

[y] *Cap.* 5.
[z] *Actione.* 15. *Canon.* 28.

Cahp. 52.

Of the calling of Councels; and to whome that right pertaineth.

FRom the assurance of Truth which lawfull Generall Councels haue, let vs proceed to see by whom they are to be called. The state of the Christian Church, ỹ good things it enioyeth, and the felicity it promiseth, being spirituall, is such, that it may stand, though not onely forsaken, but greeuously oppressed by the great men of the world: and doth not absolutely depend on the care of such as manage the great affayres of the World, and direct the outward course of things here below: and therefore it is by all resolued on, that the Church hath her Guides and Rulers distinct from them that beare the Sword, and that there is in the Church a power of conuocating these her Spiritual Pastors, to consult of thinges concerning her wel-fare, though none of the Princes of the World do fauour her, nor reach forth vnto her their helping handes: neyther need wee to seeke farre, to finde in whome this power resteth: for there is no question, but that this power

is

is in them that are first, and before other, in each company of spirituall Pastors and Ministers, seeing none other can bee imagined, from whome each action of consequence, and each common deliberation, shoulde take beginning, but they, who are in order, honour, and place before other, and to whome, the rest that gouerne the Church in common, haue an eye, as to them that are first in place among them.

Heere-vppon, we shall finde that the calling of Diocesan Synodes, pertayneth to the Bishoppe; of Prouinciall, to the Metropolitane; of National, to the Primate; and of Patriarchicall, to the Patriarch; in that they are in order, honour, and place before the rest; though some of these (as [a] *Bellarmine* truly noteth) haue no commanding authority ouer the rest.

[a] *De Concil. lib. 2. cap. 12.*

Touching Diocesan Synodes, I shewed [b] before, that the Bishoppe is bound once euery yeare at least to call vnto him the Presbyters of his Church, and to hold a Synode with them: and the [c] Councell of *Antioch* ordayneth, that the Metropolitane shall call together the Bishoppes of the Prouince by his letters, to make a Synode. And the [d] Councell of *Tarracon* in *Spayne* decreeth, that if any Bishoppe warned by the Metropolitane, neglect to come to the Synode (except hee bee hindered by some corporall necessity) hee shall bee depriued of the Communion of all the Bishopps, vntill the next Councell. The [e] *Epaunine* Councell in like sort ordereth, that when the Metropolitane shall thinke good to call his Bretheren the Bishoppes of the same Prouince to a Synode, none shal excuse his absence, without an euident cause.

[b] *Chap. 29.*

[c] *Canon. 19. & 20.*

[d] *Canon. 6.*

[e] *Canone. 1.*

Touching Nationall Councels, and such as consist of the Bishoppes of many Prouinces, such as were the Councels of *Affrica*; the calling of them pertained vnto the Primate, as it appeareth by the Second Councel of [f] *Carthage*, in that the Bishop of *Carthage* being the Primate of *Affrica* by vertue of particular Canons cõcerning that matter, by his letters called together the rest of the Metropolitanes & their Bishops. And concerning Patriarchical Councels, ỹ [g] Eighth General Councel taketh order, that the Patriarch shal haue power to conuocate the Metropolitanes that are vnder him, & that they shal not refuse to come when he calleth thẽ, vnles they be hindred by vrgent causes. And to this purpose it was, that the Bishoppes within the Patriarchship of *Rome*, were once in the yeare to visit the Apostolical thresholds; which to do, they take an oth stil euen to this day (as [h] *Cusanus* noteth.) So ỹ it is euident, that there is a power in Bishops, Metropolitanes, Primates, & Patriarchs to cal Episcopal, Prouincial, National, & Patriarchical Synodes; and that neither so depending of, nor subiect to the power of Princes, but that when they are enemies to the Faith, they may excercise the same without their consent & priuity, and subiect them that refuse to obey their summons, to such punishments as the Canons of the Church do prescribe in cases of such contempt or wilful negligence. But that wee may see to whome the calling of Generall Councells doth

[f] *Canon. 2.*

[g] *Canon.*

[h] *De Concord. Cathol. l. b. 2. cap. 18. citat. Dist. 93. cap. 4.*

pertaine in the times of perſecution, and when there are no Chriſtian Princes, we muſt obſerue, that among the Patriarches, though one be in order before another (As the Patriarch of *Alexandria* is before the Patriarch of *Antioch*, and the Patriarch of *Rome* before the Patriarch of *Alexandria*) yet is not one of them ſuperior to another in degree, as Biſhoppes are to Preſbyters; nor ſo in order, honor, & place, as Metropolitanes are to Biſhops; or Patriarches to Metropolitanes, whome they are to ordaine, or at the leaſt to confirme; And therefore no one of them ſingly and by himſelfe alone, hath power to call vnto him any Patriarch, or any Biſhop ſubiect to ſuch Patriarche, but as in caſe when their groweth a difference betweene the Patriarches of one Sea and another, or betweene any of the Patriarches and the Metropolitanes and Biſhopps ſubiect to them, the ſuperior Patriarch not of him-ſelfe alone, but with his Metropolitanes and ſuch particular Biſhops as are intereſſed, may iudge and determine the differences betweene them, if without danger of a further rent it may be done (as in the caſe of *Chryſoſtome* and *Theophilus* it could not.) So if there be any matter of Faith, or any thing concerning the whole ſtate of the Chriſtian Church, wherein a common deliberation of all the Paſtors of the Church is neceſſary, hee that is in order the firſt among the Patriarches, with the Synodes of Biſhoppes ſubiect to him, may call the reſt together, as beeing the principall part of the Church, whence all actions of this nature doe take beginning.

[i] *Apud. Athanaſ. Apolog. 2.*

And this is that, which *Iulius* Biſhoppe of *Rome* hath, when, [i] writing to the Biſhops of the Eaſt, he telleth them, that the manner & cuſtome is, that they ſhould write to him, and the Weſterne Biſhops firſt; that from thence might be decreed the thing that is iuſt: and againe, that they ought to haue written to them all; that ſo that which is iuſt might be decreed by al. And hence it is, that [k] *Damaſus, Ambroſe, Brito, Valerianus* & the reſt of the Holy Biſhoppes aſſembled in the great Citty of *Rome*, out of their brotherly loue ſent for the Biſhops of the Eaſt, as their owne members, praying, and deſiring them to come vnto them, that they might not raigne alone. So that the power of calling General Councels, when the Churche hath no Princes to aſſiſt her, is not in the Pope, but in ỹ Weſterne Synode; & yet hath not this Synode any power ouer all the other Churches, as a ſupream Commander, but is only (as a principal part among the reſt) to begin, procure & ſet forward, as much as in her lieth, ſuch things as pertaine to the Commō good: neither may it by vertue of any Canon, Cuſtome, or practiſe of the Church, excommunicate the reſt for refuſing to hearken when it calleth; as it appeareth by the former example; in that they of the Eaſt came not when they were called, and intreated to come to *Rome* by *Damaſus, Ambroſe* & the reſt; but ſtaied at *Conſtantinople*, did ſome things which they diſliked, and yet were forced to giue way vnto them, and

[k] *Theodoret Hiſt. Eccleſ. li. 5. cap. 9.*

as being greater in authority then they, bare the name of the Generall Councell; though they were assembled at *Rome*, at the same time in a very great number. But if the greater part concurre with them, they may excommunicate those few, that shall wilfully and causelesly refuse to obey them. If it bee said, that hence it will follow, that there is no certaine meanes of hauing a Generall Councell at all times, as there is of Prouinciall or Patriarchicall, (which may seeme absurde) it will bee answered, that [l] there is not the like necessity of hauing Generall Councels, as there is of hauing those more particular Synodes: and that therefore it is not absurde to grant, that the Church hath not at all times certaine and infallible meanes to haue a Generall Councell, as it hath to haue the other. Nay, that it hath not, it most plainely appeareth, in that [m] in the case of *Chrysostome* greatly distressed and grieuously wronged, *Innocentius* professed vnto him, hee knew no meanes to helpe him, but a Generall Councell; which to obtaine, hee became an humble suter to the Emperor, but was so farre from preuailing, that the Messengers hee sent were returned backe againe vnto him with disgrace.

[l] *Bellarm. ait Aliqua Concilia Simpliciter esse necessaria, generalia non simpliciter sed suo quodam modo. lib. 1. de Conciliorum auctorit. cap. 11. & 10.*

[m] *Sozomen. lib. 8. cap. 18.*

Thus wee see to whom the calling of Councells pertaineth, when there is no Christian Magistrate to assist the Church, but when there is a Christian Magistrate, it pertaineth to him to see, that these assemblies bee duly holden accordingly, as the necessity of the Church requireth, and the Canons prescribe. And therefore wee shall finde, that though Christian Emperours, Kings and Princes within their seuerall dominions, oftentimes permitted Bishops, Metropolitanes and Patriarches, to hold Episcopall, Prouinciall, Nationall, or Patriarchicall Councels, without particular intermedling therein, when they saw neither negligence in those of the Cleargie, in omitting to hold such Councels when it was fit, nor intrusion into their office; yet, so often as they sawe cause, they tooke into their owne hands the power of calling these more particular Synodes: And touching Generall, there was neuer any that was not called by the Emperour.

[n] *Tom. 1. Conciliorum. pag. 267. apud Binnium.*

[o] *Pag. 523.*

[p] *Tom. 1. Concil. pag. 535. Binnius ex Seuero. lib. 2. & Prospero in Chronico Maximum Imp. indixisse ostendit.*

[q] *Pag. 304.*

[r] *Tom. 2. Concil. pag. 309.*

[s] *Tomo. 2. pag. 314.*

[t] *Tomo. 2. pag. 477.*

That Emperours, Kings and Princes in their seuerall dominions respectiuely called particular Councels, is prooued by innumerable examples. For *Constantine* the great, called the first Councell of *Arle*, as it appeareth by his [n] Epistle to *Chrestus*: and *Binnius* confesseth it. The Councell of *Aquileia* was called by the Emperours, as it appeareth by the Epistle of the Councell to *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* the Emperours, in the first [o] Tome of the Councells. The [p] Councell of *Burdegalis* was called by the Emperour against *Priscillian*. The Councell of *Agatha* by the permission of the King, as appeareth in the [q] second Tome of the Councells. The [r] first of *Orleans* was called by *Clodoueus*. The [s] *Epaunine* Councell by *Sigismunde* the sonne of *Gundebald*. The second of [t] *Orleans*, by the command of *Childebert*, the French King.

The

The Counsell of [a] *Aruerne*, by the permission of the King *Theudebertus*. The Fifth of [x] *Orleans*, by *Childebert*. The first of [y] *Bracar*, by *Ariamirus*, or (as some will haue it) *Theodomirus*. The second of [z] *Turon*, with the conniuence of the King. The second of [a] *Bracar*, by *Ariamirus*. The [b] first *Cabilon* Councell, by the mandate of *Gunthram*; as likewise that of [c] *Matiscon*, and [d] *Valentia*. The third of [e] *Toledo* by *Richaredus*. The Councels of [f] *Narbone* and [g] *Cæsar-Augusta*, by *Richaredus* King of *Sueueland*. Many other examples might be produced, but these suffice, to shew, what the ancient practise was, and what Christian Princes in former times tooke vpon them in this behalfe. And that they did lawfully, so to intermeddle, it appeareth, in that [h] S. *Gregory* writing to *Theodoricus*, exhorteth him by the crowne of life, to cal Councels, and reforme abuses.

Wherefore let vs proceed to see who called the Generall Councels, that haue beene holden in the Christian Church. Hauing perused (saith [i] *Cusanus*) the Actes of all the General Councels, to the Eighth inclusiuely: which Eighth was holden in the time of *Basilius* the Emperor, I finde, that they were all called by the Emperours. Whereupon (saith hee) *Elias* the most holy Presbyter, that supplyed the place of the Bishop of *Ierusalem*, said openly in the Eighth Generall Councel, in the hearing of al, that Emperours did euer call Councels, and that *Basilius* was not inferiour to those that went before him, in the care of prouiding for the Church by Synodal meetings. And *Anastasius* the Popes Library-keeper, in his Glosse vpon the same place, saith, that the Emperours were wont to call Councels out of the whole world. Which thing is so cleare, that [k] *Hierome* writing against *Ruffinus*, and taking exception against a certaine Councell, biddeth him say, what Emperour it was that commanded that Councell to be called? and therfore [l] *Bellarmine* confesseth it, and giueth foure reasons, why it was so: whereof the first is, for that there was an Imperiall Lawe, that there should not bee any great Assemblies without the Emperours priuity, consent, and authority, for feare of sedition. The second, for that all those Cities in which such Councels might bee holden, beeing the Emperours, they might not bee holden without his consent. The third, for that the Councels were holden at the Emperours charges, both in respect of carriages, and the diet, and intertainment of the Bishops, during the time of their beeing in Councell, as [m] *Eusebius* in the life of *Constantine* doth testifie; and [n] *Theodoret* in his Historie. The fourth, for that it was fitte the Popes in those times, acknowledging the Emperours to bee their Soueraigne Lords, should (as we read they did) as suppliants beseech them to command Councels to be called. And surely, if we had neither his confession, nor reasons, we need not doubt hereof, hauing the testimony of all stories to confirme ỹ same. For [o] *Ruffinus* saith, *Constantine called the Councel of Bishops at Nice*: & with him [p] *Theodoret* agreeth, saying expressely, that *Constantine called the noble Synode of Nice:* and

[a] Tomo. 2. pag. 508.
[x] Tomo. 2. pag. 514.
[y] Tomo. 2. pag. 640.
[z] Tom. 2. pag. 656.
[a] Tom. 2. pag. 663.
[b] Tom. 2. 697.
[c] Tomo. 2. 698.
[d] Tomo. 2. 705.
[e] Tom. 2. 706.
[f] Tom. 2. 722.
[g] Tom. 2. 956.
[h] Lib. 7. epist. 114. citat. à Cusan. lib. 3. Concord. cathol. cap. 10.
[i] Conc. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 13.
[k] Apolog. 2. contra Ruffinũ.
[l] De Conciliis lib. 1. cap. 13.
[m] Euseb. de vita Constantini. lib 3. cap. 6.
[n] Theodoret. lib. 1. cap. 7.
[o] Lib. 10. ca. 1.
[p] Lib. 1. cap. 7.

and [q] *Eusebius* in his booke of the life of *Constantine*, affirming, that by his letters most honorably written, he drew together the Bishoppes out of all parts, marshalling them as a mighty army of God, to encounter the enemies of the true faith. The occasion of calling this Councell, was the Heresie of *Arrius*, denying the Sonne of God to be consubstantiall with the Father. The next Generall Councell after this, was the first at *Constantinople*, called for the suppressing of the Heresy of *Macedonius* and *Eunomius*, who denied the Holy Ghost to bee God coessentiall and coeternall with the Father: and this Councell was called by *Theodosius* the elder, as [r] *Theodoret* testifieth. [s] The Third was holden at *Ephesus*, and called by *Theodosius* the Younger, at the suite of *Nestorius* Bishoppe of *Constantinople*, fearing the proceedings of *Cyrill* Bishoppe of *Alexandria*, and *Celestinus* Bishoppe of *Rome* against him. The Fourth Councell was holden at *Chalcedon*, and called by *Martian* the Emperour. The occasion was this: [t] In the time of *Flauianus* Bishoppe of *Constantinople*, the Heresy of *Eutyches* began, about which a Prouinciall Councell was called at *Constantinople*; whereunto vnfortunate *Eutyches* being called, was found to haue vttered horrible blasphemies: for he affirmed, that howsoeuer before the personall vnion, there were two distinct natures in Christ, yet after the vnion, there was but one; and besides affirmed, that his body was not of the same substance with ours: Whereupon hee was put from the Ministery of the Church and degree of Priest-hood. But not enduring thus to bee depriued of his place and honour, hee complaineth to *Theodosius* the Emperour, pretending that *Flauianus* had fayned and deuised matters against him, and rested not, till hee procured a Synod at *Constantinople* of the neighbour Bishops to re-examine the matters, who confirming that which was formerly done, another by his procurement was called at *Ephesus* by *Theodosius*, and *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria* made President of it. In which Councell all things were caried in a very disordred and violent sorte: for *Dioscorus* permitted not the Bishops to speake freely, neither would he suffer the letters of the Bishop of *Rome* (who was absent) to be read; such Bishoppes as hee disliked, he violently cast out of the Councell, and retayned none but such as were fit to serue his turne. He deposed *Flauianus* Bishoppe of *Constantinople*, *Eusebius* of *Dorileum*, *Domnus* Bishoppe of *Antioch*, and *Theodoret*, with sundry other. The Legates of the Bishoppe of *Rome* offended with these violent proceedings, protested against them as vnlawfull; and *Flauianus* (who was not onely depriued, but so beaten, that not long after he died) appealed to the Bishop of *Rome*, and other Bishops of the West for helpe and remedy: vpon the hearing of which complaints, [u] *Leo* then Bishop of *Rome*, with many other Bishops of the West, went to the Emperour, and in most humble and earnest manner vpon their knees besought him to call a Councell in *Italy*, which hee would not yeeld vnto, but called

[q] *Lib. 3. cap. 6.*

[r] *Lib. 5. cap. 9.*

[s] *Euagrius. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

[t] *Idem. lib 2. cap. 9. & 10.*

[u] *Vt patet in Epistol. Leonis. 42. & 43.*

called one at *Chalcedon* commanding him and all other Bishops to come vnto it. The Fift Councell was holden at *Constantinople*, and called by *Iustinian* the Elder, as [x] *Euagrius* testifieth. I haue shewed [y] before what the occasion of calling this Councell was, and that though *Vigilius* Bishoppe of *Rome*, and the westerne Bishoppes refused to be present in it, together with the rest, or to confirme it when it ended, yet it was holden a lawfull Councell. The Sixt Generall Councell was holden at *Constantinople*, and was called by *Constantine* the Fourth, as appeareth by his letters to the Bishoppes of *Rome*, *Constantinople* and the rest, prefixed before it. The occasion whereof was the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, who denied the diuersity of wills, actions, and operations, in Christ and consequently of natures. The Seauenth was holden at *Nice*, about the vse of Pictures in the Church, and called by *Constantine* the Emperour, as appeareth by his Epistle to *Adrian* Bishoppe of *Rome*, prefixed before it.

[x] Lib 4. cap. 13
[y] Cap. 49.

The Eight was holden at *Constantinople*, about the difference betweene *Ignatius* and *Photius*, and called by *Basilius* the Emperour, as appeareth by the *Appendix* to the Acts of that Councell; collected out of diuerse Authors by *Surius*, and extant in the second part of the third Tome of Councells set out by *Binnius*. So that we see, all the Eight Generall Councells were called by the Emperors, and not by the Popes, which thing is so cleare and euident, that our aduersaries dare not deny it, but seeke to auoyde the euidence of the truth (against which they dare not directly oppose themselues) by all the shiftes they can deuise; for first they say, [z] that though it be not so proper to the Pope to call Councells, but that others may do it, if he assent vnto it or approue it, yet that without his Mandate, Assent or Approbation of such indiction and calling, no Councell is lawfull. Secondly, they say [a] that the Emperours called Councells by the authority of the Pope: and thirdly [b] that happily they presumed about that was fit for them to do. Wherefore let vs see how they proue that they say: that the right of calling Councells belongeth to the Pope, and not to the Emperour, and consequently, that the Emperour may call none without his assent; [c] *Bellarmine* endeuoreth to proue in this sort. They that meete in Councells, must bee gathered together in the name of Christ: to bee gathered together in the name of Christ, is, to be gathered by him that hath authority from Christ; and none hath authority from Christ to call together the Pastors of the Church, but the Pope onely: therefore none but the Pope may call Councells. To this argument wee answere, that indeed they must meete in the name of Christ, who assemble in Councells; but that to meete in Christs name, importeth not, in the promise made by Christ, a gathering together of them that meete by his Authority; And that the Cardinall can neuer proue, that the Pope, and he onely, is authorized to call together the Pastors of the Churches. That to bee gathered together in Christs name, importeth not to bee called together

[z] *Bellarm. de Conciliis. lib. 1. cap. 12.*

[a] *Ibid.*
[b] *Andrad. de author. General. Concil. li. 3. pag. 59.*

[c] *Vbi Suprà.*

together by publike authority, as *Bellarmine* vntruely affirmeth, it is euident by his owne confession, in that [d] he acknowledgeth, that the gathering together in Christes name, to which he hath Promised to ioyne his owne presence, may be verified of many, or few Bishops, or Laymen, Priuate or publicke persons, about priuate or publicke affaires: whereas priuate men meeting about priuat businesses are not gathered together by any one hauing authority to command them, but by voluntary agreement among them-selues: and therefore [e] *Andradius* telleth vs that both by the circumstance of Christs speach, and the commentaries of the holy Fathers it is euident, that his words agree to euery meeting of such men, as being ioyned together in Faith and Charity, aske any thing of God: and particularly produceth [f] *Chrysostome* expounding Christs words as *Caluin* doth, whome *Bellarmine* taxeth; to wit, that they are said to be gathered together in Christs name, whom neither respect of priuat gaine inducеth, nor the ambitious desire of honour inuiteth, nor the prickes of hatred and enuy incite and driue forward, whome the inflamed loue of peace, and the feruent affections of Christian charity impell, and not the spirit of contention: and in one word they who meete to seeke out (by force of diuine grace, with common and heartiest longing desires sought and obtained) what especially pleaseth Christ, and what is true. For they that come together to set forward, and aduance their owne Priuat designes and to serue their owne contentious dispositions, and to deceiue miserable men with the glorious name of a Councell, are by no meanes to be thought to come together in Christs name, nor to hold ecclesiasticall assemblies, but such as are most pestilent and hurtfull: of which sort they were, which were holden heretofore in the time of *Constantine* and *Constantius*, at *Tyrus*, *Ierusalem*, *Antioch*, *Sirmium*, and *Seleucia*, and infinite other conuenticles of Heretickes, to which that most aptly agreeth, which [g] *Leo* the Pope pronounceth of the Second Councell of *Ephesus*, to wit, that while priuate causes were promoted and set forward vnder pretence of religion, that was brought to passe by the impiety of a few, that wounded the whole Church. But (saith *Bellarmine*) this note of meeting in the feare of God, with desire of finding out the trueth and doing good, discerneth not lawfull Councells from other; seeing all that meete in Councells, pretend that they come together out of a desire of the common good, and not for priuate respects: and that therefore this is not to meete in Christs name: which is strangely saide of him; as if lawfull Councells rightly proceeding in their deliberations, might not bee discerned from other by any thing that other may pretend: or as if this his silly argument might sway against the circumstance of Christs words, and the Commentaries of the holy Fathers.

Wherefore passing from this first exception against his Argument,

[d] *De Conciliis, li. 2. cap. 2.*

[e] *De Concilior. Authorit. lib. 1. pag. 13. & 14.*

[f] *Homil. 61. in Mathaum.*

[g] *Epist. 25.*

wee secondly answere vnto it, that Christ did not giue the power of cal-
ling Generall Councels to the Pope alone, as hee alleadgeth; and in what
sort Christ committed his Church to *Peter*, to bee gouerned by him; as
likewise in what sence it is that [h] *Leo* saith; *though there bee many Pastors,*
yet Peter ruleth them all, we haue largely [i] declared already. So that from
hence nothing can be concluded to prooue, that Christ gaue the power &
right of calling Generall Councels to the Pope alone, And thirdly we say,
that though it bee true, that Christ did not leaue his Church to bee go-
uerned by *Tiberius Cæsar* an Infidell, so continuing, or to his successors
like vnto him in Infidelity, yet hee that promised *to giue* [*] *Kings to bee*
nursing Fathers, and Queenes to bee nursing mothers vnto his Church, left it
to bee gouerned by those nursing Fathers and nursing Mothers, which
hee meant in succeeding times to raise vp for the good, comfort, and
peace of his faithfull people, after that their faith, patience, and long suf-
fering (more precious then gold) should bee sufficiently tryed in the fire
of tribulation. Wherefore let vs passe to the Cardinals second argument,
which is no better then the first. For, neither hath the Pope power either
Ciuill or Ecclesiasticall, to inforce all Bishops to bee present at such as-
semblies as hee shall appoint, neither did the Emperours in former time
want meanes to inforce all to come when they called for them. And tou-
ching the present state of things, wee are not so foolish, as to thinke the
right of calling Generall Councels to rest in the Emperour, hauing so
little command as now hee hath, but wee place it in the concurrence of
Christian Princes, without which no lawfull Generall Councell can euer
bee had.

His third reason, taken from the proportion of Metropolitanes and Pa-
triarches, calling Prouinciall and Patriarchicall Synodes, holdeth not, as I
haue shewed before. Neither that which seemeth of all other to bee
strongest, taken from the ancient Canon of the Church, that without the
liking, iudgment, and will of the Bishop of *Rome*, no Councell may bee
holden, mentioned by [k] *Socrates* and [l] *Zozomen*. For first the Canon is
not to bee vnderstood of the person of the Bishop of *Rome*, but of him
and his Westerne Bishops. Secondly, it is not so to bee vnderstood, as if
simply without him and his Bishops, no Generall Councell could bee hol-
den, but, that without consulting him, and first seeking to him and his, no
such Councell may bee holden; as I haue largely [m] shewed before. For
otherwise wee know that *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome*, refused to haue any
part in the deliberations of the fifth Generall Councel, or to confirme the
Actes of it when it ended. Yet was it euer holden to bee a lawfull Gene-
rall Councell, hee and his beeing sufficiently sought vnto, and their pre-
sence desired.

As likewise *Leo* consented to the calling of the Councell of *Chalce-*
don, onely for the determination of that question of faith, that was
then

h *Serm. 3. in die Assumptionis.*
i *Chap. 24.*
* *Esay. 49. 23.*
k *Lib. 2. cap. 13.*
l *Lib. 3. cap. 9.*
m *Chap. 49.*

n Leo Epist. 53. 54. 55.

en debated, and [n] gaue no consent to the Decree therein passed touching the sea of *Constantinople*, yet did this Councell preuaile, and the succeeding Bishops of *Rome* were forced to giue way to that Canon their predecessors so much disliked. And therefore, whereas the Bishoppe of *Romes* Legates, in the Councel of [n] *Chalcedon* do except against *Dioscorus* for presuming to hold a Synod without the Authority of the Apostolicke Sea, which, they say, neuer was lawfull, nor neuer was done; their meaning is not, that in no case a Councell may bee holden without the Bishoppe of *Rome*, and the Bishoppes of the West, but that there neuer was any such Synod holden without requiring and admitting the concurrence of the Bishoppe of *Rome*, and the Bishoppes of the West.

n Actione. 1.

And that therefore *Dioscorus* was iustly to bee condemned, who not onely tooke vpon him by the fauour of one neere about the Emperour to bee President of the Second Councell of *Ephesus*, where of they speake, and to sit before the Bishoppe of *Romes* Legates, being but Bishoppe of the Second Sea, but also [o] reiected the Synodall letters of *Leo*, and the Bishoppes of the West, not suffering them to bee read; and, as if all the power had beene in him alone, depriued the Bishoppes of *Constantinople* and *Antioch*, notwithstanding the Protestation of the *Romaine* Legates against such proceedings, and their appeale from the same; and stil carried on with his furious passions, rested not til he had pronounced sentence of excommunication against blessed *Leo*, and all the Bishoppes of the West. The next testimony which *Bellarmine* bringeth, no way proueth that, for proofe wherof it is brought; for it is not said in the [p] place cited by him, that the Councell holden at *Constantinople*, against the painting of those things that are reported in the story of the Bible, and for the defacing of such pictures made for Historicall vse, was therefore voyde, because it was called without the consent of the *Romaine* Bishoppe (as he vntruely reporteth;) but that it was no Generall Councell, seeing many that were present consented not, but disliked the proceedings of it; and besides, it neither had the Bishop of *Rome* to concurre, nor his Bishoppes, neither by their Vicegerents, nor by Prouinciall letters; neither yet the Patriarches of the East; to wit, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Ierusalem*, nor their Bishoppes. It is true indeede, that the [q] Bishoppes assembled at *Rome* by the command of *Theodoricus*, to examine the matters obiected to *Symmachus* the Pope, told him, the Councell should haue beene called by the Pope, and not by him; but they spake of Particular Councells, which often-times, by the permission of Princes were wont to be called by Metropolitans, Primats, or Patriarches, and not of General, whereof our question is: and yet I haue shewed before, by many testimonies, that Princes, when they saw cause, did call Councells of this sort also. So that the speech of these Bishoppes (affected to their Patriarke,

o Actione. 3. pag. 73. apud Binnium.

p Concil. 7. Actione. 6.

q Concil. Roman. 4. sub. Symmacho.

and

and vnwilling to come to any ſcanning of his actions) is not much to bee eſteemed.

[r] *Epiſt. 93. cap. 17.*

The next teſtimony out of the Epiſtles of [r] *Leo* teſtifieth the Cardinal careth not what hee ſaith, ſo hee ſay ſome-thing: for it is true indeed that *Leo* ſaith: Hee directed his Letters to his Brethren and fellow-Biſhops, and ſummoned them to a Generall Councell, but meaneth not a Councell abſolutely Generall, conſiſting of all the Biſhops of the world, of which our queſtion is, but of all the Biſhops of thoſe parts to which hee writeth, beeing ſubiect to him as Patriarch of the Weſt, as appeareth by the circumſtances of the Epiſtle cited. But [s] *Pelagius* the Second in his Epiſtle to thoſe that *Iohn* of *Conſtantinople* called to his Synode as Generall, ſaith, The authority of calling Generall Councels, was by ſingular priuiledge of Bleſſed *Peter*, giuen to the Apoſtolick Sea; that no Synode was euer reputed lawfull, that was not ſtrengthened by the authority of the Sea Apoſtolicke: and againe, that Councels may not be holden without the iudgment and liking of the Biſhop of *Rome:* therefore all is true that the Cardinall hath hitherto alleadged. Hereunto (though *Pelagius* may ſeeme ſome-what partiall in his owne cauſe) wee anſwer, firſt with [t] *Bellarmine* himſelfe, that the calling of Generall Councels is not ſo proper to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but that another may doe it, if hee conſent, or if hee ratifie the indiction. Secondly, that though hee refuſe to ratifie it, if his preſence and concurrence bee ſufficiently ſought and deſired, it may bee lawfull, and of force, as it appeareth by the Fift Generall Councell, which *Vigilius* refuſed to haue any part in.

[s] *Epiſt. 1. ad Orientales.*

[t] *De Concilijs lib. 1. cap. 12.*

The laſt teſtimony that *Bellarmine* produceth to prooue, that the power of calling Councels doth not properly belong to the Emperours, is a ſaying of *Valentinian* reported by [u] *Zozomen:* but it maketh clearly againſt himſelfe. The circumſtances of *Zozomens* report are theſe. The Biſhops of *Helleſpont*, *Bithynia*, and ſome other, profeſſing to beleeue that Chriſt the ſonne of God is Con-ſubſtantiall with his Father, ſent a Legate to *Valentinian* the Emperour, and deſired him to giue them leaue to meete about matters concerning the Faith. To whom the Emperour anſwered, that it was not lawfull for him, beeing one of the Laity, to intermedle in theſe buſineſſes, but willed, that the Prieſts and Biſhops, to whome the care of theſe things pertaineth, ſhould meete in one place, where-ſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe them: for heere wee ſee, that the Biſhops durſt not preſume to aſſemble without the Emperours leaue; which mainly croſſeth the conceit of the Cardinall: neither doth the Emperour ſay, the calling of Councels pertaineth nothing to him, but the intermedling with the matters that are brought in queſtion in them; and therefore biddeth them meete by themſelues, not intending to bee preſent among them; not meaning that it was not lawfull for him to bee preſent, (for then he ſhould condemne *Conſtantine*, and other that were preſent, either in perſon, or by their Deputies)

[u] *Zozom. lib. 6. cap. 7.*

Deputies) nor that it was simply vnlawfull for him to intermedle, (for they intermedled as I will shew in that which followeth) but that hee might not so intermedle as Bishoppes and Priests, to whom properly it pertaineth to determine these things; yet if Princes perceiue, that they who meete in Councells, bee swayed by siniſter and vile affections, not seeking the clearing of the truth, but the suppressing of it, they may, and in duty are bound to hinder their proceedings by all lawfull meanes, that come within the compasse of their Princely power; wherefore seeing our Aduersaries cannot proue, that the right that Princes haue to call Councells, dependeth on the consent of the Pope, and that without his consent or ratification, their indiction of Councells is vnlawfull, let vs see how they can proue, that the Emperours called Generall Councells by the Popes authority, and as commanded or required by him so to do, and not otherwise. We know that [x] *Liberius* intreated *Constantius* to call a Councell: and that [y] *Leo* with other Bishoppes of the West on their knees beought the Emperour *Martian* to call a Councell in *Italy*, and could not obtayne it; but were commanded to come to the Councell the Emperour appointed at *Chalcedon*, and were straitly charged and required to come or send vnto it at the time appointed, not finding so much fauour, as to haue it deferred for a little time. And therefore it is greatly to be feared that *Bellarmines* allegations will be too weake to proue, that the Emperours called Councels by the Popes authority, & as commanded by him. For first, touching the Councell of *Nice*, [z] *Ruffinus* sheweth, that *Arrius* hauing broached his deuilish Heresy, and being often admonished by his Bishop, *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, no way reforming himselfe, *Alexander* wrot to other Bishoppes signifing what was fallen out in his Church, so that in the end, the matter came to the Emperours eares: who there-vpon (by the Councell of the Bishops aduising him so to do) called the Councell of *Nice*; and [a] *Andradius* saith, he was induced so to doe, by the perswasions of *Alexander* Bishop of Alexandria, but that the Bishoppe of *Rome* commanded him so to do, it no way appeareth. Indeed the author of the [b] *Pontificall* saith, *Constantine* called it with the consent of *Syluester*. And the Fathers in the sixth [c] Generall Councell (out of him or some such Author,) say, that *Constantine* and *Syluester* called it. But the author of the *Pontificall* is of no credit in this behalfe, reporting in the same place the curing of *Constantines* Leprosy; which is acknowledged by all learned men to be a meere fable: and besides, [d] *Zozomen* is of opinion, that the Councell of *Nice* was not holden in the time of *Syluester*, but of *Iulius* that succeeded him; wherefore let vs proceed to the next proofe. *Damasus* the Bishop of *Rome* (saith *Bellarmine*) called the first Councel of *Constantinople*, and *Theodosius* the elder did but send his letters to the Bishops to that purpose. Therfore the calling of Generall Councells pertaineth to the Pope. How little the Iesuits care what they

[x] *Theodoret. hist. Eccles. li. 2.*
[y] *Leo Epist. 42 & 43.*
[z] *Lib. 1. cap. 1.*
[a] *De authoritate Generalium Conciliorum. lib. 1. pag. 59.*
[b] *In vita Syluestri.*
[c] *Actione. 18. pag. 88. apud. Binnium.*
[d] *Li. 1. cap. 16.*

they write, it appeareth by the dealing of the Cardinall in this matter. For whereas both [e] *Socrates*, [f] *Zozomen*, and [g] *Theodoret* do testifie, that the Emperour called the Bishops to *Constantinople*, with-out making any mention of the letters of the Bishop of *Rome*, & that they came vpon his summons; he saith, it was not the Emperour that called them to *Constantinople*, but the Pope; and that the Emperour did nothing but transpose and conueigh his letters vnto them; wholy mistaking the story. For the letters hee speaketh of, were not to call them to *Constantinople*, whither they came vpon the Emperours summons, but to *Rome*, where the Bishops of the West were assembled in Councell, whither they refused to come. Neither doth hee shew any more faithfulnesse and sincerity in that hee hath touching the Councell of *Ephesus*. For whereas the [h] stories report, that things were mannaged in that Councell by the industry of *Cyrill*, with the concurrence of the authority of *Caelestinus*, and that *Cyrill*, was there present and President, not onely in his owne name but also as supplying the place of *Caelestinus*, hee inferreth from hence that it was the Pope that called the Councell. That the Councell of *Chalcedon* was called by the Emperour, it is most euident; The Pope (as I haue shewed) being not able to preuaile so much, as to get it deferred for a time: yet will *Bellarmine* prooue, that *Leo* called that Councell though not without the helpe of the Emperour. First, out of the Epistle of the Emperour to *Leo*, prefixed before the Councell: And secondly out of the [i] Epistle of the Bishops of the lesser *Masia*, written to the Emperour. But these proofes are too weake: For the Emperour hauing resolued to haue a Councell, telleth *Leo* in his Epistle, that it remained that hee come vnto it: or if it seeme troublesome vnto him, that he signifie so much to him by his letters, that hee may write to *Illyricum*, *Thracia*, and the East, that all the holy Bishoppes may come together into the place hee shall appoint; and may declare, publish, and set forth by their Decree, such things as may bee behouefull to the religion of Christians and the Catholicke Faith, accordingly as his Holynesse also shall define, according to the Ecclesiasticall Canons; but saith nothing whence it may bee inferred that *Leo* called the Councell. For I thinke it will not follow, that because the Bishoppe of *Rome* was to come to the Councell, or other-wise to send Synodall and Prouinciall Letters from him-selfe and his Bishoppes, that so with one vniforme consent things might bee agreed on, therefore the Pope called the Councell.

The Epistle of the Bishops of the lesser *Masia* is lesse to the purpose, then the former of the Emperour: for they say. *The Councell of* Chalcedon *was holden by the command of* Leo *Bishoppe of* Rome, *the chiefe of all Bishoppes, and the most honourable Bishoppe and Patriarch* Anatolius; ioyning the Bishop of *Rome* and the Bishop of *Constantinople*

[e] *Lib. 5. cap. 8.*
[f] *Lib. 7. cap. 7.*
[g] *Lib. 5. cap. 7.*

[h] *Constat ex Euagrio lib. 1. cap. 4. Epistol. Caelestini ad Cyrill. Photio in lib. de 7. Synodis.*

[i] *Inter Epist. ad Concilium Chalced. pertinentes.*

ple together, in commanding this Councell to bee holden. So that if the Cardinall will prooue from hence, that the Pope called the Councell, hee may prooue likewise, that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* called it.

But the truth is, they might command the Bishoppes vnder them to assemble, after they receiued the Emperours letters, but the Councell was called by neyther of them. And therefore whereas [k] *Gelasius* saith, the Sea Apostolicke onely decreed, that the Councell of *Chalcedon* should bee holden, his meaning is not, to exclude the Emperour and his Authority, but the other Patriarchicall Seas, and to let the world know, that the Sea of *Rome* alone, by the authority it had with the Emperour, preuailed so farre, as to obtaine his royall Edict, for the gathering together of the Bishops in this Councell; or else hee speaketh vntruly. For wee know the Emperour tooke vpon him in such peremptory sort to call this Councell, that hee would not bee intreated by the *Romaine* Bishop, and other Bishops of the West, neither for the time, nor place, but out of his absolute authority appointed both, as it seemed good vnto him-selfe.

[k] *Epist. ad Episc. Dardan.*

Three other proofes the Iesuite hath yet behind. The first is out of *Socrates*, out of whome hee saith it may bee prooued, that *Iulius* the Pope called the Councell of *Sardica*: but how, I cannot tell. For [l] *Socrates* saith expresly, that the Councell of *Sardica* was called by the two Emperours, *Constance* and *Constantius*: whereof the one raigned in the East, the other in the West; the one by his Letters desiring it, the other most willingly performing that hee desired. But of *Iulius* calling it, hee maketh no mention. If the Iesuite thinke it may bee prooued, that *Iulius* called it; because among them that sought to excuse them-selues from comming vpon fained pretences, some complained of the shortnesse of the time appointed for this meeting, and cast the blame thereof vppon *Iulius*, hee is greatly deceiued; seeing *Iulius* might bee blamed, for procuring the Emperour *Constance*, by his Letters directed to *Constantius* his brother, to set so shorte a time as hee did; though hee did not call the Councell him-selfe. And that it was not the Authoritie of the Pope that brought the Bishopps together in this Councell, it is most euident, in that, [m] when hee wrote to them to restore *Athanasius* to his place, they reiected his Letters with contempt, maruailing, that hee medled more with their matters then they did with his. Neither is it likely, that *Constantius* would bee commanded by *Iulius* to call this Councell. Seeing when the Councell had commanded *Athanasius* to bee restored to his place, yet hee [n] refused to giue way, till his brother threatned to make warre vpon him for it. But if this proofe fayle, *Bellarmine* hath a better. For hee saith, *Sixtus* the Third, in an Epistle to those of the East, writeth, That *Valentinian* the Emperour

[l] *Lib. 2. cap. 16.*

[m] *Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

[n] *Socrates lib. 2. cap. 18.*

called a Synode by his authority; whence it followeth, that the calling of Generall Councels pertaineth in such sort to the Popes, that the Emperours may not call them, but by warrant and authority from them. If the Reader will bee pleased to consider of this proofe, hee shall easily discerne how little credit is to bee giuen to Iesuited Papists in their allegations.

For first, *Sixtus* doth not say, the Emperour *Valentinian* called a Synode by his authority, but that hee commanded a Synode should bee called by his authority; that is, commanded him to call it. And the Author of the ° *Pontificall*, speaking of the calling of the same Synode, saith, the Emperour commanded that the Councell and holy Synode should bee congregated. Secondly, it was but a Diocesan Synode, consisting of the Presbyters and Cleargie of *Rome* called together, about certaine crimes obiected to *Sixtus*, whereof hee purged him-selfe before them. Now I thinke it will not follow, that, if the Bishop of *Rome* might call together the Cleargie of his owne Dioceſſe, the calling of Generall Councels pertained to him onely: or that, if the Emperour thought fit, rather to command the *Romaine* Bishop to call together his Cleargie, then to doe it immediatly by his owne authority; therefore hee would haue done the like in summoning Generall Councels, consisting of all the Bishops of the world. Wherefore let vs passe to the last of his proofes, taken out of the Epistle of *Adrian* the second, to *Basileius* the Emperour, prefixed before the Eighth Generall Councell, which vndoubtedly, vpon proofe, will bee found to be no better then the rest. For first, it is grounded on the saying of a Pope, that liued many hundred yeares after Christ, and long after the diuision of the Empire, and the with-drawing of the Church of Rome from the obedience of the Emperours of the East, and so not much to bee regarded in a question concerning the right of the Emperour.

° *In vita Sixti.3.*

° *Adrian* wrote this Epistle after hee had receiued the Emperours letters, calling him to the Councell, and therefore it may bee thought, that when he saith, *We will. &c.* hee expresseth his consenting to the Emperors mandate, and not any commanding of him.

Secondly, he speaketh not in his owne name, but in the name of all the West Church. And thirdly, that hee saith, ° *Wee will that by your industry a great assembly bee gathered*, prooueth not that the Pope tooke vpon him peremptorily to command the Emperour. For seeing in the whole Epistle hee vseth words of exhorting, praying and intreating, these words may seeme to import no more, but, Our desire is, that there should bee such an assembly by your industry, in which our Legates sitting as Presidents, matters may bee examined, and all things righted. Or, wee, though no waye subiect to your Empire, yet at your request, are content that such a Councell bee called, and that our Legates doe sitte in it, with the Bishoppes subiect to your Imperiall command. For that *Basileius* called the Councell, it appeareth by his wordes to the Bishoppes in the beginning of it.

But if none of these exceptions against the Emperours ancient practise

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of calling Councels will hold, our Aduersaries, rather then they will suffer the Pope to bee a looser, will not sticke to charge the Emperours with vsurpation, and taking more on them then pertained to them. Whosoeuer (saith [p] *Andradius*) shall thinke, that the power and authority of Emperours, is to bee esteemed and iudged of, by the things done by them in the Church, rather then by Christs institution, the Decrees of the Elders, and the force and nature of the Papall dignity it selfe, hee shall make vnbridled pride, and head-long fury to bee chiefe Commander, and to sway most in the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy. Thus doth *Andradius* censure the ancient Christian Emperours, and exemplifieth not onely in *Constantius* the *Arrian*, but *Iustinian* also (as him-selfe confesseth) a good Emperour. For refutation of which most vniust exception, we say, that howsoeuer it bee not to bee doubted, but that ill affected, or ill directed Emperours, did some-times that which was not fit; yet, that in calling Councells by their Princely authority, and commanding all Bishops to come or send vnto them, they exceeded not the bounds and limitts of their commission, it is euident, in that neuer any Bishop durst blame them for it; But all sought vnto them, euen the Bishops of *Rome* them-selues, praying them so to doe, as I shewed before by the examples of *Liberius*, *Innocentius*, and *Leo*: which thing also [q] *Bellarmine* himselfe confesseth. Wherefore, seeing it is euident by the allowed practise of former times, that the calling of Generall Councels belonged to the Emperours, after they became Christians, let vs see what they tooke on them in these Councels, after they had called them; and consequently, what right, power, and authority Christian Princes haue to manage the affaires, and command the holy Bishops and Ministers of the Church.

[p] *Lib. 1. de authorit. general. Concil. pag. 59.*

[q] *De Concil. lib. 1. cap. 13.*

Chap. 53.

Of the power and authority exercised by the ancient Emperours in Generall Councels: and of the supremacie of Christian Princes in causes and ouer persons Ecclesiasticall.

THE first thing that Christian Emperours in ancient times assumed to them-selues in Generall Councels, was, to bee present in them when they pleased; as we read of [a] *Constantine* the Great, that hee not onely called the Councell of *Nice*, but was present in it; of [b] *Martian*, that hee was present in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, with *Pulcheria* the Empresse; of [c] *Constantine* the fourth, that hee was present in the Sixth Generall Councel; and [d] *Basileus* in the Eighth: and when they pleased to bee absent, to send some in their stead; as [e] *Theodosius* the younger sent *Candidianus* to bee present for him in the Councell of *Ephesus*; and *Martianus*, though

[a] *Euseb. de vita Constantini. lib. 3. cap. 10.*

[b] *Concil. Chalcedon. Actione. 1. pag. 4. apud Binnium.*

[c] *Concil. 6. Actione. 1. tomo 3. apud Binnium pag. 8.*

[d] *Vide patet in actis Concil. 8.*

[e] *Act. Ephes. Concil. tom. 2 cap. 32.*

though present in the first Session, yet beeing for the most part of the time absent, appointed certaine secular Iudges to sitte in the Councell of *Chalcedon*.

[e] *Vide Acta Synodi Chalcedonensis.*

The second thing that they assumed to them, was, to sit in the highest place: and so wee read, that [f] in the Councell of *Nice*, all the Bishops beeing placed in order, the Emperour (some fewe going before him) entred into the Councell: at whose comming, all the Bishoppes rose vp, and did reuerence vnto him, and hee passed through the middest of them, as an heauenly Angell of God, hauing on a Purple robe, and shining vesture, be-decked with gold, Pearles, and Pretious stones; and staied not, till hee came to the highest place, where a little seate of Gold was prepared: wherein yet hee satte not downe, but stood vpright, till the Bishops had bowed and beckned vnto him to sitte downe. In like sort wee read of [h] *Martian*, that hee sat in the highest place in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, with the *Senators* and Iudges by his side: And of [i] *Constantine* the fourth, that hee sate in the highest place in the Sixth Generall Councell. And when they were not present in person, the Senators and secular Iudges deputed by them, sate in the middest in the highest roome; as wee shall finde they did in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, at such times as the Emperour was away.

[f] *Euseb. de vitâ Constantini. lib. 3. cap. 10.*

[h] *Vbi suprà.*

[i] *Vbi suprà.*

The third thing which the Emperours tooke on them either in their owne persons, or by such as they deputed, besides the defence of the Bishops from outward violence, was a kinde of direction of things that were to be done in the Councell. This direction consisted in seuen things. First, in prouiding that nothing should bee done passionately, violently, and by clamour of multitudes, but that the ground of each thing should bee sought out. Secondly, in prouiding that nothing should bee extorted by feare and terror, from them that meete to decree for truth and iustice, without all priuate and sinister respects. Thirdly, in seeing that nothing should bee omitted, that the holy Canons require to bee done for the finding out of that which is true and right; that so both error and wrong might be auoyded. Fourthly, in not suffering them to passe from one thing to another, before that they had in hand were fully ended; nor to digresse to things impertinent, which might breed confusion, and hinder the effecting of that which was intended: And in putting an end to each action, when they sawe as much done as was fitte, or otherwise deferring the further deliberation to some other time. Fifthly, when they found an indisposition in them, to agree to such and so cleare determination of matters in question, as might satisfie all, to dissolue the Councell, and to call another.

Sixthly, in iudging and pronouncing according to that they saw aleadged with the approbation and assent of the Councell. Lastly, in subscribing and confirming by their royall assent, the things resolued and agreed

agreed on. All these things (as [k] *Cusanus* rightly noteth) the Emperours tooke on them in Generall Councells; and the performance of euery of these wee may finde in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, but specially the First and the Fifth. For [l] whereas the ten Bishops of *Egypt*, that were there in the name of the rest, refused to subscribe to the Actes of the Councell, till they should haue a new Patriarch chosen and ordained, (not out of any dislike of that was done, or as being of another iudgement, but because the custome of their country permitted them not to subscribe, vnlesse their Patriarch went before them in so dooing) there was a generall clamour against them, of all the Bishops, crying out alowde, that that they were to bee excommunicated and Anathematized. And though they fell prostrate on their faces before the whole Councell, professing their refusall to proceed from no priuate conceit, and desiring to bee pitied, and not vrged to any formall subscription, for that if they should doe any such thing, they were sure neuer to bee endured by the Bishops of their Country; yet could they finde no fauour or relenting, till the secular Iudges, out of their discretion, finding the true ground of this their stay to subscribe, to be such as they alleadged, deliuered their opinion, that it was a thing reasonable, and in pitty to be granted vnto them, that they should bee forborne and stay in the Citty, till their Archbishop were chosen: Which when *Paschasinus* the Legate of *Rome* heard, hee said, if your glorious excellencie command that it bee so, let them put in sureties not to depart the Citty, till their Archbishop bee chosen; and the rest of the Bishops agreed to him. So that the matter which was ready to bee swayed by the whole Councell, with clamour and out-cry in a very violent sort, was stayed by the wisedome of the secular Iudges, the poore distressed suppliants pitied, and the hard proceeding of the Bishops against them hindred.

[k] *Concord. Catholi. lib. 3. cap. 18.*

[l] *Concil. Chalcedō. Actione. 4.*

And in the same [m] Councell wee read, that the Bishops hauing agreed on a forme of Confession of Faith, were desired by the Emperours Deputies the secular Iudges, for the satisfaction of all men, to adde certaine words out of the Epistle of *Leo*, to that forme of Confession: which when they all (some few of the East, and the Legates of *Rome* excepted) with great clamour refused to doe, the Iudges tolde them, the Emperour should know of their clamorous courses: And that if they would not agree together to make some good end, a Councell should bee called in the West, and they forced to walke thither.

[m] *Actio. 4.*

Neither did Christian Emperours onely thus intermeddle in Generall Councells, as chiefe Lords of the whole world; but particuler Kings and Princes likewise within their seuerall dominions and Kingdomes did as much. For wee read that [n] *Charlemagne*, with the aduice and counsell of the seruants of GOD, and his Nobles, gathered together into a Synode all the Bishoppes in his

[n] *Naucler. vol. 2. generat. 25.*

his kingdome, with their Presbyters, that they might aduise him how the law of God and religion (well established in the times of former Princes, but now much fallen and decayed) might bee restored, and Christian people attaine saluation, and not bee mislead by false Priests: and by the aduise of his Bishops and Nobles, according to this his good intent and purpose, hee ordained Bishops in his Cities, and set ouer them *Bonifacius* as their Archbishop: hee decreed that a Synode should bee holden once euery yeare, that in his presence the Decrees of the Canons and Lawes of the Church might be restored, and what should be found amisse in Christian religion, amended: he degraded false Priestes and Deacons, and Clearkes that were whoremongers and adulterers; he prescribed pennance to certaine offenders, & subiected them to imprisonment and other corporall punishments and corrections.

[o] *Cusanus Concord. catho'. lib. 3. cap. 8.*
[p] *Ibid. cap 40.*

This Acte of *Charlemaine* is alleaged by [o] *Cusanus*, and greatly approued: yea the same [p] *Cusanus* complaining of the abuses of the Court of *Rome* (in that thinges are carried thither, that should bee determined in the Prouinces where they begin, in that the Pope intermedleth in giuing Benefices before they be voyde, to the preiudice of the originall Patrons, by reason whereof young men runne to *Rome* and spend their best time there, carrying gold with them and bringing backe nothing but paper, and many like confusions, which the Canons forbid and need reformation) addeth; that the common saying, that the secular power may not restraine or alter these courses brought in by Papall authority, should not moue any man: for that, though the power of temporall Princes ought not to change any thinge established Canonically for the honor of GOD and good of such as attend his seruice, yet it may and ought to prouide for the common good, and see, that the ancient Canons bee obserued. Neither ought any one to say, that the antient Christian Emperours did erre, that made so many sacred Constitutions, or that they ought not so to haue done. For (saith hee) I read, that Popes haue desired them for the common good, to make lawes for the punishment of offences committed by those of the Cleargie: And if any one shall say, that the force of all these Constitutions depended vpon Papall or Synodall approbation, I will not insist vpon it, though I haue read and collected foure score and sixe chiefe heads of Ecclesiasticall rules and lawes made by old Emperours, and many other made by *Charles* the Great and his successors: in which order is taken, not onely concerning others, but euen concerning the Bishop of *Rome* himselfe, and other Patriarches, what they shall take of the Bishoppes they ordaine, and many like things: and yet did I neuer finde, that the Pope was desired to approoue them, or that they haue no binding force, but by vertue of his approbation. But I knowe right well, that some Popes haue professed their due regarde of those Imperiall and

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Princely Constitutions. But though it were graunted, that those Constitutions had no further force then they receiued from the Canons, where-in the same thinges were formerly ordered, or from Synodall approbation; yet might the Emperour now reforme thinges amisse by vertue of old Canons, and Princes Constitutions grounded on them. Yea, if hee should with good aduice (considering the decay of piety and diuine worshippe, the ouer-flowing of all wickednesse, and the causes and occasions thereof) recall the old Canons, and the auncient and most holy obseruation of the Elders, and reiect what-soeuer priuiledges, exemptions, or new deuices contrary there-vnto, (by vertue whereof, suites, complaintes and controuersies, the gifts and donations of benefices, and the like things are vniustly brought to *Rome*, to the great prejudice of the whole Christian Church) I thinke no man could iustly blame him for so doing. Yea hee saith, the Emperour *Sigismund* had an intention so to doe, and exhorteth him, by no fayned allegations of men fauoring present disorders, to bee discouraged: for that there is no way to preserue the peace of the Church (what-soeuer some pretend to the contrary) vnlesse such lewde and wicked courses, proceeding from ambition, pride, and couetousnesse, be stopped, and the old Canons reuiued.

From that which hath beene obserued touching the proceeding of Christian Kinges and Emperours in former times, in calling Councells, in being present at them, and in making lawes for persons and causes Ecclesiastical, it is easie to gather, what the power of Princes is in this kinde, and that they are indeed supreame Gouernours ouer all persons, and in all causes, as well Ecclesiasticall as Ciuill: which is that we attribute to our Kings and Quecnes, and the Papistes so much stumble at, as if some new and strange opinion were broached by vs. Wherefore, for the satisfaction of all such, as are not maliciously obstinate, refusing to heare what may be said, I will indeauor in this place vpon so fit an occasion to cleare what soeuer may be questionable in this point; & will first intreat of the power & right that Princes haue in cuases Ecclesiastical & then of that they haue ouer persons Ecclesiastical: and in treating of causes Ecclesiastical, I wil first distinguish the diuersities of them, and the power of medling with them. Causes Ecclesiasticall therefore are of two sorts; for some are originally and naturally such; and some, only, in that (by fauour of Princes out of due consideration) they are referred to the Cognisance of Ecclesiasticall persons, as fittest Iudges; as the probations of the Testaments of them that are dead, the disposition of the goods of such as dye intestat, and if there be any other like. Causes Ecclesiasticall of the first sort, are eyther meerely and onely Ecclesiasticall and Spirituall, or mixt. Meerely Ecclesiastical, are of three sorts. First, matters of Faith and Doctrine. Secondly, matters of Sacraments, and the due administration of them. Thirdly, the

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orders, degrees, and ordination of such as attend the Ministery of the Word and Sacramentes. Mixtly Ecclesiasticall, are of two sortes: eyther such, as in one respect belong to one kinde of cognisance, and in another to another, as marriages, which are subiect to ciuill disposition, in that they are politicall contracts; and to spirituall, in that they are ordered by the diuine law: or such as are equally censurable by Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall authority, as murthers, adulteries, blasphemyes, and the like. All which in the time when there is no Christian Magistrate, or when there is ouer-great negligence in the Ciuil Magistrate, are to be punished by the spirituall guides of the Church. Where-vppon wee shall finde that the Auncient Councels prescribed penance to offenders in all these kindes. But when there is a Christian Magistrate doing his duty, they are to be referred, specially eyther to the one or the other of these; and accordingly to bee censured by the one or the other: as wee see the punishment of adultery, vsury, and thinges of that nature, is referred to Ecclesiasticall persons, and the punishment of murther, theft, and the like, to the ciuill Magistrate. This distinction of causes Ecclesiasticall premised, it is easie to see what Authority Princes haue in causes Ecclesiasticall. For first, touching those causes that are Ecclesiasticall only, in that they are put ouer to the cognisance of spirituall persons, there is no question, but that the Prince hath a supreame power, and that no man may meddle with them, any otherwise then as he is pleased to allow. And likewise touching those things which in one respect pertaine to ciuill iurisdiction, & in another to spiritual, or which are equally censurable, by both, there is no question, but that the Prince hath supreame power, in that they pertayne to ciuill iurisdiction. So that the onely question is, touching thinges naturally and meerely spirituall: The power in these is of two sortes: of Order, and of Iurisdiction. The power of Order, is the authority to preach the word, minister the Sacraments, and to ordaine Ministers to doe all these things: and this power the Princes of the World haue not at all, much lesse the supreame Authority to do these things, but it is proper to the Ministers of the Church. And if Princes meddle in this kind, they are like to P *Vzziah*, ỳ offered to burne incense, for which he was stricken with leprosie. The power of Iurisdiction standeth first, in prescribing and making lawes. Secondly, in hearing, examining, & iudging of opinions, touching matters of Faith: And thirdly, in iudging of things pertayning to Ecclesiastical order & ministery, and the due performance of Gods worship and seruice. Touching the first, the making of a Lawe is the prescribing of a thing vnder some paine or punishment, which he ỳ so prescribeth hath power to inflict. Whence it is consequent, that the Prince (hauing no power to excommunicate, put from the Sacraments, and deliuer to Satan) can of him-selfe make no Canons, such as Councels of Bishoppes doe; who commaund or forbidde thinges

P 2. Chro. 26. 16.

vnder

vnder payne of excommunication, and like spiritual censures; but (hauing power of life and death, of imprisonment, banishment, confiscation of goods and the like) hee may with the aduice and direction of his Cleargy, commaund thinges pertayning to GODS worshippe and seruice vnder these paines, both for profession of Faith, ministration of Sacraments, and conuersation fitting to Christians in generall, or men of Ecclesiasticall order in particular; and by his Princely power establish thinges formerly defined and decreed against what-soeuer error, and contrary ill custome, and obseruation. And herein he is so farre forth supreme, that no Prince, Prelate, nor Potentate, hath a commanding Authority ouer him: yet do we not (what-soeuer our clamorous Aduersaries vntruely report, to make vs odious,) make our Princes with their Ciuill States, supreme in the power of commanding in matters concerning God, & his Faith and Religion, without seeking the direction of their Cleargy. (for the [q] Statute that restored the title of Supremacy to the late *Queene Elizabeth*, of famous and blessed memory, prouideth, that none shall haue authority newly to iudge any thing to be Heresie, not formerly so iudged, but the high Court of Parliament with the assent of the Cleargy in their Conuocation,) nor with them, so, as to commaund what they thinke fitte, without aduising with others, partakers of like precious Faith with them, when a more generall meeting for further deliberation may be had, or the thing requireth it: Though when no such general concurrence may bee had, they may by them-selues prouide for those partes of the Church that are vnder them. From the power and authority we giue our Princes in making lawes, and prescribing how men shall professe and practise touching matters of Faith and Religion, let vs proceed to treat of the other part of power ascribed vnto them, which is in iudging of errors in Faith & disorders, or faults in things pertayning to Ecclesiastical order & ministery according to former determinations and decrees. And first, touching errors in Faith, or alteartions in the performance of Gods worship and seruice, there is no question, but that Bishops and Pastors of the Church (to whome it pertayneth to teach the Truth) are the ordinary and fittest Iudges; and that ordinarily and regularly, Princes are to leaue the iudgement therof vnto them. But becaus they may faile, either through negligence, ignorance, or mallice, Princes hauing charge of Gods people, and beeing to see that they serue and worshippe him aright, are to iudge and condemne them that fall into grosse errors, contrary to the common sence of Christians; or into any other Heresies formerly condemned. And though there be no generall fayling, yet if they see violent and partiall courses taken, they may interpose them-selues to stay them, and cause a due proceeding, or remoue the matter from one company and sort of Iudges to another. And here-vnto the best learned in former times agreed, clearely confessing, that when some thing is necessarily to be done, and the ordinary guides of the Church do faile, or are

[q] *Anno.1. Elizab.*

not able to yeeld that helpe that is needfull, wee may lawfully fly to o-
ther for relieſe and helpe; [r] when theſe two things do meete in the ſtate
of the Church, (ſaith *Waldenſis*) to wit, extreme neceſſity, admitting no
delay, and the want of abiſity to yeeld relieſe in the ordinary Paſtor or
Guide, we muſt ſeeke an extraordinary Father and Patron, rather then ſuf-
fer the frame, fabricke and building of the Lord Chriſt to be diſſolued. If
any man happily ſay that [s] *Ambroſe*, a moſt worthy Biſhop, refuſed to come
to the Court to bee iudged in a matter of faith by *Valentinian* the Em-
perour, and asked; when euer he heard that Emperours iudged Biſhops
in matters of faith? ſeeing if that were granted, it would follow, that
Lay-men ſhould diſpute and debate matters, and Biſhoppes heare; yea
that Biſhoppes ſhould learne of Lay-men, (whereas contrary-wiſe, if wee
looke ouer the Scriptures, and conſider the courſe of times paſt, we ſhall
finde, that Biſhoppes haue iudged of Emperours in matters of faith, and
not Emperours of Biſhoppes) and that therefore it cannot bee without
vſurpation of that which no way pertaineth to them, that Princes ſhould
at all medle with the iudging of matters of Faith.

[r] *Waldenſ. doctrin. fidei. li. 2. cap. 80.*

[s] *Epiſtolar. lib. 5. ep. 32.*

This obiection, what ſhew ſoeuer it may ſeeme to carry, is eaſily anſwered;
for firſt, the thing that *Valentinian* tooke on him, was not to iudge accor-
ding to former definitions, but hee would haue iudged of a thing already
reſolued on in a Generall Councell, called by *Conſtantine* the Emperour,
as if it had bin free, and not yet iudged of at all: whereas we doe not attri-
bute to our Princes with their Ciuill Eſtates, power newly to adiudge
any thing to bee Hereſy without the concurrence of the State of their
Cleargy, but onely to Iudge in thoſe matters of faith, that are reſolued on,
according to former reſolutions.

And beſides this, *Valentinian* was knowne to be partiall; he was but a
nouice, and the other iudges he ment to aſſociate to him ſelfe, ſuſpected;
and therefore *Ambroſe* had reaſon to do as he did. Wherefore let vs pro-
ceed to the other part of the power of Iuriſdiction, that conſiſteth in iudge
ing of things pertaining to Eccleſiaſticall Order and Miniſtery. Con-
cerning which point, firſt it is reſolued, that none may ordaine any to
ſerue in the worke of the Miniſtery, but the ſpirituall Paſtors and Guides
of the Church. Secondly, that none may iudicially degrade or put any
one lawfully admitted from his degree and order, but they alone. Nei-
ther do our Kings or Queenes challenge any ſuch thing to them-ſelues:
but their power ſtandeth, firſt, in calling together the Biſhoppes and Paſ-
tors of the Church, for the hearing and determining of ſuch things, and in
taking all due care, that all things bee done orderly in ſuch proceedings,
without partiality, violence, or precipitation, according to the Canons
and Imperiall lawes made to confirme the ſame. Secondly, when they
ſee cauſe, in taking things from thoſe whome they iuſtly ſuſpect, or o-
thers except againſt, and appointing others in their places. Thirdly, in

appointing

appoynting some selected men for the visitation of the rest. Fourthly, in ioyning temporall men in commission with the spirituall guides of the Church, to take view of, and to censure the actions of men of Ecclesiastical order: because they are directed not only by Canons, but lawes Imperiall. Fifthly, when matters of fact are obiected, for which the Canons & lawes Imperiall iudge Men depriueable; the Prince, when he seeth cause, and when the state of things require it, eyther in person, if he please, or by such other as he thinketh fitte to appoint, may heare and examine the proofes of the same, and eyther ratifie that others did, or voyd it: as wee see in the case of [a] *Cecilianus*, to whome it was obiected that he was a *Traditor*, and *Felix Antumnitanus* that ordayned him, was so likewise, and that therefore his ordination was voyd. For first, the enemies of *Cæcilianus* disliking his ordination, made complaintes against him to *Constantine*; and hee appointed *Melchiades* and some other Bishopps, to sitte and heare the matter. From their iudgement, there was a new appeale made to *Constantine*. Where-vppon hee sent to the *Proconsull* to examine the proofes that might be produced. But from his iudgement the complainants appealed the third time to *Constantine*, who appointed a Synode at [x] *Arle*. All this hee did, to giue satisfaction (if it were possible) to these men; and so to procure the peace of the Church. And though hee excused him-selfe for medling in these businesses, and asked pardon for the same: (for that regularly, hee was to haue left these iudgements to Ecclesiasticall persons) yet it no way appeareth, that he did ill in interposing him-selfe in such sort as he did, the state of things beeing such as it was: nor that the Bishops did ill, that yeelded to him in these courses, and therefore in cases of like nature, Princes may doe what-soeuer hee did, and Bishoppes may appeare before them, and submit them-selues to their iudgement; though in another case *Ambrose* refused to present him-selfe before *Valentinian* the Emperour, for tryall of an Ecclesiasticall cause. Neyther is it strange in our state that Kinges should intermedle in causes Ecclesiasticall. For *Mathew Paris* sheweth, that the auncient lawes of England prouided, that in appeales men should proceed from the Arch-deacon to the Bishoppe, from the Bishoppe to the Arch-bishoppe; and that, if the Arch-bishoppe should fayle in doing iustice, the matter should be made known to the King; that by vertue of his commandement it might receiue an end in the Archbishops Court; that there might be no further proceeding in appeales without the Kings consent.

From the power which Princes haue in causes Ecclesiasticall, let vs proceed to the power they haue ouer persons Ecclesiasticall; and see, whether they be supreame ouer all persons; or whether men of the Church bee exempt from their iurisdiction. That they are not exempted by GODS law, we haue the cleare confession of Cardinal [z] *Bellarmine*, and others; who not only yeeld so far vnto the truth, forced so to doe by the cleare

[a] *Aguſt. epiſt. 162.*

[x] *Euſeb. li 10. cap. 5.*

[y] *In Henrico 2. pag. 96.*

[z] *De Clericis. lib. 1. cap. 28.*

euidence

euidence thereof, but proue the same both by Scripture and Fathers. The Cardinalls wordes are these: *Exceptio Clericorum in rebus politicis, tam quoad personas, quam quoad bona, iure humano introducta est, non diuino*; that is, the exemption of Cleargy-men in things ciuill, as well in respect of their persons, as their goods, was introduced and brought in by mans lawe, and not by the lawe of God. Which thing is proued, first, out of the precept of the Apostle to the *Romaines*, [a] *Lette euery soule be subiect to the higher powers*: and addeth: [b] *Therefore pay yee tribute*: For when the Apostle saith, *Let euery soule be subiect*: hee includeth Cleargy-men, as *Chrysostome* witnesseth: and therefore when hee addeth, *for this cause pay yee tribute*, hee speaketh of Cleargy-men also. Whence it will follow, that Cleargy-men are bound to pay tribute; vnlesse they be exempted by the fauour and priuiledge of Princes, freeing them from so doing: which thing *Thomas Aquinas* also affirmeth, writing vppon the same place. Secondly, the same is proued out of the Ancient. [c] For *Vrbanus* sayth: *The tribute money was therefore found in the mouth of the fish, taken by Saint* Peter, *because the Church payeth tribute out of her outward and earthly possessions*. [d] And Saint *Ambrose* saith, *if tribute be demaunded, it is not denyed, the Church-Land payeth tribute*. Now if *Vrbanus*, Bishoppe of *Reme*, and worthy *Ambrose* Bishoppe of *Millaine* (then whome there was neuer any Bishoppe found more resolute in the defence of the right of the Church) say, that tribute is not to bee denyed, but payed vnto Princes by men of the Church; and in respect of Church-land, I thinke it is euident, there is no exemption by any lawe of GOD, that freeth the goods of Church-men from yeelding tribute to Princes. For touching that text, (where our Sauiour sayth vnto *Peter*, [e] *What thinkest thou* Simon, *of whome doe the Kinges of the* Gentiles *receiue tribute? of their owne children, or of strangers?* And *Peter* answereth, *of strangers*.; Whence Christ inferreth, that *the children are free*) brought by some to proue the supposed immunity of Cleargy-men to be from Gods owne graunt, *Bellarmine* sufficiently cleareth the matter. For first he sheweth, that Christ speaketh of him-selfe only, making this argument; kings sons are free frō Tribute, as being neither to pay to their own fathers, seeing their goods are common; nor to strangers, to whome they are not subiect; therfore himselfe being ỹ son of the great King of Kings, oweth no Tribute to any mortall man. So that when he said, the *children are free*, he ment not to signifie, that any other are free; but only that himselfe was free. Secondly, he rightly obserueth, ỹ this place would proue that al Christians are free frō Tribute, if it proued any other then Christ to be so: for al Christians are the sons of God by adoption & grace. And *Hierome* writing vpon this place hath these words; *Our Lord was the kings son both according to the flesh, & according to the spirit, descending of the stock of* Dauid, *and being the word of the Almighty Father: and therefore as being*

[a] Rom. 13. 1.
[b] Ver. 16.
[c] Decreti. 2. part. causa. 23. quest. 8. ca. Tributum.
[d] In Orat. de tradend. Basilicis.
[e] Math. 17. 25.

the ſonne of the Kingdome owed no tribute, but becauſe he aſſumed the humility of fleſh, it behooued him to fulfill all righteouſneſſe: but vnhappy men that we are! wee are called after the name of Chriſt, and do nothing worthy ſo great an honour. He for the great loue he bare towards vs, ſuſtayned the croſſe for vs and payde tribute: but we for his honour pay no tribute, and as Kings ſonnes are free from tribute. These words are brought by ſome to proue the imagined freedome we ſpeake of; but firſt, they are ſo far from prouing any ſuch thing, that [f] *Eraſmus* thinketh *Hierome* reprehended it, and diſliked it as a thing ſauoring of arrogancy that Cleargymen ſhould refuſe to pay tribute, which, hee ſaith, is contrary to the conceit of men in our time, who thinke it the height of all piety to maintaine this immunity. And [g] *Sixtus Senenſis* ſaith; that *Hierome* ſpeaketh not of that tribute, which ſubiects pay to their Princes here in this world, but of that which we all owe to Chriſt, ſo that this is that he ſaith, why do not we wretched men, profeſſing our ſelues to bee the ſeruants of Chriſt, yeeld vnto his Maieſty the due tribute of our ſeruice, ſeeing Chriſt, ſo great and excellent, payd tribute for our ſakes? Saint *Auſtine* in his [h] firſt booke of *Queſtions vpon the Goſpells* ſaith: that Kings ſonnes in this world are free, and that therefore much more the ſonnes of that Kingdome vnder which all kingdomes of the World are, ſhould be free in each earthly Kingdome: which wordes, [i] *Thomas*, and [k] *Sixtus Senenſis* vnderſtand of a freedome from the bondage of ſinne, but [l] *Ianſenius* reiecteth that interpretation, becauſe *Auſtine* ſaith; the Children of Kings are free from tribute; and thinketh that *Auſtines* meaning is; that if God the King of Heauen and Earth, had many naturall ſonnes, as he hath but one only begotten, they ſhould all bee free in all the Kingdomes of the world: and other apply theſe wordes to Cleargy-men, though there bee nothing in the place leading to any ſuch interpretation. But whatſoeuer wee thinke of the meaning of *Auſtine*, *Bellarmine* ſaith it cannot bee inferred from theſe his wordes that Cleargy-men by Gods law are free from the duty of paying tribute; becauſe (as *Chryſoſtome* noteth) Chriſt ſpeaketh onely of naturall children: and beſides preſcribeth nothing, but onely ſheweth that vſually among men, Kings ſonnes are free from tribute; and therefore, whereas the authority of *Bonifacius* the Eighth [m] who affirmeth, that the goods and perſons of Cleargy-men are free from exactions, both by the law of God and man, is brought to proue the contrary; Hee anſwereth, firſt, that haply the Pope ment not, that they are abſolutely freed by any ſpeciall graunt from GOD, but onely that there is an example of [n] *Pharaoh* an Heathen Prince, freeing the Prieſts of his Gods, mentioned in Scripture, which may induce Chriſtian Kings to free the Paſtors of Chriſts Church.

Secondly, that it was but the priuat opinion of the Pope, inclining to the iudgement of the Canoniſtes; and that he did not define any ſuch thing.

So

[f] *Eraſm. citat. a Sixto Senenſe. Bibloth. Sanct. lib. 6. annot. 75.*
[g] *Ibidem.*
[h] *Quæſt. 23.*
[i] *Secundd. ſecundæ. quæſt. 104. art. 6.*
[k] *Li. ſupradict. annotat. 76.*
[l] *Comm. in concord. Euang. cap. 69.*
[m] *Ex. 6. cap. Quanquam de Sentiuis.*
[n] Gen. 47.

So that men may lawfully dissent from him in this point. So that wee see by the testimonies of Scripture and Fathers, and the confession of the best learned among our Aduersaries them-selues, that almighty God did not by any speciall exemption free eyther the goods or persons of Cleargy-men from the command of Princes, and that in the beginning they were subiect to all seruices, iudgements, payments and burdens, that any other are subiect to, and required by Christ the Sonne of God, and his blessed Apostles, to be so. But some man happily will say, that though Christ did not specially free, eyther the goods or persons of Cleargy-men from the subiection to Princes, yet there are inducements in reason, and in the very light of nature, such and so great, to moue Princes to set them free, that they should not doe well if they did not so. Where-vnto wee answere, that there is no question to bee made, but that the Pastors of the Church that watch ouer the soules of men, are to be respected and tendered more then men of any other calling, and so they are, and euer were, where any sence of religion is, or was.

o Galath. 4. ver. 14. 15.

The Apostle Saint *Paul* testifieth of the *Galathians* o *that they receiued him as an Angell of God, yea as Christ Iesus him-selfe, and that they would euen haue plucked out their eyes to haue done him good.*

p *Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 2. Theodoret. lib. 1. cap. 11.*

p The Emperor *Constantine* honoured the Christian Bishops with the name & title of Gods, acknowledged himselfe subiect to their iudgemẽt, though hee swayed the scepter of the World; and refused to see what the complaintes were that they preferred one against another, or to read their bills, but professed that to couer their faultes hee would euen cast from him his purple Robe. Whence it came that many priuiledges were anciently graunted vnto them, both in respect of their persons, and goods. For first, *Constantine* the Great, not onely gaue ample gifts to the Pastors of the Churches, but exempted them also from those seruices, ministeries and imployments, that other men are subiect to. His Epistle to *Anelinus* the *Proconsul* of *Affrica*, wherein this graunt was made to them of *Affrica*, is found in q *Eusebius*. Neyther is it to bee doubted, but that he extended his fauors to the Bishoppes of other Churches also, aswell as to them. The words of the Grant are these.

q *Lib. 10. Hist. Eccl. cap. 7.*

Considering that the due obseruation of things pertayning to true religion and the worshippe of God, bringeth great happynesse to the whole state of the Common-wealth and Empyre of Rome: For the incouragement of such as attend the holy Ministery, and are named Cleargy-men, my pleasure is, that all such in the Church wherein Cæcilianus *is Bishoppe, be at once and altogether absolutely freed, and exempted from all publicke Ministeries and Seruices.*

r *Neuel. Constit. 79. 83. et 123.*

Neyther did the Emperors onely exempt them from these seruices, but r they freed them also from secular iudgements, vnlesse it were in certaine kindes of criminal causes. Wherein yet a Bishop was not to be conuented against his will before any secular Magistrate, without the Emperours

command

command. Neyther might the temporall Magistrates condemne any Cleargy man, till he were degraded by his Bishoppe, how-soeuer they might imprison and restraine such vpon complaintes made. And answerably here-vnto the Councell of *Matiscon* prouideth, [f] that no Cleargy-man for any cause, without the discussion of his Bishoppe, shall be wronged and imprisoned by any Secular Magistrate, and that if any Iudge shall presume to doe so to the Cleargy-men of any Bishoppe, vnlesse it be in a criminall cause, hee shall bee excommunicated as long as the Bishoppe shall thinke fitte. This was all the immunity that Cleargy-men anciently had by any grant of Princes, and as much as euer the Church desired to enioy; but that which in latter times was challenged by some, and in defence of the claime whereof, *Thomas Becket* resisted the King, till his bloud was shedde, was of another kinde. For whereas it was not thought fitte by the King and State of the Realme at that time, that Church-men found in enormous crimes, by the Kings Iustices, should be deliuered ouer to their Bishops, and so escape ciuill punishment, but that confessing such crymes, or being clearely conuinced of them before the Bishoppe, the Bishoppe should in presence of the Kinges Iustices degrade them, and putte them from all Ecclesiasticall honour, and deliuer them to the Kings Court to bee punished: *Becket* was of a contrary minde, and thought, that such as Bishoppes degraded or putte out of the Ministery of the Church, should not bee punished by the ciuill Magistrates; because as hee sayd, one offence was not to bee punished twice. [t] The occasion of this controuersie betweene the King and the Arch-bishoppe, was giuen by one *Philip Brocke*, a Canon of *Bedford*: Who beeing brought before the Kings Iustices for murther, vsed vile and contemptuous speaches against them; which though it were proued against him before the Arch-bishoppe, yet hee was onely depriued of the benefit of his Prebend, and driuen out of the Realme for the space of two yeares, for so horrible and bloudy a crime. This was one of those sixteene Articles concerning the Auncient customes of the Realme, where-vnto *Becket* and the rest of the Bishoppes did sweare, and whereof he so soone repented againe: namely, that Cleargy-men accused of any crime, should at the summons of the Kings Iustices appeare in the Kings Court, to answere to such things as to that Court should be thought to appertayne; and in the Ecclesiasticall, what pertayned there-vnto: and that the Kinges Iustices should send to see, what was there done: and that if they should bee conuicted of any enormous cryme, or confesse the same, the Bishoppe should not protect them: then which course nothing could bee deuised more reasonable. Neyther is it absurd for Sheepe to iudge their Pastors in these cases, as [u] *Bellarmine* fondly affirmeth. That the Councels of [x] *Chalcedon*, & [y] *Tolledo*, forbid Cleargy-men to leaue the Ecclesiasticall Iudges, and to prosecute their quarrels one against another before

[f] *Concil. Matisconens. 1. Canon. 7.*

[t] *Math. Paris. in Henrico. 2. pag. 98.*

[u] *De Clericis. lib. 1. cap 28.*
[x] *Canone 9.*
[y] *Toletanum 3. can. 13.*

temporall magistrats and the Councells of [a] *Carthage*, and [a] *Agatha*, con-
demne them that chuse rather to bee tryed in Ciuill Courts then Eccleſiaſ-
ticall, when they haue power to chuſe; or that begin ſuites there without
the permiſſion of their Biſhoppe, no way contrarieth any thing that I
haue ſaid: for howſoeuer ſome things are to bee handled in the Eccle-
ſiaſticall Courtes, as properly pertayning to them, either naturally
and originally, or by graunt of Princes; and other things concerning
Church-men, not to be brought into Ciuill Courts but in due ſort, and
with reſpect had to their places and ranckes, yet neuer had they any ſuch
abſolute exemption and immunity, but that in criminall cauſes, ſuch as
theft, murther, and the like, and in tryall of the title of lands and inhe-
ritances, and the right of aduocation of Churches, they were to bee
tried in Ciuill Courtes, and no other, whether the differences grew be-
tweene Lay-men and Cleargy-men, or Cleargy-men among them-
ſelues.

As like-wiſe they were to do homage, and ſweare fealty, for ſuch
lands, honours, and Barontyes, as they held of Princes. Thus wee
ſee, how fauourable Princes haue beene in graunting priuiledges con-
cerning the perſons of ſuch as attend the ſeruice of GOD. Neither
were they leſſe carefull to free ſuch landes and poſſeſſions as they in-
dowed the Church with, from ſuch burdens, taxes and impoſitions,
as other temporall poſſeſſions are ſubiect to. So that howſoeuer in the
Apoſtles times, and long after, euen till the time of *Ambroſe* (as it
appeareth [b] by his writinges) the Church-lands payd tribute, yet after-
ward by [c] *Iuſtinian* and other Chriſtian Emperours, they were freed from
thoſe impoſitions.

Neither is it to be maruayled at, that Chriſtian Princes, out of their de-
uout & religious diſpoſitions were thus fauourable to the Church, ſeeing
euen the Heathen Princes did as much for the Idolatrous Prieſtes of their
falſe-Gods: for wee reade in the booke of [d] *Geneſis*, that in the time of
that great famine that was in the daies of *Ioſeph*, when the People of *Egypt*
were conſtrayned, after all their mony and cattell were ſpent, to ſell their
land to *Ioſeph* the Steward of *Pharaoh*, in whoſe hands all the proui-
ſion of Corne was, to buy them bread, ſo that all the land of *Egypt* became
Pharaohs; yet the Prieſts were not forced to ſell their landes; for they had
an ordinary from *Pharaoh*, and they did eate their ordinary which *Pha-
raoh* gaue them; And when as after-wardes *Ioſeph* let the people enioy
their land againe, which hee had bought for *Pharaoh*, yet ſo, that onely
foure parts of the increaſe therof ſhould be to them-ſelues, for the ſeed of
their fieldes, for their meate, and for them of their houſeholds and their
children to eate; and the fifth part ſhould be *Pharaohs*, whoſe now the land
was: the land of the Prieſts was free from this rent and charge, as not be-
ing *Pharaohs*. Yet were not the priuiledges and immunities, which

Chriſtian

[a] *Carthag. Canone. 9.*
[a] *Canone. 23.*
[b] *Ambroſ. in Orat. de tradend. Baſilicis.*
[c] *Codice Iuſtinian. l ſan i-mus. Tit. de Sacroſanctis Eccleſiis.*
[d] *Cap. 47.*

Christian Princes graunted to Eccleſiſtical perſons, to preiudice other men not to lay too heauy a burden on them, and therefore it was lawfull for Princes, when they ſaw any inconueniences, in that too much of their land, by paſſing into the right and poſſeſſion of Church-men, was freed from ſeruices and charges, to [e] ſtoppe the paſſing of any more into ſuch dead handes, as would yeelde them no helpe, and Cleargy-men were bound in conſcience voluntarily to contribute to all publike neceſſities, when need required; though the Temporall Magiſtrates might not impoſe any thing vppon them, as we find it ordered in the [f] Third Councell of *Lateran*, and in the [g] Fourth vnder *Innocentius* the Third: yea if they ſhould contemptuouſly and preſumptuouſly refuſe to beare part of the common burdens, not-withſtanding any pretended priuiledges, the Supreame Prince might force them to putte too their helping hand, rather then the whole ſtate of the Commonwealth ſhould be ſhaken and indangered, or other parts and members of it too heauily burdened, as [h] *Duarenus* learnedly and excellently ſheweth.

[e] *Driedo de liber. Christiana. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

[f] *Canone. 19.*
[g] *Canone. 46.*

[h] *De Sacris Eccleſ. miniſt. & Benef. lib. 7. cap. 10.*

This may ſuffice touching the exemption of Cleargy-men, eyther in reſpect of their perſons or goods, and the right by which they inioy the ſame. And thus haue wee runne through all the different Degrees and Orders of Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, and ſhewed what their power, office, and authority is, both ſeuerally, and aſſembled in Councells: and what power Princes haue to commaund ouer them, or to intermedle with the buſineſſes and affayres more ſpecially belonging to them.

Chap. 54.

Of the calling of Miniſters: and the perſons to whome it pertayneth to elect and ordayne them.

NOw it remayneth, that wee treat firſt of the calling of Miniſters; for [a] *No man taketh this honour vppon him, but hee that is called, as was Aaron:* Secondly, of the thinges required in them; and thirdly of their maintenance.

[a] Heb. 5. 4.

Touching the Firſt, which is the calling of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, Saint [b] *Hierome* noteth, that there are 4. ſorts of ſuch men, as are imployed in ſ̄ buſineſſes & affaires of almighty God. The firſt are ſuch as are ſent neither of men, nor by men, but by *Jeſus Chriſt*: as the Prophets in old time, and ſince the comming of

[b] *Lib. 1. Comment. in epiſt. ad Galat. cap. 1.*

Christ, those Twelue designed immediatly to the worke of the Ministery by Christs owne voyce, specially called Apostles. The second such as are sent of God, but by man, as Bishops and Ministers, which succeed the Apostles, and deriue ther commission from them. The third are such as are sent of Men, and not of God, who are they that are ordayned by fauour of men, not iudging rightly of the quality of them that are to serue in this calling; who yet are not simply denyed to be sent of God, as if they had no commission from him, but therefore onely, because if the Ordayners had done their duties, they should haue made a better choice, and sent other, & not these; for being sent by men that haue authority, though abusing the same, they haue a true and lawfull Ministery till they be put from it by Superior authority, else were al Ministration of Sacraments & other sacred things voyd, performed by such as simoniacally or by sinister meanes get into these holy places. The Fourth are such as neither are sent of God, nor of men, nor by men, but of them-selues, of whome our Sauiour Christ saith, [c] *all that came before me, were theeues and robbers*; and of whome almighty GOD pronounceth, and saith by the Prophet *Ieremy*, [d] *I sent them not, and they ranne: I spake not to them, and they Prophecied.*

[c] Iohn.10.8.

[d] Ier.23.21.

This euill is carefully to be declined, and therefore Christ would not suffer the Diuells to speake that which was true, least vnder the pretence of truth, error might creepe in; seeing he that speaketh of him-selfe, cannot but speake lies. These are the Foure sortes of them that serue in the worke of the Ministery; whereof the last haue no calling at all, and all they do is voyd: the Third haue a lawfull commission, though they obtained it by sinister meanes; and bee vnworthy of it, so that they could not bee put into it, without the faulte of the ordayners. The First had a lawfull but extraordinary calling, needefull onely in those first beginnings of Christianity, and not longer to continue. The Second haue that calling which is Ordinary and to continue, whereof wee are now to speake.

In this calling there are three things implied: Election, Ordination, and Assignation to some particular Church, whereof men elected and ordayned are appoynted to take charge. In ancient times there was no ordination at large, without particular Assignation, and *sine titulo*, allowed, as it appeareth by the Councell of [e] *Chalcedon*, forbidding any such thing to be done, and voyding any such Act if it should be don, and therefore in those times the very electing and ordayning, was an assigning of the elected & ordayned to the place of Charge they were to take, and a gineing of them the power of iurisdiction as well as of order. But this Canon in latter times grew out of vse: whence ensued great cōfusions in the state of the Church, as [f] *Duarenus* rightly noteth: yet are we not of opinion, that all such ordinations are voyde in the nature of the thing; whatsoeuer the

[e] Canone.9.

[f] *De Sacris Eccles. minist. & Benef. lib.1. cap.16.*

the Ancients pronounced of them according to the ſtrictneſſe of the Canons. For ſeeing Ordination, which is the ſanctifying of men to ỹ worke of the holy Miniſtery, is a different thing in nature from the placing of them, where they ſhall doe that holy worke; and a man once ordayned needeth not any new Ordination, when hee is remoued from one Church to another, it is euident that in the nature of the thinges, Ordination doth not ſo depend on the title and place of Charge the Ordayned entereth into, as that Ordinations at large ſhould bee voyd; yet are they not to bee permitted, neyther are they in our Church. For the Ordinations of Miniſters in Colledges in our Vniuerſities, are not within the compaſſe of thoſe prohibited Ordinations at large, and *ſine titulo*: and none other, by the order of our Church, may bee Ordayned, vnleſſe he bee certainly prouided of ſome definite place of Charge and Imployment. And as the Auncient were thus preciſe in admitting none into the holy Miniſtery, but with Aſſignation of the particular place of his imployment, ſo they tooke as ſtrict order, that men once placed ſhould not ſodainly be remoued and tranſlated to any other Church or charge.

In the Councell of g *Sardica*, *Hoſius* the Preſident of that Councell ſayd; *That ſame ill cuſtome and pernitious corruption is wholy to bee plucked vppe by the rootes, that it may not bee lawfull for a Biſhoppe to paſſe from his Citty to any other Citty. For the cauſe why they doe ſo, is knowne to all, ſeeing none is found to paſſe from a greater citty to a leſſer: whence it appeareth, that they are inflamed with ardent deſires of couetonſneſſe, and that they ſerue their owne ambitious deſignes, that they may exerciſe dominion, and grow great. If therfore it ſeeme good to you all, that ſuch an euill as this is, may bee more ſeuerely puniſhed, let him that is ſuch a one, bee reiected from all Communion, euen ſuch as Lay-men inioy.* To whome all the Biſhoppes anſwered; *it pleaſeth vs well.* To whome *Hoſius* replyed; *Though any ſhall bee found ſo ill aduiſed, as haply in excuſe of him-ſelfe to affirme; that bee receiued letters from the people, to draw him from his owne Citty to another; yet I thinke, ſeeing it is manyfeſt, that ſome fewe not ſincere in the Faith, might bee corrupted by reward, and procured to deſire his tranſlation, all ſuch fraudes ſhould altogether bee condemned: So that ſuch a one ſhould not bee admitted, ſo much as to the Communion which Lay-men inioy, no not in the end: which thing if it ſeeme good vnto you al, confirme and ſettle it by your Decree.* And the Synode anſwered, *it pleaſeth vs well;* g. *Canone.* 8.

Leo, to the ſame purpoſe writeth thus; h *If any Biſhoppe, deſpiſing the meaneneſſe of his owne Citty, ſhal ſeeke to gette the adminiſtration and gouernment, of ſome more noted, and better reſpected place, and ſhall by any meanes tranſlate and remoue himſelfe to a greater People, and more large and ample Charge, let him bee driuen from that other* h *Leo. epiſt.* 84. *cap.* 8.

chayre which hee sought, *and let him bee depriued also of his owne. So that hee bee neyther suffered to rule ouer them, whome, out of a couetous desire, hee would haue subiected to him-selfe, nor ouer them, whome in pride hee contemned and scorned.* And the like is found in other: but as [i] *Theodoret* sheweth, it was ambition, and such other like euills, that these Holy Fathers sought to stoppe and preuent, rather then generally to condemne all Translation of Bishoppes from one Church and Citty to another. For these changes may some-times bring so great and euident vtility, that they are not to bee disliked. And therefore the same [k] *Theodoret* sheweth, that not-withstanding this Canon, *Gregory Nazianzen*, was remoued from his Church, and constituted Bishoppe of *Constantinople*. And [l] *Socrates* reporteth, that *Proclus* was remoued thether from *Cyzicum*.

[i] *Lib. 5. cap. 8.*

[k] *Ibidem.*

[l] *Lib. 7. cap. 39.*

Wherefore, passing by these matters as cleare and resolued of, Let vs proceed to see, first, to whome it pertayneth to Elect: Secondly, to whome it belongeth to Ordayne such as are duly elected and chosen to the worke of the Ministery.

Touching Election, [m] wee thinke, that each Church and People, that haue not by lawe, custome, or consent, restrayned them-selues, stand free by Gods law to admitte, maintaine and obey no man, as their Pastor, without their liking: and that the peoples election by them-selues or their rulers, dependeth on the first principles of humane fellowshipps and assemblies: for which cause, though Bishoppes by Gods Lawe haue power to examine and ordayne, before any may be placed to take charge of soules; yet haue they no power to impose a Pastor on any Church against their wils, nor to force them to yeeld obedience & maintainance to any, without their liking. And therfore anciently (as [n] *Leo* sheweth) the custome was that he should be chosen of al. that was to be ouer al, that the wishes and desires of the Cittizens should be expected; the Testimonies of the people should be: sought, the will and liking of the noble and honourable should bee knowne, and the Cleargy should choose. All which thinges are wont to bee obserued and kept in ordinations, by them that know the rules of the Fathers, that the rule of the Apostle may bee followed in all thinges; who prescribeth, that *hee who is to bee ouer the Church*, should not onely haue *the alowance of the faithfull*, giuing witnesse vnto him, but the *testimony also of them that are without*, and that no occasion of any scandall may bee left, while hee, who is to bee the Doctor of peace, is ordayned in peace and concord, pleasing vnto GOD, with the agreeing and consenting desires of all. And in the same Epistle hee addeth: *Teneatur subscriptio Clericorum, honoratorum testimonium. ordinis consensus et Plebis*: That is, Let the subscription of the Cleargy be had, the testimony of the honourable, and the consent of the order and people.

[m] *D. Bilson. perpet. gouernment. cap. 15. pag. 339.*

[n] *Epist. 89.*

[o] *Lib. 1. Epist. 4.*

[o] *Cyprian* to the same purpose writeth thus: *The people beeing obe-*

diers

dient to the precepts of the Lord, and fearing God, ought to seperate themselues from a sinfull and wicked Ruler, and not intermingle them-selues, or to haue any thing to doe with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious Priest: especially seeing they haue power eyther to chuse such Priestes as are worthy, or to refuse such as are vnworthy. And a little after in the same Epistle, hee hath these wordes: *For which cause it is diligently to bee obserued and kept, as from the tradition of* GOD, *and the Apostles, (which thing also is obserued and kept with vs, and almost throughout all Prouinces) that for the due performance of the worke of Ordination, when any Ruler and Gouernour is to bee ordayned, the Bishoppes of the same Prouince, which are nearest, should come together vnto that people, ouer whome hee is to bee sette; and that the Bishoppe should bee chosen in the presence of the people, which most fully and perfectly knoweth the life of euery one, and hath perceiued by their conuersation what kinde of works they are wont to do. Which thing also we see to haue beene done in the Ordination of* Sabinus *our Colleague, to witte, that vppon the voyces of the whole Brotherhood, and the iudgement of the Bishoppes, which came together, and which sent their letters expressing their opinion of him, the Episcopall dignity was conferred vppon him, and with the imposition of handes hee was ordayned into the voyd roome of* Basilides.

That in the time of *Chrysostome*, the people had interest in chusing their Pastors, it is euident out of his booke of [p] Priest-hood. The Fathers of the *Nicene* Councell (as wee finde in [q] *Theodoret*) write to the Church of *Alexandria*, and to the beloued bretheren of *Ægypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis* in this sort: *If haply any Bishoppe of the Church do fall asleepe, let it bee lawfull for such of the sect of* Meletius, *as haue beene not long since restored to the Communion of the Church, to succeed into the place of him that is dead, if so be that they shall seeme to bee worthy, and the people shal chuse them: yet so notwithstanding, that the voyce and consent of the Bishop of the Church of* Alexandria *bee added to seale and confirme the same.* And touching the election of *Nectarius*, the Bishoppes of the first Councell of *Constantinople* write thus: [r] *Wee haue ordayned the most reuerend and beloued of God* Nectarius *Bishop, before the whole Councell, with al consent and agreement, in the presence of* Theodosius *the Emperor, beloued of God, and of the whole Cleargy, the whole Citty likewise with vnanimous consent agreeing there-vnto.* And *Leo* prouideth and taketh order what shal be done, when they that should elect, agree not. His words are these: [s] *When yee go about the election of the chiefe Priest or Bishop, let him be aduanced before al, vpon whome the consenting desires of the Cleargy and People concurre with one accord: & if their voyces be diuided betwixt twaine, let him be preferred before the other in the iudgement of the* Metropolitane, *which hath more voyces & merits; but let none be ordayned against their wils and petitions, least the people despise or hate the Bishop which they neuer affected, and lesse care for religion when their desires are not satisfied.*

[p] *Lib. 3.*
[q] *Lib. 1. cap. 9.*
[r] *Theodoret. lib 5. cap. 9.*
[s] *Leo Epist. 84. cap. 5.*

And *Gregory* the Bishoppe of *Rome* long after, allowing the election by the people, hath these wordes: [t] *If it bee true that the Bishoppe of Salona bee dead, haſten to admoniſh the Cleargy and people of that Citty, to chooſe a Bishoppe with one conſent that may bee ordayned for them.* And to *Magnus*, about the election of the Bishoppe of *Millaine*, hee ſaith: [u] *Warne the Cleargy and people, that they diſſent not in chuſing their Prieſt; but that with one accord they elect ſome one, that may be conſecrated their Bishoppe.*

Gregor. li. 2. Epiſt. 22.

[u] *Lib. 2. Epiſt. 26.*

By all which teſtimonies we ſee, what intereſt anciently the people had in the choyce of their Biſhoppes, and how carefull good Biſhoppes were that they ſhould haue none thruſt vppon them againſt their wills; that they ſhould proceed to election with one accord if it might bee; or otherwiſe, that ſuch ſhould bee ordayned as were deſired by the greater part, and that all thinges might bee done peaceably and without tumult.

But how much in time, they abuſed this their power, it is too euident. For [x] *Nazianzen* reporting the choyce of *Euſebius* to be Biſhop of *Ceſarea*, ſaith, the Citty of *Ceſarea* was in a tumult, and the people diuided about the choyce of their Biſhoppe: and the ſedition was ſharpe, & hardly to be appeaſed; and that, as men diſtracted in many minds, ſome propoſing one, and ſome another, as is often ſeene in ſuch caſes, at length the whole people agreeing on one of good calling among them, commended for his life, but not yet baptized, tooke him againſt his will, and with the helpe of a band of ſoldiers, that was then come to the Citty, placed him in the Biſhops chayre, and offered him to the Biſhops preſent, and mixing threates with perſwaſions, required to haue him ordayned and pronounced their Biſhoppe.

[x] *In Epitaphio Patris.*

Likewiſe, at *Antioch* (as [y] *Euſebius* reporteth) there was raiſed a grieuous ſedition about the depoſing of *Euſtathius*: and after, when another was to be choſen, the flame thereof ſo increaſed, that it was like to haue conſumed the whole Citty. For the people being diuided into two parts, the Magiſtrates of the Citty ſupported the ſides, and bandes of ſoldiers were muſtered as againſt an enemy: and the matter had vndoubtedly bin tryed by the ſword, if God, and the feare of the Emperour writing to them, had not aſſwaged the rage of the multitude. But how-ſoeuer, ſuch was the diſſention, that eight whole yeares the place was without a Biſhop. [z] When *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was depoſed by the Councel of *Chalcedon*, and *Proterius* ſette in his place, a mighty and intollerable ſedition grew among the people for it: ſome affecting *Dioſcorus*, & ſome cleauing to *Proterius*. The people oppoſed them-ſelues againſt the Magiſtrates, & when they thought with ſtrong hand to ſuppres the vprore, the multitude with ſtones, beat the ſoldiers into the church beſieged thē in it, & deſtroyed a number of them with fire: and, vpon the death of *Martian* the Emperor, they choſe a new Biſhop, and brought him into the Church

[y] *Li. 2. cap. 24.*

[z] *Euagrius. li. 2. cap. 5. & 8.*

on Easter day. They slew *Proterius*, and sixe other with him in the Temple, and drew his body wounded and mangled along through the quarters of the Citie. [a] The like dissention grew in the Church of *Millaine* after the death of *Auxentius* the *Arrian* Bishop; but the issue was very happy: For *Ambrose*, at that time a secular Magistrate, seeing the diuision to bee very dangerous, and threatning the ouer-throw of the state of the Citty, entred into the Church, and made an excellent Oration, perswading them to peace; where-with all sides were so well pleased, that with one consent, they desired to haue *Ambrose* for their Bishop, who was not yet baptized: and the Emperour was carefull to satisfie their desire, and commanded that it should bee as they had desired. [b] In the Church of *Rome*, after *Liberius*, *Damasus* succeeded in the Episcopall office: whome *Ursinus*, a certaine Deacon of that Church, not enduring to bee preferred before him, waxed so mad, that hauing perswaded and drawne vnto him a certaine ignorant and rude Bishop, and gathered together a company of turbulent and seditious persons in the Church of *Sicinius*, hee procured him-selfe to bee made Bishop against all order, law, and ancient custome. From which fact proceeded so great sedition, nay so great warres (some of the people defending *Damasus* as lawfull Bishop, and some *Ursinus*) that the places of prayer were filled with the bloud of men. The people in this sort abusing their authority and power, were restrained by the decrees of Councels, and by the lawes of Princes, and their right and power to choose their Pastors, many wayes limitted and straitned, till in the end it was wholy taken from them. For first, the Councell of [c] *Laodicea* forbad, that elections of such as were to serue in the holy Ministery of the Church, and execute the Priests office, should be left to the multitudes. But that Councell was but particular, and could prescribe no lawes to the whole world: and therefore after this, the people swayed things very much still: and [d] *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, after this time, charged the Bishops to thrust none vpon the people with-out their consent.

[a] *Ruffinus lib. 2. cap. 11.*

[b] *Ibid. cap. 10.*

[c] *Canone. 13.*

[d] *Vbi supra.*

And euen in the *Romaine* Church the election of the people continued a long time after this decree of the Councell of *Laodicea*. For Pope *Nicholas* the second, in the Councell of *Laterane*, in the yeare of our Lord 1059. with the consent of the whole Synode, decreeth on this sorte: [e] *Instructed and guided by the authority of our predecessors, and other holy Fathers, wee decree and determine, that when the Bishop of this Vniuersall Church of Rome dyeth; first of all the Cardinall Bishops shall most diligently consult together about the election of a new, and soone after they shall take vnto them the Cardinall Cleargie-men, and so the rest of the Cleargie and people shall come to giue consent to the new election. And because the Sea Apostolicke is preferred before all the Churches in the world, and therefore can haue no Metropolitane ouer or aboue it, the Cardinall Bishops doubtlesse*

[e] *Decreti part. 1. Dist. 23. ca. 1.*

supply

supply the place of the Metropolitane, and are to promote and lift vp their new elected Bishop to the top of Apostolicke heigth. Yea the presence and testimony of Lay-men was not excluded in such elections a long time after: for [f] *Gregory* the seauenth was elected by the Cardinals of the Church of *Rome*, Clearkes, Acolythes, Subdeacons and Presbyters, many Bishops, Abbots and othere, both of the Clergie and Laity being present. But Christian Princes, Kings and Emperours, being chiefe among those of the Laity, and so hauing a soueraigne consent among and ouer the rest, in such elections as pertained vnto them by the right of humaine fellowship and gouernment, interposed them selues in these businesses, and sundry wayes abridged that liberty, that the people in some places tooke vnto them. [g] *Zozomen* noteth, that after the death of *Nectarius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, the Cleargie and people resolued to haue *Chrysostome* a Presbyter of *Antioch*, a man famously renowned through-out all the Empire, to bee their Bishop. Which their resolution the Emperour confirmed by his assent, and sent and fet him, and called a Councell to make his election more authenticall. Likewise [h] after the death of *Sicinius*, though some would haue had *Philip*, others *Proclus* Presbyters of that Church to succeed, yet the Emperour by the perswasion of certaine vaine men, called a stranger thither, to wit, *Nestorius*, who afterward prooued an Archhereticke.

[i] After the death of *Maximianus*, successor to *Nestorius*, the Emperour tooke order with-out delay that *Proclus* might be placed in the Bishops chaire by the Bishops present, before the body of *Maximianus* was buried, least any variance and quarrelling might ensue. Neither did the Emperours medle lesse with the election of the Bishop of *Rome*, then of *Constantinople*.

For (as [k] *Onuphrius* rightly obserueth) after the *Gothes* were driuen out of *Italy* by *Narses*, the Lieutenant of the Emperour, and the country subiected againe to the Empire of the East, in the dayes of *Iustinian* the Emperour there began a new custome in the election of the *Romaine* Bishops; which was, that so soone as the Bishop of that Sea should bee dead, the Cleargie and people (as formerly they had done) should presently choose another to succeed into his place: but that hee might not bee consecrated and ordained by the Bishopps, till his election were confirmed by the Emperour, and till hee gaue leaue to ordaine him by his Letters Pattents. For which confirmation a certaine summe of money was paide, which it is likely *Iustinian* did, or by his authority caused *Vigilius* the Bishop of *Rome* to doe it, that the Emperour might be assured of the conditions of the newly elected Bishop, least a factious and busie man being chosen, hee might conspire with the barbarous people that then sought to encroch vpon the Empire, and so cause a reuolte of the City of *Rome* & the country of *Italy* from the Easterne Empire, the Bishop growing

f *Platina in vita Greg. 7.*

g *Lib. 8. cap. 2.*

h *Socrates. lib. 7. cap. 29.*

i *Idem. lib. 7. cap. 39.*

k *Annot. in Platinam. in Pelagio. 2.*

growing great, and the Emperor being far off. Vpon which constitution it came to passe that the *Romains* chose for the most part such a one, as they thought would bee acceptable to the Emperor, and of whome hee might be perswaded, that hee would attempt nothing preiudiciall to the state of the Empire, the *Lombardes* about that time or presently after troubling *Italy*. This custome was continued till the time of *Benedict* the Second,[l] in whose time *Constantine* the Emperour, for the good opinion hee had of him, and loue hee bare to him, gaue commandement that the election of the Bishoppe of *Rome* being resolued on, the Bishoppes should presently proceed to the ordination of him, without expecting any confirmation from the Emperour. But the power of confirming the newly elected Bishoppe of *Rome* before hee might bee ordayned, or execute the Bishoppely office, was againe restored to *Charles* the great and his successors, Kings of *France* and Emperours of the West, in more ample sort then it had beene before by [m] *Adrian* the First; which being againe taken from his successors by [n] *Adrian* the Third, wos restored to *Otho* the First, King of the *Germanes*, and Emperour of the West, by *Leo* the Eighth.

From which time it continued till *Gregory* the Seauenth,[p] who though hee was glad to seeke the Emperours confirmation him-selfe, when hee first entred into the Popedome, yet after-wards hee disclaymed it as vnlawfull: so condemning many of his Predecessors, that had allowed and confirmed this part of Imperiall power, vnder great paines and curses to fall vpon such as should euer goe about to violate the same. After whose times other Popes reserued the whole power of electing the *Romane* Bishoppe to the Cardinalls alone, as we see the manner is vnto this day.

Thus writeth *Onuphrius*, professing that hee carefully looked ouer all the ancient monuments of the *Romane* Church, to find out the certainty of these things. Neither neede we to doubt of the truth of that hee writeth, yet for farther proofe, least any man should doubt, I will produce the reports of Historians, and the Acts of Councells to confirme that hee saith. *Platina* in the life of *Pelagius* the Second saith, nothing was done in the election of the *Romane* Bishoppe in those daies, without the Emperours consent and confirmation; and sheweth that the reason why *Pelagius* was created Bishoppe without the command of the Emperour, was, for that they could send no messenger to him, the Citty being besieged. And touching *Gregory* the First, [q] hee reporteth, that when hee was chosen Bishoppe of *Rome*, knowing the Emperours consent necessarily to bee required in the election and constitution of the Bishoppe, vnwilling to possesse that place and roome, hee sent vnto him, earnestly intreating him to make voyde the election of the Cleargy, and people: which his suite the Emperour was so farre from graunting, that

l *Platina in Benedicto.2.*

m *Decreti.part.1.Dist.63. cap.22.*

n *Platina in Adriano.3.*

o *Decreti.part.1.Dist.63. cap.23.*

p *See before cap.46.*

q *In vita. Gregorij.1.*

that hee ſent to confirme the Election, and to enforce him to take the Paſtorall charge vpon him, in that moſt dangerous and troubleſome time. Whereby wee ſee how farre the Emperours intermedled in the election and conſtitution of the *Romaine* Biſhoppes in thoſe daies. It is true indeed, that the ſame *Platina* reporteth, that [r] *Conſtantine* admiring the ſanctity and vertue of *Benedict* the ſecond, ſent vnto him a ſanction, that euer after all men ſhould preſently take him for Biſhoppe (without expecting the concurrence of the authority of the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, or the Exarch of *Italy*) whomſoeuer the Cleargy, people, and armies of the *Romanes* ſhould chuſe. Not-with-ſtanding this freedome and liberty continued not long: for (as wee may read in the [s] *Decrees*) *Charles* the great, and *Adrian* the firſt held a Synod in the Church of Saint *Sauiour* in *Rome*, wherein met 153. Biſhoppes, religious men and Abbottes, in which Synod *Adrian* with the conſent of the Biſhoppes there aſſembled, gaue vnto *Charles* power to chooſe the Biſhoppe of *Rome* and to order the Apoſtolicall ſea, together with the dignity of *Patricius*, or Father of the common-wealth; and beſides decreed, that all Arch-biſhoppes and Biſhoppes in the Prouinces abroade, ſhould ſeeke inueſtiture of him, and that no man ſhould bee eſteemed a Biſhoppe, or bee conſecrated, till he were allowed and commended by the King. This Decree the Councell publiſhed, anathematizing all that ſhould violate it, and confiſcating their goods; yet did [t] *Adrian* the third (as *Platina* reporteth) take ſo good heart vnto him, that whereas *Nicholas* the firſt, did but attempt ſuch a thing rather then performe it, he in the very beginning of his Papal dignity made a Decree, that without expecting the Emperours conſent or ratification, the election of the Cleargy, Senate and People ſhould bee good. But *Leo* the Eighth in a Synod gathered together in the Church of Saint *Sauiour* in *Rome*, following the example of *Adrian* the firſt, with the conſent of the whole Synod reſtored vnto the Emperor that power and authority, which *Adrian* the firſt had yeelded vnto him, and *Adrian* the Third had ſought to depriue him of. The words of that Councell are theſe [u] *I* Leo *Biſhoppe, and ſeruant of the ſeruants of God, with the whole Cleargy and people of* Rome *conſtitute, confirme, and ſtrengthen, and by our Apoſtolicall authority graunt and giue to our Lord* Otho *the firſt King of Germaines, and to his ſucceſſors in this Kingdome of Italy for euer, power to chuſe a ſucceſſor, and to order the Biſhop of this higheſt Sea Apoſtolike, as alſo Arch-biſhoppes and Biſhoppes, that they may receiue Inueſtiture from him, and conſecration whence they ought to haue it, thoſe onely excepted which the Emperour him-ſelfe hath graunted to the Popes and Arch-biſhoppes; and that no man hereafter, of what dignity or religious profeſſion ſoeuer, ſhall haue power to chuſe a Father of the Common-wealth or a chiefe Biſhop of the higheſt Sea Apoſtolicke, or to ordaine any Biſhoppe what-ſo-euer, without the conſent of the Emperour firſt had, which conſent & confirmation notwithſtanding*

[r] *In Vita. Benedicti. 2.*

[s] *Part. 1. diſt. 63. cap. 22.*

[t] *Platina in Adriano. 3.*

[u] *Diſt. 63. c. 23*

ſhall

shall bee had without money. So that if any Bishop shall bee chosen by the Clergie and people, hee shall not bee consecrated vnlesse hee bee commended and inuested by the fore-named King. And if any man shall attempt to do any thing against this rule and Apostolicall authority, Wee decree, that hee shall bee subiect to excommunication, and that if hee repent not, hee shall bee perpetually banished, or bee subiect to the last, most grieuous, deadly and capitall punishments. Hence it came that when any Bishop was dead, they sent his staffe and ring to the Emperour: and hee to whom the Emperour was pleased to deliuer the same, after a solemne fashion and manner, was thereby designed and constituted Bishop of the voyde place. Thus wee see how authentically, vnder great paines and curses, the Pope and Councell yeeld that right to the Emperour, subiecting all that euer should go about to disanull their Decree, to the great curse, perpetuall banishment, and grieuous punishmens. Yet Pope *Hildebrand*, who, as if hee had been a fire-brand of hell, set all the world in a Combustion, [x] disanulled this lawe as impious and wicked; and *Victor*, *Vrbanus*, and *Paschalis* succeeding him were of the same minde.

[x] *Naucler. vol. 2 Generat. 36.*

By reason whereof there grew a great dissention betweene the Popes and Emperours; *Henry* the fourth, and after him *Henry* the fifth, challenging not onely the right of confirming the election of the Popes, but power also to conferre Bishoprickes and Abbayes by Inuestiture of staffe and ring, as the Popes, *Adrian* and *Leo* had yeelded and granted to *Charles* and his successors; which thing also had been enioyed by the Emperour for the space of three hundred yeares: and the Popes on the other side thinking it vnlawfull for the Emperours, in this sort, to bestow either Bishoprick or Abbay, & forbidding them so to do, vnder paine of the great curse. But *Henry* the fifth forced Pope *Paschall* to confirme vnto him the ancient right againe, and to accurse all such as should dislike, resist, or seeke to disanull it: which yet not long after hee reuersed againe in another Councell: and in the [y] dayes of *Calixtus*, the Emperour resigned his right, and the Pope allowed, that within his Kingdome of *Germany*, elections should be made in his presence, and that with the aduice of the Metropolitane and Bishops of the Prouince hee might assist & strengthen the better part, and that the elected should receiue from him all things belonging to the King by the reaching forth of his Scepter. [z] *Mathew Paris* saith; the contention betweene Pope *Paschall* and *Henry* the Emperour about the Inuestiture of Bishops & Abbots, which the Emperours had enioyed three hundred yeares in the times of three score Popes was so ended, that both Bishops and Abbots should first sweare Canonicall obedience to their Ecclesiasticall superiours, and be consecrated, and then receiue Institution from the Emperour by rod and ring. Thus we see what right and interest ancient Emperors challenged to themselues in the election of the Bishop of *Rome*, and in conferring other dignities of the Church, and that

[y] *Ibidem. Genet. 38.*

[z] *In Henrico I. pag. 62.*

the

the latter Popes condemned that as euill and wicked which their Predeceſſors not onely allowed, but preſcribed vnder great and grieuous paines and curſes. Where-vpon [a] *Auentinus* noteth, that among the Popes, *Eadem facta modò ſuperſtitionis, modò pietatis, modò Chriſti, modò Antichriſti, modò iuſtitiæ, modò tyrannidis nomina accipiunt*; that is, that the ſame facts, deeds and things, are at one time branded with the marke of ſuperſtition, and at another time ſet out with the glorious title of Piety: at one time attributed to Chriſt, at another time to Antichriſt; at one time iudged iuſt & righteous, and at another time tyrannicall and vniuſt. [b] *Genebrard* (acknowledging that there haue beene many vile monſters that haue gotten into *Peters* chayre, and that there were fiftie Popes rather Apotacticall and Apoſtaticall, then Apoſtolicall) layeth the blame vpon the *Romaine* Emperours, as if they had placed thoſe monſters in *Peters* Chayre. It is well hee confeſſeth that ſuch beaſts haue entred into the Church of *Rome*, but if hee did not, wee would eaſily prooue the ſame. For (to omit *Hildebrand*, whom ſome called a monſter, and an enemy to man-kinde, who cauſed more Chriſtian bloud to be ſhed, and more grieuous confuſions to rent and ſhake in ſunder the Chriſtian world, then any hereticks or perſecutors had euer done before, ſo that hee was forced to confeſſe at his death to God, to holy Church, and bleſſed *Peter*, that hee had grieuouſly offended in his Paſtorall office; and *Ioane* the Whore, becauſe (as [c] *Onuphrius* thinketh) ſhee was not Pope but the harlot of *Iohn* the twelfth) the Stories mention ſuch vile monſters ſitting in that chaire, that [d] *Benedict* the fourth is highly commended, for that though hee did nothing memorable, yet hee liued an honeſt and a good life. But that the Emperours were the cauſe of the placing of theſe Monſters (as *Genebrard* would make vs beleeue) it may not bee yeelded. For betweene the time of *Adrian* the third (who tooke the power of confirming Popes from the Emperours) and the raigne of *Otho* the firſt, to whom it was reſtored by Pope *Leo*: there entred *Formoſus*, *Boniface*, *Stephen*, *Romanus*, *Theodorus*, *Iohn* the ninth, *Chriſtopher*, and *Sergius*, all, men of ill note: and *Iohn* the twelfth, then whome the earth did neuer beare a more prodigious and vile monſter. [e] This wretch, *Otho*, at the earneſt ſuite of the *Romaines*, cauſed to be depoſed by a Councell of Biſhops, and *Leo* to bee choſen. Where-vpon the power of chooſing the Pope, and ordering the ſea Apoſtolicke, was againe by conſent of *Leo* the Pope, and the people and Cleargie of *Rome*, giuen and confirmed to him and his ſucceſſors for euer, in ſort before expreſſed. For (as [f] *Sigonius* ſaith) *Leo* rightly conſidered, that after the time of *Adrian* the third, the ambition of the *Romaines* filled the Church with beaſts, diſordered theſe elections, and ſet all in a tumult; and therefore thought no meanes ſo fit to reforme theſe diſorders, to repreſſe theſe inſolencies, and preuent theſe miſchiefes, as to put the bridle into the Emperours hands againe. Yet not long

[a] *Annal. lib. 4. pag. 322.*

[b] *Chronograph. lib. 4. ſæculo. 10*

[c] *Annot. in Platinam in Ioanne 8.*

[d] *Lib. Cron. in Benedicto. 4.*

[e] *Otho Friſingenſ. Chron. lib. 6. cap. 23.*

[f] *De regno Ital. lib. 7.*

long after, the *Romaines* casting off the yoake, and breaking the bands in sunder, put in *Boniface* the seauenth, *Benedict* the ninth, and *Sylvester*, who sold the Popedome to *Gregory* the sixt, all which Popes were so intollerably wicked, that [g] *Platina* calleth them *teterrima monstra*, that is, most vile, hideous and ougly monsters. And [h] *Henry* the second called a Councell, and deposed *Gregory* the last of them, and placed *Twideger* a *Germaine* in his place, who was afterwards named *Clemens*, who againe restored the right of choosing the Pope to him and his successors: for that (as *Sigonius* [i] noteth) after the law prescribing and requiring the Emperours consent to bee had in such elections was taken away, the state of the Church was newly put in great danger. So that *Henry* the second was forced to come into *Italy*, to set things in order. And therefore it is more then ordinary impudency in [k] *Genebrard*, to impute all the confusions in the elections of the *Romaine* Bishops to the Emperours, who were not the causes of them, but often-times staide them by their Princely power. Neither is it lesse strange that hee and other dare condemne that authority in the Emperours as vnlawfull, which had continued from the time of *Iustinian* to *Benedict*, and was againe confirmed by *Adrian*, *Leo*, and other Popes, with their Councels of Bishops; and by vertue whereof Saint *Gregory* and other possessed the Episcopall chayre, who are vniustly censured by *Genebrard*, as entring by the Posterne gate, in this respect. Neither haue the Popes beene better, or the election freer from faction, since the Emperours were wholy and finally excluded, then they were before. For what shall wee say of *Bonifacius* the Eighth, of whome it is said, [l] that hee entred like a Foxe, and died like a Dog, that hee cosened poore *Celestinus* his predecessor, and by false practises wonne him to resigne the Popedome to him, and resting not contented here-with, tooke vpon him to dispose of all the Kingdomes of the world at his pleasure? of [m] *Iohn* the three and twentith, a vile man, and a Diuell incarnate? and *Alexander* the sixt, of whome so many horrible things are reported by [n] *Onuphrius*, [o] *Volaterran* and others? And touching factions and schismes, whereas there haue beene thirty of them in the Church of *Rome*, neuer any endured so long as the last which was since the Emperours were wholy excluded from intermedling with Papall elections. For it continued fortie yeares, and could neuer bee ended but by the helpe of *Sigismund* the Emperour in the Councell of *Constance*.

Wherefore seeing so many Councels and Popes yeelded the power of electing, or at least of allowing and confirming the Popes to the Emperours, and seeing so good effects followed of it, and so ill of the contrarie, there is no reason why our Aduersaries should dislike it. For seeing the people anciently had their consent in these affaires, [p] *Fredericke* the Emperour had reason when hee sayde, that him-selfe as King and ruler of the people, ought to bee cheife

[g] *Platina in Gregorio.6.*
[h] *Otho Frising. Chron.lib.6. cap.31.*
[i] *De regno Ital.lib.8.*
[k] *Vbi suprà.*
Bonifacius. 8.
[l] *Platina in Bonifacio.8. & VValsingham in Edwardo.3.*
[m] *Vide acta Concilij Constantiensis Sess. 11. act.6. & Sess. 12.*
[n] *In Alexandro 3.*
[o] *Anthropologiæ lib.22.*
[p] *Otho Frisingens. de gestis Frederic.1. lib.1. cap.1.*

chiefe in chooſing his owne Biſhop. Neither had the Emperours onely this right in diſpoſing of the Biſhopricke of *Rome* and other dignities Eccleſiaſticall, but other Chriſtian Kings likewiſe had a principall ſtroake in the appointing of Biſhops. For (as [q] *Nauclere* noteth) the *French* Kings haue had the right of Inueſtitures euer ſince the time of *Adrian* the firſt: and [r] *Duarenus* ſheweth, that howſoeuer *Ludouicus* renounced the right of chooſing the Biſhop of *Rome*, yet hee held ſtill the right of Inueſtiture of other Biſhops, into the place whereof came afterwards, that right which the King vſeth, when in the vacancie of a Biſhopricke hee giueth power to chooſe, and ſome other royalties which the Kings of *France* ſtill retaine.

[q] *Vol. 2. gener. 38.*

[r] *Defenſ. pro libertate Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ. cap. 43.*

It appeareth by the [s] twelfth Councell of *Toledo*, that the Kings had a principall ſtroake in elections in the Churches of Spaine: And touching *England*, [t] *Mathew Paris* teſtifieth, that *Henry* the firſt by *William of Warnaſte* his agent, proteſted to the Pope, hee would rather looſe his kingdome then the right of Inueſtitures; and added threatning words to the ſame proteſtation. Neither did he onely make verball proteſtations, but hee really practiſed that hee ſpake, and gaue the Archbiſhopricke of *Canterbury* to *Rodolphe* Biſhop of *London*, inueſting him by Paſtorall ſtaffe and ring. *Articuli cleri* preſcribe, that elections ſhall bee free from force, feare, or intreaty of Secular powers: yet ſo, as that the Kings licenſe bee firſt asked, and after the election done, his royall aſſent and confirmation bee added to make it good. Where-upon the Statute of prouiſors of Benefices, made at *Weſtminſter* the fiue and twentith of *Edward* the third, hath theſe words: *Our Soueraigne Lord the King and his heyres ſhall haue and enioy for the time, the collations to the Archbiſhoprickes and other dignities electiue, which bee of his aduowry, ſuch as his progenitours had, before free election was granted: ſith that the firſt elections were granted by the Kings progenitours, vpon a certaine forme and condition, as namely to demand licenſe of the King to chooſe, and after choice made, to haue his royall aſſent. Which condition beeing not kept, the thing ought by reaſon to returne to his firſt nature.*

[s] *Canone. 6.*

[t] *In Henrico. 1. pag. 56.*

So that wee ſee, that at firſt the Cleargie and people were to chooſe their Biſhops and Miniſters; yet ſo, that Princes by their right were to moderate things, and nothing was to be done without them. But when they endowed Churches with ample reuenewes and poſſeſſions, and diſburdened the people of the charge of maintaining their Paſtors, they had now a further reaſon to ſwaye things then before. And thence it is, that the Statute aboue mentioned ſaith; the Kings gaue power of free elections, yet vpon condition of ſeeking their licenſe and confirmation, as hauing the right of nomination in them-ſelues, in that they were Founders. Likewiſe touching Presbyters, the ancient [u] Canon of the Councell of *Carthage*, (which was, that Biſhops ſhould not ordaine Clearkes without the

[u] *Concil. Carthag. 4. Canone. 23.*

the consent of their Cleargie, and that also they should haue the assent and testimony of the Cittizens) held while the Cleargie liued together vpon the common contributions and diuident; but when not onely titles were deuided and distinguished, and men placed in rurall Churches abroad, but seuerall allowance made for the maintenance of such as should attend the seruice of God by the Lords of those country townes, out of their owne lands, and the lands of their tennants, they that thus carefully prouided for the Church, were much respected. And it was thought fitte they should haue great interest in the choosing and nominating of Clearkes in such places. [x] *Iustinian* the Emperour, to reward such as had beene beneficiall in this sort to the Church, and to encourage others to doe the like, decreed: That if any man build a Church or house of prayer, and would haue Clearkes to bee placed there, if hee allowe maintenance for them, and name such as are worthy, they shall bee ordained vpon his nomination. But if hee shall choose such as bee prohibited by the Canons as vnworthy, the Bishop shall take care to promote some whome hee thinketh more worthy. And the Councell of [y] *Toledo* about the yeare of Christ sixe hundred fifty and fiue, made a Canon to the same effect. The words of the Councell are these: *Wee decree, that as long as the founders of Churches doe liue, they shall bee suffered to haue the chiefe and continuall care of the said Churches, and shall offer fit Rectors to the Bishop to bee ordained. And if the Bishop neglecting the founders shall presume to place any others, let him know that his admission shall bee voyde, and to his shame; but if such as they choose, bee prohibited by the Canons as vnworthy, then let the Bishop take care to promote some whome hee thinketh more worthy.*

[x] *Nouell. Constit. 123. cap. 18*

[y] *Concil. Toletan. 9. Can. 2*

Whereby wee see, what respect was anciently had to such as founded Churches, and gaue lands and possessions to the same: yet were they not called Lords of such places, after such dedication to God, but Patrons onely: because they were to defend the rights thereof, and to protect such as there attended the seruice of God: and though they had right to nominate men to serue in these places, yet might they not iudge or punish them if they neglected their duties, but onely complaine of them to the Bishop or Magistrate: Neither [z] might they dispose of the possessions thus giuen to the Church, and dedicated to GOD, but if they fell into poucrty, they were to bee maintained out of the reuenues thereof. This power and right of nomination and presentation resting in Princes and other founders, can no way preiudice or hurt the state of the Church, if Bishops (to whom examination and ordination pertaineth) doe their duties in refusing to consecrate and ordaine such as the Canons prohibit. But very great confusions did follow the Popes intermedling in bestowing Church-liuings, and dignities, as wee shall soone finde, if wee looke into the practise of them in former times.

[z] *Duaren de Sacris Eccles. minist. & Benef. lib. 5. cap. 4*

Chap. 55.

Of the Popes disordered intermedling with the elections of Bishoppes and other Ministers of the Church; their vsurpation, intrusion, and preiudicing the right and liberty of others.

THe Popes in former times greatly preiudiced the right and liberty of other men, and hurt the estate of the Church of God three waies: first by giuing priuiledges to Fryers, (a people vnknowne to al Antiquity) to enter into the Churches and charges of other men, to do Ministeriall acts, and to get vnto themselues those things which of right should haue beene yeelded to other. Secondly, by Commendams; and Thirdly, by reseruations and prouisions. Touching the First, [a] *Mathew Paris* noteth that about the yeare of our Lord 1246, the Preaching Fryers obtayned great priuiledges from the Pope, to preach, to heare confessions, and to doe other ministeriall acts, euery where disgracing the ordinary Pastors, as ignorant and insufficient to gouerne the people of God.

[a] *In Henrico 3. pag. 672.*

This new found order of Fryers, hee saith, seemed to many discreete and wise men to tend to the ouer-throw of the order of Pastors and Bishoppes setled by the blessed Apostles and holy Doctors; and that, not hauing beene aboue thirty yeares in *England* they were growne more out of order, then the Monkes of Saint *Austine* and *Benedictes* order were in many ages. For such was their impudent and shameless boldnesse, that they came to the Synods of Bishoppes, Prelates, and Archdeacons, sitting as Presidents in the middest of their Deanes, Rectors, and other worthy men, requiring their letters of commission and priuiledge to bee read, and themselus to bee admitted and commended to preach in their Synods and Parish Churches as Embassadors and Angells of GOD with all honour. In this insolent sort went they vp and downe from place to place, and asked of euery man, (though of a religious profession) to whom hee confessed him-selfe; and if any one answered, that hee made his confession to his owne Priest, they asked againe, what Idiot that was? they told, him hee was neuer hearer of Diuinity, that hee neuer studied the Decrees, and that hee was not able to discusse any one controuersie; adding, that such Priests were blind, and guides of the blind; and willed all men to come vnto them as to men knowing to discerne betweene Leprosy and Leprosy: to whom the hard and obscure things were knowne, and the secrets of God reuealed: where-vpon many (especially Noble-men and Noble-women) be

be-tooke them-selues to these, contemning their owne Pastors: so that the ordinary Ministers grew into great contempt, which grieued them not a little, nor without cause. But of these Fryerly people no man hath written better then *Armachanus*: [b] who excellently deciphereth their intollerable hipocrisie, iniustice, & couetousnesse, ioyned with all cunning and coozening practises and deuises. Their hypocrisie hee discouereth, in that though they pretended pouerty, yet they had houses like the stately pallaces of Princes, Churches more costly then any Cathedrall Churches, more and richer Ornaments then all the Prelates of the world, more and better bookes then all the Doctors and great learned men of the world: cloysters, and walking places so sumptuous, stately and large, that men of armes might fight on horse-backe and encounter one another with their speares in them, and their apparell richer then the greatest and most reuerend Prelates.

[b] *Armachanus Serm. 4. fact. in vulgari apud crucem S. Pauli London. Anno. 1356.*

Their Iniustice hee sheweth in their iniurious intruding into other mens Churches and charges, depriuing them of their authority, honour, and maintenance: and their couetousnesse, in that they sought onely to doe those things that might bring gaine; and insinuated them-selues into the fauour and liking of the great ones of the world, little regarding those of meane condition. Wherevpon hee warneth all men to take heed of them as wicked seducers, that enter into houses, and lead captiue simple women laden with sinnes, bringing in sectes of perdition, and in Couetousnesse making merchandise of men by craftie and fained wordes of flattery. * This is that vnprofitable, and most dangerous and damnable generation of disguised and masked hypocrites, which like Locusts are come out of the bottomlesse pitte, in these last ages of the world, eating vp and deuouring whatsoeuer is greene and flourishing vpon the earth.

*See to this purpose *Clemangis de Corrupto ecclesiæ statu. Gerson contra Bullam Mendicantium*

The Monkes in their beginning were people of a farre other sort: For they tooke not on them to Preach or Minister Sacraments, but were a kinde of voluntary Penitents, according to that of Saint *Hierome*; [c] *Monachus Plangentis, non Docentis officium habet*: that is, a Monke is a mourner, hee is no teacher. And againe: [d] *Alia Monachorum est causa, alia Clericorum. Clerici pascant oues, Ego pascor. Illi de Altari viuunt, mihi quasi infructuosæ arbori securis ponitur ad radicem, si munus ad Altare non defero*: that is: The condition of Monkes and of Clearkes is very different. Clearkes feede the sheepe, but I am fedde; they liue by the Altar, but if I bring not my gift to the Altar, the Axe is lifted vp against mee, and laide as to the roote of an vnfruitfull troe. And therefore (as [e] *Duarenus* noteth) in ancient times Monkes were meere Lay-men, neither were there any Priests or Clearkes found in Monasteries; but they came all, as other of the people did, to the common Temples and Churches, to bee taught, to pray, and to receiue the Sacraments. Which thing hee saith, *Iustinian*

[c] *Hier. contra Vigilantium non procul a fine.*

[d] *Ad Heliodorum.*

[e] *De Sacris Eccles. minist. & Benef. lib. 1. cap. 20.*

the Emperour plainly enough expresseth: and with him agreeth Bishop [f] *Lindan*, who saith, that in ancient time all Monkes were Lay-men, and that they were all excluded and shut out of the Quire, when they came into the Temple and house of God; some-times they did send for a Priest to doe Ministeriall actes among them, and in the end some of them were ordained Priests, that so they might haue the Ministration of Sacraments among them, and make as it were a certaine Church among them-selues, and so neither bee forced to goe to other Churches, nor to borrowe Priests from other.

[f] *Panoplia lib. 4. cap. 75.*

And to the same purpose [g] *Hugo de sancto Victore* saith, that by speciall fauour and indulgence, the diuine orders of Ministery are granted to Monkes, that they might liue more quietly within them-selues; not that they should exercise Prelacie in the people of GOD; but that they might celebrate the communion of GOD, within their owne priuate retiring places, which yet they say in the beginning was not so. For Monkes and men dwelling in the wildernesse, are said to haue had Priests assigned vnto them. But (as [h] *Duarenus* noteth) hereby the passage was opened, and all Monkes began to be ordained Priests, (though they had no gouernment of the Church) that they might procure the more dignity to them-selues; the order and degree of Cleargie-men being more high and honourable then that of Monkes. Neither did they long containe them-selues within these bounds after they had attained to bee Priests; but gotte authority and iurisdiction ouer Churches abroad, eyther becausse they were founded within their lands, or for that it pleased the Pope to take them from Bishops, and subiect them to these Monkes. At the first (as the same [i] *Duarenus* noteth) they liued apart, in certaine abiding places, which they had in the mountaines and deserts, whence they were called not onely Monkes, but *Heremites* and *Anchorits*, though at certaine houres and set times they mette. Afterwards they began to liue together, and the places where they liued were called *Cœnobia* of the communion of life.

[g] *Eruditionum Theol. de sacrâ. fidei li. 2. part. 3. cap 4.*

[h] *Vbi suprà.*

[i] *Ibid. cap. 21.*

And when certaine Ecclesiasticall persons remaining in Cities and places of resort, and teaching the people, tyed them-selues to like obseruations, though haply not altogether so strict, as these had done, they were called [k] *Canonici*, that is *Regulars*, rather then *Monachi*, Monkes, of which order Saint *Austine* is supposed to haue beene the Author.

[k] *Vide Cassandri consultat. De Canonicis.*

Afterwards, in processe of time, some other Cleargy-men liuing together, and tied to the obseruation of rules and Canons, but not so strict as these, nor so neere vnto Monkish profession, were called Secular Canons, and the other for distinctions sake Canons Regular. In these societies young men were trained vp, as likewise they were in all Cathedrall Churches,

Churches, till the founding of the Vniuersities, passing through all the *minor* orders, and performing for a space the duties belonging to them, that so they might bee fitted for greater imployments. [l] The Monkes had one among them, that commanded ouer all the rest, named *Cœnobiarcha*, *Archimandrita*, or *Abbas*; and for the better performance of his duty, tooke vnto him another, whose helpe hee might vse in the gouerning of those that were subiect to him, who was named a Prior. This Prior either assisted the Abbot in the gouernment of those Monkes, which liued within the bounds of the Monastery, and was called a Prior Claustrall; or those lesser Couents that were abroad, and yet subiect to the Abbot, and was named a Prior Conuentuall. By that hath beene said, wee see, that the profession of Monkes in the beginning was voluntary penitency, and a retired life, not medling with publicke affaires, either Ciuill or Ecclesiasticall, (as appeareth by the Decree of the Councell of [m] *Chalcedon*) that they were meere Lay-men, that they gloried not in the perfection of their estate, as they that call them-selues Religious in our time doe, but confessed, that men of action and employment, who conflicted with the manifold oppositions of the world, and declined not the battell, were more valiant souldiers of Christ in his spiritual war-fare, then themselues, who fearing their owne weakenesse did runne away.

[l] *Duarenus vbi supra. cap. 22.*

[m] *Canon. 4.*

They acknowledged them-selues inferiour to the whole Ecclesiasticall order, came to the common Prayers and Sacraments with the rest of the people, and paide their tithes, and yeelded all other duties, as well as the rest: howsoeuer in the end, they degenerated and grew out of kinde, putting themselues into the Ministery, intruding them-selues into the gouernment of the Church, spoyling the Bishops of their Iurisdiction, and inferiour pastors of their maintenance, by appropriating to themselues the liuings that formerly belonged to them. But the Fryers professe an intermedling with the publick direction and guidance of the people of God, causing great confusions in the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie, and are most vnlike the ancient Monkes, and their beginning was but of latter time.

These were principally of foure sortes: but among them all the *Minorites* or *Franciscans* seemed to bee the strictest. For whereas the Monkes possessed lands in common, though none of them had any personall propriety in any thing, and the rest of the Fryers had the right of moueable goods in common, though they possessed no lands, these professed to haue nothing but the bare and single vse of things, without all right or claime, as I haue shewed [n] before. About which profession of theirs, there was great contention in the time of *Iohn* the two and twentith, the folly and hypocrisie of which men (thinking perfection to consist in pouertie) is sufficiently refuted by [o] *Gerson*, [p] *Iohn* the two and twentith, [*] *Iansenius*, and other, who shew, that perfection consisteth in

[n] *Cap. 43.*

[o] *De Concilijs Euangelicis & statu perfectionis.*

[p] *In extrauagant. tit. de verb. signification. & in extrauag. ad Conditorem Canonum.*

[*] *Comm. in Concord. Euangel. cap. 100.*

in the vertues of the minde, that pouerty or riches neither make a man better nor worse, and consequently pertaine nothing to perfection, otherwise then as the care and loue of them hindereth, or the neglect of them furthereth the feruency of loue.

how Commendams first came in

From this first way, whereby the Pope disturbed the Ecclesiasticall order, which was by giuing priuiledges to exorbitant Fryers, let vs proceede to the second, which is by *Commendams*. In ancient times (saith q *Duarenus*) when a worthy Pastor was not presently found to bee set ouer a Church so soone as it was voyde, to auoide those euils and inconueniences, which for the most part Anarchy bringeth forth, the custome was, that in the meane while, the voyde Church should bee commended and committed to some honest man, who beeing but as a Tutor and procurator onely, should bee bound faithfully to giue an account of that hee should doe. For hee was not Pastor of the Church, but appointed onely for a time to take care of it.

q *De Sacris Eccles. Minist. & Benef. li. 5. cap. 8.*

All commendams are not to be condemned, notwithstanding any abuse of the same: for sometimes by reason either of the scarcity of sufficient Pastors or the insufficiency of the pastors manitenance arising out of one Church, more Churches the one are committed to one.

But in time, this thing (which was at first most profitable and behouefull, and deuised to prouide for Churches in vacancie,) was strangely turned to the hurt and plague of them. For they who by the Canons may not haue the gouernment of Churches or Monasteries committed to them, haue both Churches and Monasteries commended vnto them perpetually, and as long as they liue. And such is the forme of this committing or commending in the Popes grants, that they to whome Churches are so commended, haue free power not onely to dispose of such things as belong vnto them, but to consume, waste and spend them, with-out beeing subiect to any account. And truely it is strange, that men of witte and vnderstanding, who deuised this fraudulent kinde of practise, found not out some fairer colour of so great and grosse a corruption, that so they might not haue seemed so plainly and openly to haue despised the Canons, and to make a mock of them. Thus farre *Duarenus*.

In this sort the Pope gaue the greatest Bishoprickes of the world in *Commendam*, or perpetuall administration to his Cardinalls, and sometimes in title also; but so, that they were called Bishops elect of such place, and neuer consecrated. The third way whereby the Pope preiudiceth the Church, is by taking on him to giue Church-liuings in all partes of the world to whom he pleaseth; a thing neuer thought of in the first ages of the Church. For the Bishop of Rome had no power to ordaine Clearkes out of his owne Dioceese, or Bishoppes out of his owne Prouince, the Canons prouiding that a Bishoppe should bee chosen by the Cleargy and people, and ordained by the Metropolitane and other Bishoppes of the Prouince. It is true indeed, that as Patriarch of the West hee was to confirme the seuerall Metropolitanes subiect to him, either by imposition of handes, or by sending the Pall

as

as all other Patriarches like-wise were to do; but in the Patriarchshippe of any of the rest he might not meddle, as appeareth by the [r] contention betweene *Rome* and *Constantinople* about the *Bulgarians*, nor within his owne Precinctes further then the confirming of the Metropolitanes, as it is euident by the Councell of [s] *Chalcedon*, forbidding the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to medle in the ordinations of Bishoppes, and requiring him to content him-selfe with the confirmation of Metropolitanes, to whome yet in the same Councell equall priuiledges with the Bishoppe of *Rome* are giuen. So that it is not likely that in those times the *Romane* Bishoppes challenged to them-selues any such power and right, as now they do. Nay [t] *Duarenus* pronounceth, that there is no doubt, but that the more ancient and holy Bishops of *Rome*, contenting them-selues with their owne Church, left the administration of other Churches free to their owne Bishoppes, as rather thinking themselues Bishops of that one City then of the whole world, which thing haply moued a certaine Bishoppe (of whome *Paulus* [u] *Æmylius* maketh mention) to answere some-what peremptorily to *Gregory* the Eleuenth, asking him why hee went not to his Church? for where as *Gregory* sat at *Auinion*, and not at *Rome*, hee said vnto him, If one should aske thee why thou goest not to *Rome*, that hath bin so long forsaken of her Bishoppes, thou wouldest haue much lesse to answere then I haue. But the latter Bishoppes of *Rome* contented not themselues here-with; neither did they thinke it enough to be Bishoppes of *Rome*, and prime Bishoppes amongst and before the rest, but they would needes be vniuersall Bishoppes, and therefore thought it no robbery to concurre with all other Bishoppes, and to preuent them if they could in giuing voyde Benefices before them. And because it was not easie to preuent the Bishoppes in this sort, in Prouinces and Kingdomes farre remote, therefore they found out a more certaine and ready way, wherby to take from them their right and power: for a custome grew in and preuayled, vnknowne to former times, of certaine Papall graunts, wherein Benefices not voyd were commanded to bee bestowed and conferred when they should bee voyd, vpon such as the Pope should thinke fit, and specially vpon strangers. These were called *Gratiæ expectatiuæ*, and *Mandata de prouidendo*: and [x] hereof the whole state of *England* complayned to *Innocentius* the Fourth, affirming, that by vertue of these Prouisions there were so many *Italians* beneficed in *England*, that the reuenues which they had from hence was 60000 markes; which was more then the bare reuenue of the Kings, and yet as if this had not beene enough, there came one *Martine* with Commission from the Pope to wrong the poore Church of *England* a little more.

[r] *Binnius in vita Adrioni secundi. tom. 3. Concil. part. 2.*

[s] *Actio n. 16.*

[t] *De Sacris. Eccles. minist. & Benef. li. 3. cap. 1.*

[u] *Li. 9. de. reb. ū gestis Francor*

[x] *Matth. Paris. sins. in Henrico 3. pa. 639.* gratiæ expectatiuæ

This man conferred certaine Benefices actually voyd, of the value of thirty markes by the yeare, vpon strangers, and when they dyed hee

put in others without the priuity of the Patrons, and went about to assure to such as hee pleased the like Benefices not yet voyd, when-soeuer they should bee voyd; besides many other most vniust exactions, wherewith hee vexed the poore *English*, putting all such as resisted against him vnder the sentence of excommunication and interdiction, taking more on him then euer any Legate did (though hee came not as a Legate) to the great preiudice of the Crowne of *England*; seeing no Legate was to come hether, vnlesse hee were desired by the King.

The Messengers that the State of *England* sent to the Pope, to make knowne their greeuances and complaintes, were greatly disliked by the Pope, and their message no way acceptable to him: and therefore though dissembling the matter he gaue them some good wordes, as if there should bee no more such Prouisions made, but onely for some particular persons, and they not aboue twelue in number, yet such was the good nature of the man (as *Mathew Paris* noteth) that hee would not suffer the poore *English*, though sore beaten with many stripes, once to cry or complaine. But because they published these their complaintes in the Councell of *Lateran*, which was holden at the time of their comming, hee was exceeding angry, and dealt with the *French* King to make warre against the King of *England*, and eyther to depriue him of his Kingdome, or to make him wholy to stoope to the pleasure of the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*: which the *French* King vtterly refused to doe.

[y] Pag. 669.

[z] Ibidem.

After these thinges thus past betweene the Pope and the *English*, he did worse then euer before. [a] Where-vpon there was a new meeting of the States of *England*, wherein these greeuances were made manifest and complayned off: First, that the Pope was not content with his ordinary reuenew of *Peter-pence*, but exacted other contributions without the Kinges knowledge. Secondly, that the Patrones of Churches were not permitted to present Clearkes, but *Romaines* were put into them, who neither vnderstood the Language, nor euer meant to liue heere; but carryed away the money out of the Realme. So that neyther was the people instructed, hospitality kept, the Churches repayred, nor any good done: and beside, [b] ỹ Original Patrons were depriued of their right, one *Italian* succeeding another in the Churches founded by them, without their knowledge, and that vnwelcome Messenger, *Non obstante*, too often sent vnto them.

[a] p. 674.

[b] 667.

These their complaints, the King, the Bishoppes, Abbots, Lords and Commons made knowne by their letters [c] and messengers to the Pope, with earnest desire of reformation and redresse: but could receiue none other answere from him, but that the King of *England* had his Counsell, and so had he; that the King began to kicke against him, and to play the *Fredericke*. And such was his displeasure, that all *English* were repelled

[c] Pag. 687.

and

and driuen away as Schiſmatickes. [c] After this, new letters were againe written to the Pope, and in the end a Priuiledge was graunted, that no Prouiſions ſhould bee made for *Italians*, Cardinals, or the Popes Nephewes, before the King were firſt earneſtly intreated to be content with them, only to abuſe ſuch as would be abuſed. For the Pope went forward ſtil in his Prouiſions, as formerly he had done, as appeareth by his letters to the Abbot of Saint *Albons*, and by the [d] worthy letters of the Biſhoppe of *Lincolne* written to the Pope about theſe matters, and his [e] ſpeaches againſt the Pope a little before his death. And heere by the way, it is worth the noting, that [f] *Mathew Paris* hath, that in the time of *Gregory* the Ninth vppon complaint of one *Robert Tewing* Patron of the Church of *Lathune*, the Popes Graunt made in preiudice of his right was reuerſed, becauſe it was not knowne that the Patrone of that Benefice was a Lay-man when it was giuen by the Pope. So that if it had beene in the gift of a Cleargy-man, it muſt haue ſtood: ſo ready was the head of the Church to oppreſſe Church-men, and their poſſeſſions of all other were moſt fitte for ſpoyle. So little reſpect was there had to religion in thoſe dayes, and ſo were all thinges returned to their old *Chaos* againe. Whence it came that [g] the heartes of all men went away from the Pope and the Church of *Rome*: whereof the one ſought to bee eſteemed a Father, and the other a Mother to al Churches; but the one of them proued a ſtep-father, and the other a ſtep-mother. Neyther did the Pope like a wilde Bore make hauocke onely in the Vine-yard of the Lord of Hoſtes, planted in this Iſland, which lay open to bee ſpoyled by all paſſengers, but hee plaid his parte alſo in all other Kingdomes of the Weſt: though ſome reſiſted more againſt his intruſions then others.

[c] P. 689.
[d] P. 791.
[e] P. 843.
[f] P. 848.
[g] Pag. 436. Pag. 791.

Touching *France*, wee read in the booke intituled, *Pro libertate Eccleſiæ Gallicæ, aduerſus Romanam aulam, defenſio Pariſienſis Curiæ, Ludouico vndecimo Gallorum Regi quondam oblata*, turned out of *French* into *Latine* by *Duarenus*, & added to his book *De ſacris Eccleſiæ Miniſteriis*, that there being a great number of goodly Churches founded by the Kings of *France*, when ỹ Biſhops of *Rome* began to preiudice the liberties of thẽ, the King, the Nobles, the Princes of the Blood, the Cleargy and Commons, aſſembled to reſiſt the vexations, oppreſſions, and wronges of the Court of *Rome*, and made many good Conſtitutions for the repreſſing of ſuch inſolencies.

So *Lewys*, when firſt the Pope beganne to meddle, in the yeare one thouſand two hundred ſixty ſeauen, decreed that Prelacyes and dignities electiue ſhould be giuen by election: and ſuch as are not electiue, by collation, and preſentation of Patrons: and that the Court of *Rome* ſhould extort no money for any ſuch thing, out of the Kingdome of *France*.

And

And when, notwithstanding this Decree, in processe of time the Court of *Rome* attempted diuers thinges contrary to the liberty of the Church of *France*, *Charles* the Sixth, with the aduice of his Nobles, Prelates, Abbots, Colledges, Vniuersities and other partes of his Kingdome, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and sixe, made a Constitution, whereby he restored the Church to her auncient liberty: and this Decree was published in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and seauen; in which yeare *Benedict* the Pope, and his Ministers hauing imposed and exacted great summes of money, a new complaynt was made to the King: and there-vppon a Decree made, that nothing should be paid out of *France* in the nature of *Annates* or Tenthes, and that such as had beene excommunicated for refusall of them, should bee absolued againe.

In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and eighteene, a Constitution was made, whereby all reseruations and Apostolicall graces, as they call them, together with all exactions of the Court of *Rome* were forbidden. And when as the *Romaines* contemning all Constitutions, ceased not to trouble and confound the Hierarchy of the Church, and scattered abroad euery where throughout the World their reseruations and expectatiue graces, (whence followed great and horrible deformities in the Church) at last a Generall Councell was assembled for the reformation of the Church, in the head and members; which prohibited these reseruations and expectatiue Graces, restored the Canons touching Elections and Collations, and subiected all that should contumaciously resist (yea though the Pope him-selfe) to due punishment. The Decrees of this Councell, *Charles* the Seauenth confirmed, with the consent of all estates of his Kingdome, and this his Decree of Confirmation was called the *Pragmaticall sanction*. But the Popes neuer rested till they hadde, if not wholy ouerthrowne it, yet greatly weakened it.

The attemptes of *Pius* the Second (who beeing a priuate man in the Councell of *Basill* set it forward what hee could) are not vnkowne; as also of *Sixtus* the Fourth, *Innocentius* the Eighth, *Alexander* the Sixth, *Iulius* the Second, and *Leo* the Tenth, who published a Constitution, whereby the Pragmaticall sanction was much weakened, though not wholy taken away; and those his new Decrees were called *Conuenta*, that is, agreements betweene the King and him. From these Decrees the Vniuersitie of *Paris* apppealed to a Generall Councell.

And thus wee see how well the Popes fulfill the commaundement of *CHRISTE* in feeding his Sheepe, that labour so mainly the ouerthrowe of those Canons, which beeing taken away, the whole Ecclesiasticall order is confounded, whole Countries are made desolate and

and forsaken, Kingdomes are robbed of their money and treasure, and Churches are ruinated and subuerted. For so didde all good men out of woefull experyence complayne in former times.

Wherefore passing by these intrusions, vsurpations and tyrannicall inter-medling of Popes with thinges not pertayning to them, it is euident by that which hath beene said, that the Election of fitte Ministers to teach the people of GOD, pertayneth to the Cleargy and people, by the reasons and groundes of humane societyes, vnlesse by their owne consent, forfeyture, restraint of superior authority commaunding ouer them, or speciall reasons preuayling more then those generall groundes of humane fellowshippe, it bee taken from them. As in case of founding Churches and endowing them with landes, the Patrones haue the right of presenting: and in cases of intollerable abuses, negligences, or insolencies, the Prince (as head of the people) assumeth to himselfe the nomination of such as are to serue in the holy Ministery of the Church.

Some there are that thinke the right of the people in chusing their Pastors and Ministers to bee such, as that it may not bee limited, restrained or taken away vpon any consideration what-soeuer, and that therfore there is no lawful Election of Ecclesiastical Ministers, vnlesse the people chuse: But the error of these men is easily refuted. For seeing the Scripture and Word of GOD giueth no such power to the people, and all the interest they haue, or can clayme, is but from the grounds of humane fellowship, subiect to many limitations, alterations and restraintes, there is no reason to thinke that necessarily the people must euer elect their Pastors.

In the reformed Churches of *France* and *Geneua*, the people giue no voyces in the election of Ministers, but are onely permitted, if they haue any causes of dislike or exception, to make them knowne to the Pastors and guides of the Church; and the power of iudging of such exceptions resteth wholy in them. In so much that when one *Morellius* a fanaticall companion sought to bring the elections of Bishoppes and Ministers to bee Popular, and swayed by the most voyces of the people, hee was condemned by all the Synodes in *Fraunce*, as [h] *Beza* sheweth in his Epistles.

[h] *Epist.* 83.

That there is no precept in the whole new Testament forcing popular elections, it is euident: And the onely example that is brought of any such thing, is that of the [i] seauen Deacons: but first there was some speciall reason, why the peoples consent was sought in the election of these Deacons, being to bee trusted with the treasure

[i] *Act.* 6.

treasure of the Church, and the disposing of the contributions of the faithfull: and secondly, from one example, a generall rule may not be gathered, Seeing the circumstances of things, times and persons, admit infinite varieties, some alleadge that place in the *Acts* for proofe of popular elections, where the Apostles are said to haue appointed Elders or Presbyters by[k] χειροτονία, because χειροτονία signifieth that kind of election, that is made by the more part of the voyces of the Electors expressing their consent by lifting vp of their handes, as some times men shew their consent by going to one side of the place or roome where they are, whence they are said, *Pedibus ire in sententiam.* But surely these places are vnaduisedly alledged for proofe of popular Elections. For first, the Apostles onely are said χειροτονῆσαι, and consequently the election pertayned to them onely, and they onely elected; for χειροτονία signifieth to elect, and not to gather voyces. Secondly, though χειροτονία do originally signifie that kind of election, which is made by many, expressing their consent, and giuing their voyces or suffrages by lifting vp of their handes; yet may it bee extended more generally to signifie any election of many expressing their consent by writing, by liuely voyce, or by going to one side of the place where they are; yea any choyce whatsoeuer, though made by one alone, as it appeareth in that the[l] Apostles are said to haue beene witnesses formerly designed and appoynted by χειροτονία, whereas Christ onely chose them, and they were not elected by the voyces of many, or any but him-selfe alone. And in Ecclesiasticall writers the[m] same word signifieth Ordination that is by Imposition of hands, as it were easy to proue by many testimonies of Antiquity.

[k] Acts. 14. 23.

[l] Acts. 10. 41.

[m] *Can. Apost. cap. 1. Chrysostom. hom. 14 in Acta. in illa verba: cum orassent imposuerunt illis manus. Concil. Nicen. in epist. ad Alexandrinos. apud Theodoret. hist. Eccl. li. 1. cap. 9.*

Chap. 56.

Of the Ordination of Bishops and Ministers.

From the Election of Ministers, whereof wee haue sufficiently spoken, let vs proceed to their Ordination, with which none but the Guides of the Church are trusted. And therefore, how-so-euer the people may some-times elect, yet they are charged, [a] *not to lay hands hastily on any man, nor to communicate with other mens sinnes.* So that the moderation of all things in this kind resteth in them, and this is all that the Scripture prescribeth touching the designing and appoynting of Ministers: namely, whome, and how, they that haue power of ordaining, must ordaine. Ordination is the setting of men apart to the worke of the Ministery, the commending of them with fasting and prayer to the grace of God, and the authorizing of them to performe things pertayning to God; which others, without

[a] 1. Tim. 5. 22.

without such sanctification neyther may nor can doe. Wherein the Ceremony of Imposition of handes is vsed. First to expresse the setting of them apart for sacred imployment. Secondly, to let them know that the hand of God is with them, in all that they doe in his name, and by his authority to guide, direct, strengthen and protect them. Thirdly, to note out the person vpon whome the Church by her prayers desireth the blessings of almighty God to bee powred in more plentifull sort then vppon others, as beeing to take charge of others. This Ordination is eyther of Bishoppes, to whome the care and gouernment of the Church is principally committed; or of other inferior Cleargy-men.

Touching the Ordination of Bishoppes, the Councell of [b] *Nice* decreeth, that a Bishoppe must be ordayned by all the Bishops in the Prouince: and that if it seeme hard, eyther in respect of some vrgent necessity, or the length of the wayes, that they should all meete, yet there must bee three at the least to concurre in all such ordinations, the rest by their letters testifying their consent, and the Metropolitane confirming that they doe.

[b] Canone 4.

The Councell of [c] *Antioch* in like sort decreeth, That a Bishoppe shall not bee ordayned without a Synode, and the presence of the Metropolitane; That the Metropolitane by his letters shall call vnto him all the Bishoppes in the Prouince, if conueniently they may come together; if not, that at the least the greater part bee present, or giue their consent by writing. And that if at any time there grow any difference among the Bishoppes of the Prouince about the person that is to bee ordayned, the greater part of voyces shall sway all.

[c] Canone. 19.

In the Second Councell of [d] *Carthage*, all the Bishops with one consent said: *It seemeth good to vs all, that without consulting the Primate of each Prouince, no man easily presume, though with many Bishoppes, to ordaine a Bishoppe in what place soeuer without his command: but if necessity shall require, that three Bishoppes in what place soeuer they be with the commaund of the Primate shall haue power to ordayne a Bishop.* And because the concurrence of the Metropolitane, was to bee sought, and his presence or direction had in euery ordination; therefore least by his fault there might bee too long and dangerous delayes, it was ordered that vnlesse it were in case of necessity, all ordinations should bee within three monthes after the voydance of any place: and that if by the fault of the Metropolitane there were any longer delay, he shoud be subiect to Ecclesiasticall Censure and punishment.

[d] Canone. 12.

In latter times vnder the Papacy, they [f] permitted by speciall dispensation one Bishoppe assisted with two mitred Abbots, to ordayne a Bishoppe, contrary to all the old Canons requiring three Bishops at the least.

[f] *Bellarm. de notis Eccles. li. 4. cap. 8.*

The forme and manner of ordination wee find in the Fourth Councell of [g] *Carthage*, which prescribeth that when a Bishoppe is to bee ordayned,

[g] Canone. 2.

two

two Bishoppes must hold the booke of the Gospells ouer his head, and that one powring forth the blessing vppon him, all the other Bishops that are present must touch his head with their handes. This is the forme of Episcopall ordination. But touching Presbyters and Deacons, the [h] Councell of *Hispalis* saith: That the Bishop alone may confer Ecclesiastical honor vpon them, but that alone he cannot take it from them, which yet is not so to be vnderstood, as if the Bishop alone without his Presbyters might ordayne Presbyters, but that he may without the concurrence of other Bishops, giue that honour of Presbyteriall order, which without them he cannot take away againe. For otherwise the Councel of *Carthage* prouideth that in the ordination of a Presbyter, the Bishoppe holding his hand on his head, and blessing him, all the Presbyters that are present shall hold their handes by the handes of the Bishoppe. Whereas [k] in the ordination of a Deacon, it sufficeth that the Bishop alone, put his handes vppon the head of him that is ordayned; because he is not sanctified to Priestly dignity, but to the seruice of the Church. So that other Ministers are to concurre in the ordination of the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, as well as the Bishoppe; being equall to him in the power of Order & Ministery, and his assistants in the worke of it; yet hath the Bishop a great preheminence aboue them in the Imposition of hands. For regularly no number of Presbyters imposing handes can make a Minister without the Bishoppe. The reason whereof is, because no Ordinations are to bee made *sine titulo*, that is, without title or place of employment: and none but Bishoppes haue Churches, wherein to employ men; seeing they onely are Pastors of Churches, and all other are but their assistants and coadiutors: not because the power of Order, which is giuen in Ordination is lesse in them then in Bishoppes. So that Bishoppes alone haue the power of Ordination, and no man may regularly do it without them. Where-vppon ordinarily, and according to the strictnesse of the old Canons, all ordinations, made otherwise, are pronounced voyd: as wee read of one [l] *Coluthus*, whose ordinations were therefore voyded, because hee tooke on him to ordayne, beeing no Bishoppe but a Presbyter onely.

But seeing Bishops and Presbyters are in the power of order the same, as, when the Bishoppes of a whole Church or Country fall from the Faith, or consent to them that so do, the care of the Church is deuolued to the Presbyters remayning Catholike; and as in the cause of necessity they may do al other things regularly reserued to Bishops only, (as [m] *Ambrose* sheweth, that the Presbyters of *Ægypt* were permitted in some cases to confirme the baptized, which thing also [n] *Gregory* after him durst not condemne.) So in case of Generall defect of the Bishops of a whole Country, refusing to ordaine any but such as shall consent to their Heresies, when there appeareth no hope of remedy or helpe from other parts of

h *Hispalens. Canone. 6.*

i *Carthag. 4. Can one. 3.*

k *Ibid. canone. 4.*

l *Athanas. Apologia. 2.*

m *In 4. Cap. Epist. ad Ephes.*

n *Lib. 3. Epist. 26.*

of the Church, the Presbyters may chuse out one among themselues to bee cheefe, and so adde other to their numbers by the imposition of his and their handes.

This I haue proued in my [o] third booke out of the authorities of *Athanasius*, and sundry other, of whome *Alexander* of *Hales* speaketh. To which we may adde, that which [p] *Durandus* hath, where he saith: That *Hierome* seemeth to haue beene of opinion, that the highest power of consecration or order, is the power of a Priest or Elder. So that euery Priest in respect of his Priestly power may minister all Sacramentes, confirme the baptized, and giue all Orders; howsoeuer for the auoyding of the perill of Schisme, it was ordayned that one should bee chosen, to haue a preheminence aboue the rest, who was named a Bishoppe, and to whome it was peculiarly reserued to giue Orders, and to doe some such other thinges. And afterwardes hee saith: that *Hierome* is clearly of this opinion. Neyther can the *Romanistes* deny this, and iustifie their owne practise.

[o] *Chap. 39.*

[p] *In Sent. lib. 4. dist. 24. quæst. 5.*

For their *Chorepiscopi*, or Titular Bishoppes, are no Bishoppes (as I haue [q] proued at large out of *Damasus*; not disputing or giuing his priuate opinion, but resoluing the point, and prescribing to other, what they must beleeue and practise) and yet do they of the Church of *Rome* permitte these to ordayne, not onely Sub-deacons and other inferiour Cleargy-men, but Priestes and Deacons also; and hold their Ordinations to bee good and of force.

[q] *Chap. 29.*

If any man haply say, that a Bishoppe when hee is old, and weake, or otherwise employed, may haue a *Coadiutor*, and consequently, that it is no such absurdity to admitte these Suffragan and Titular Bishoppes; and that therefore they may haue power to ordayne, as being truly Bishoppes, and yet Presbyters in no case bee permitted so to do: for answer here-vnto let him read that which I haue written in the 29. chapter of this booke concerning this matter.

Chap. 57.

Of the thinges required in such as are to bee ordayned Ministers: and of the lawfulnesse of their Mariage.

From the election and ordination of Ministers, we are to proceed to [r] things required in them that are to be chosen & ordayned. *If any man* (saith the Apostle) *desire the office of a Bishoppe, he desireth a worthy worke. A Bishop therfore must be vnreprouable, the husband of one wife, watching, sober, modest, harberous, apt to teach, not giuen to wine, no striker, not giuen to filthy lucre,*

[r] *1. Tim. 3.*

loue, but gentle, no fighter, not couetous, no young scholler, but well reported off, euen of those that are without. The Canons of the Church require the ſame things, and adde ſome other: as that no man may bee choſen and ordayned a Miniſter of the Word and Sacraments, till hee bee thirty yeares of age; nor none that was baptized in his bed; & the like. The Papiſts proceed further, & not contenting them-ſelues with the moderation of the Apoſtle, and the Primitiue Fathers, admitte none into the holy Miniſtery, but thoſe that are vnmarryed, or beeing marryed promiſe to liue from their wiues: and yet not ſo neyther, if eyther they haue beene twice marryed, or if they marryed a widow. Wherefore letting paſſe the thinges the Apoſtle preſcribeth, & theſe other which the Canons adde, of which there is no queſtion, let vs come to the marriage of them that are to bee admitted into the holy Miniſtery of the Church. It is clearly confeſſed by the beſt learned in the *Romaine* Church, that Biſhops, Presbyters and other Cleargy-men, are not forbidden to marry, or being marryed, before they enter into the Miniſtery, to continue in matrimoniall ſociety with their wiues, by any law of God: and therefore there is little feare of offending againſt God, eyther by admitting ſuch into the Miniſtery as will not liue ſingle, or by entering into it, with purpoſe of marriage. [b] *Non eſt eſſentialiter annexum debitum continentiæ ordini ſacro* (ſaith *Aquinas*) *ſed ex ſtatuto eccleſiæ: vnde videtur, quod per Eccleſiam poſſit diſpenſari in voto continentiæ, ſolemnizato per ſuſceptionem ſacri ordinis:* that is; It is not eſſentially annexed vnto holy order, that men ſhould containe and liue ſingle that enter into the Miniſtery, but by the Decree of the Church only. So that it ſeemeth, that the Church may diſpenſe in the vow of continency, though made ſollemne by taking of holy orders. And in another place he ſaith;[c] that it is from the Churches conſtitution, that they who are entred into the holy orders of the Church, may not marry: which yet is not the ſame among the *Græcians*, that it is among the *Latines*. For the *Græcians* make no vow, and do liue with their wiues that they marryed before they entered into orders: of the ſame opinion is [d] *Bonauentura*, who acknowledgeth, that in the Primitiue Church, it was otherwiſe touching this matter, then now it is in the Church of Rome; and endeauoreth to giue reaſons of the difference. [e] *Scotus* and [f] *Ockam*, are of the ſame iudgement; and all the reſt of the Schoole-men of note agree with them. And [g] *Caietane*, a great learned Diuine, and a Cardinall in our time, pronounceth confidently, that it cannot bee proued, eyther by reaſon or authority, (ſetting aſide the Lawes that are poſitiue, and vowes which men make to the contrary) that a Prieſt doth ſinne in contracting marriage. And that therefore the Pope with good conſcience may diſpenſe with ſuch a one, and giue him leaue to marry, though there bee no inducement of publike profit, or benefit leading him ſo do. And addeth, that reaſon ſeemeth to bee ſtrong on the contrary ſide for the lawfulneſſe of

errour.

b *Secunda ſecundæ. quæſt. 88. art 11.*

c *Part. 3. qu. 53. art. 3.*

d *In Sent. lib. 4. diſt. 39. quæſt. 2. & 3.*

e *In 4. Sent. diſt. 27.*

f *Dialog.*

g *In reſponſ. ad articu. 42. Pariſienſes. Opuſc. tom. 1. tract. 27.*

of such dispensation : because (as it appeareth by *Peter Lombard* in the fourth of the *Sentences*) neyther Order, in that it is Order, nor holy Order, in that it is holy, crosseth or hindereth Marriage. And (as it is in the *Decrees*) Deacons in ancient times might marry, euen in the West Church: and (as it is in the same *Decrees*) they of the East Church are ioyned in marriage, euen after they are entered into holy Orders. Neyther is that glosse to bee admitted, which expoundeth their coupling or ioyning in marriage, of the liuing in marriage formerly contracted: Seeing the whole course and cohærence of the Text speaketh of the Contract of Marriage, as by the opposition of the practise of the West Church (the Priestes whereof are said not to marry) it may bee confirmed. These are the wordes of Cardinall *Caietan*.

With him agreeth Cardinall [h] *Bellarmine*, and confirmeth that hee sayth by three reasons, whereof the first is this: Priestes are not forbidden by Gods Law to company with their wiues, which they marryed before they entered into holy Orders: Therefore they are not forbidden to marry after they are entered. The consequence hee proueth; because if any thing bee found in marriage that cannot stand well with the sacred function and imployment of Ministers, it is the act of Matrimony and not the contract, which is a thing most honest, and is soone past.

[h] *De Clericis. lib. 1. cap. 8.*

Where-vpon, they that dislike the marriage of Church-men, were wont to alleadge the cares of household, and of children, causing distraction of mind, and other like things, and not the Contract or Sacrament of Marriage: and therefore he rightly reproueth *Cluthoueus*, for that hee thinketh the matrimoniall society of such as were married before they became Ministers of the Church, is not forbidden by Gods Lawe; and yet feareth not to say, that the contract of marryage ensuing after the enterance into the holy Ministery is forbidden.

[i] *Lib. de Continentia Sacerdotum. ca. 4.*

Wherefore leauing the consequence as good and sufficiently proued, hee confirmeth the antecedent in this sort. That Presbyters are not forbidden by Gods lawe to liue with their wiues, which they marryed before they entered into the holy-Ministery, it appeareth in that the *Romane* Church hath for many ages past permitted the Presbyters of the *Greeke* Church to liue with their wiues which they married before their Ordinatiō; which it could not do, if so to liue were forbidde by Gods law: that so ỹ *Romane* Church hath allowed those of the *Greeke* Church to liue with their wiues, he proueth by good authority. For in the [k] *Decretals* it is reported, ỹ a certayne *Grecian*, while he was yet in the *minor* Orders, according to the custome of the *Greeke* Church marryed a wife, and afterwards when he was a Priest begat a son of his lawful wife. This Priests son was thought fit to be a Bishop, and chosen so to be: the Arch-bishoppe made question, whether hee might confirme his Consecration or not, as

[k] *Cap. cum Olim. De coniugatis.*

doubting of his Legitimation. To whome *Innocentius* the Third writeth thus: *Wee considering that the East Church neuer admitted the vow of continency, but that they of the East while they are yet in the* Minor Orders *contract marriage, and when they are in the higher Orders, vse that marriage which they then contracted, doe commaund, that vnlesse any custome bee against it (in that these* Græcians *liue among the* Latines*) if there be no other Canonicall impediment, you proceed without doubting to the Confirmation & Consecration of him.* Wherby it is euident that the Bishop of *Rome* allowed the marriage of the *Gracians*: for *Innocentius* saith, this Presbyter, after hee was a Presbyter, begatte a sonne of his lawfull wife: and approueth, nay commaundeth his sonne as lawfully begotten to be ordyaned, if it were not offensiue, becausе hee conuersed among the *Latines*.

The next reason that *Bellarmine* bringeth is, for that there is no prohibition of almighty GOD found eyther in the old, or new Testament and the third, for that it is said in the Councell of [l] *Ancyra*, that Deacons, with the licence of the Bishoppe, may marry after they are ordayned. Whence it followeth, that they are not forbidden to marry by GODS Lawe; seeing Bishoppes may not dispense with GODS Law. And this Councel (as *Bellarmine* truly noteth) is most auncient, and approued by *Leo* the Pope. The vttermost therefore that our Aduersaries can say, is that the Church by her authority hath forbidden the marriage of Presbyters & Bishops: wherfore let vs take a view of the lawes of the Church concerning this matter: and for our more orderly proceeding in the examination of the same, let vs first obserue what the Church decreed, touching them that beeing married enter into the Ministery. Secondly, touching them that entered being single. Concerning the first, it is euident, that till the time of *Siricius*, married men were permitted throughout the whole Church to enter into the Ministery, and to liue with their wiues.

[l] *Cap. 10. & Dist. 20. ca. de Libellis.*

In the Epistles of [m] *Cyprian* among other things, *Nouatus*, ordayned a Presbyter of *Carthage* by *Cyprian*, is charged, first, that he suffered his owne father to dye of hunger, and tooke no care for his buriall when hee was dead. Secondly, that by violence offered to his owne wife, he caused her to be deliuered of her childe before her time; so that the child dyed, and he was guilty of the murther thereof: for which crymes hee feared to bee put from his Priestly function, and the Communion of the Church; and therefore preuented his punishment by a voluntary Schismaticall departure. Where wee see a Presbyter permitted by *Cyprian* to liue with his wife, and no way blamed, for that he had companied with her: but for that when shee was with childe by him, he had stricken her in such violent sort, that shee was vntimely deliuered, not without the death of the childe. Where-vpon *Pamelius* hath this annotation

[m] *Epist. 49.*

vpon

vppon the Epistle of *Cyprian*: *Many married men at that time were taken into the Cleargy, because there were few other to bee had: and therefore it is not to be marvayled at, that* Cyprian *maketh mention of the wife of* Novatus *who was a Priest.* That *Tertullian* was married, it appeareth by the booke which he hath written to his wife: and ỳ neyther he nor she voluntarily seperating themselues had vowed continency, it appeareth by ỳ perswasions he vseth to induce hir to liue single, and not to marry again after his death, in those euill and dangerous times if haply hee should dye before her; or at the least, if she could not nor would not contayne, to marry with none but a beleeuer. Had shee bound her selfe by vowe to containe, hee would not thus haue left her to her owne liberty, and if she could not, nor would not contayne, hee was bound by the Apostles rule, not to defraud her, but to yeeld vnto her due beneuolence. Neyther haue wee these examples onely, but many more: for we read in *Gratian*, of the sons of Presbyters and Bishoppes, that were promoted to the Papall dignity. [n] So was *Bonifacius* the Pope, the sonne of *Iucundus* the Presbyter; *Felix* the Pope, the sonne of *Felix* the Presbyter; *Agapetus* the Pope, sonne of *Gordianus* the Presbyter; *Theodorus* the Pope, sonne of *Theodorus* the Bishoppe, and many more he sayth there were, who beeing the sonnes of Bishoppes or Presbyters were aduanced to sitte in the Apostolicall throne. And addeth [o] that when the sonnes of Presbyters and Bishoppes are sayd to haue beene aduanced and promoted to bee Popes, wee are not to vnderstand them to haue beene such as were borne of fornication out of lawfull marriages, which were lawfull vnto Priestes before the prohibition: and in the Orientall Church are proued to be lawfull vnto them euen vnto this day.

[n] Dist. 56.

[o] Ibid.

[p] *Socrates* sayth, that in *Thessalia* there was a particular custome growne in, that if a Cleargy-man, after hee became a Cleargy-man, companyed with his wife, which hee married while he was yet a Layman, hee should bee putte out of the Ministery of the Church. VVhereas all the most famous Presbyters and Bishops also in the East, might if they pleased, but were no way by any law constrayned to refraine from the company of their wiues. So that many of them euen when they were Bishops, did begette children of their lawfull wiues.

[p] Lib. 5. cap. 21.

A particular and most approued example whereof, wee haue in the Father of *Gregory Nazianzen*: who being a Bishoppe, not onely liued with his wife till death deuided them, but became the Father also of *Gregory Nazianzen*, (as worthy and renowned a man, as any the *Greeke* Church euer had) after hee was entered into the Priestly office, as appeareth by his owne words reported by [q] *Gregory Nazianzen*.

[q] In Carm. de vita sua.

For after many motiues vsed by him to *Gregory Nazianzen* his son, to perswade him to assist him in the work of his Bishoply Ministery, the last

that hee most insisteth on, is taken from the consideration of his old age, dis-inabling him to beare that burden, and performe that worke any longer that hetherto hee had done. And therefore intreating him to put to his helping hand, he breaketh out into these words: *Thou hast not liued so long a time as I haue spent in the Priestly office, therefore yeeld thus much vnto mee, and helpe mee in that little time of my life that is yet behinde: or else thou shalt not haue the honour to bury mee, but I will giue charge to another to do it.* Heere wee see *Gregory Nazianzens* father was employed in the Priestly function before hee was borne; and that therefore hee became the father of so worthy a sonne after hee was a Bishoppe, or at least after hee was a Presbyter. Neyther was the father of *Gregory Nazianzen* singular in this behalfe.

[r] *Epist. ad Dracontium.*

For [r] *Athanasius* writing to *Dracontius*, (who beeing greatly in loue with a retyred and monasticall kinde of life, refused the Bishoply office, when hee was chosen vnto it; for that hee feared hee might not in that state liue so strictly as formerly hee had done) controuleth this his conceit; and telleth him that hee may in the Bishoppes office hunger and thirst as *Paul* did, drinke no wine as *Timothy*, and fast often as did the Apostle. So that the Bishoppes office is no cause of doing ill, or doing lesse good, then may bee done in other states of life: and there-vppon assureth him, that hee hath knowne Bishoppes to fast, and Monkes to eate; Bishoppes to drinke no wine, and Monkes to drinke it; Bishoppes to worke miracles, and Monkes to do none; lastly many bishoppes neuer to haue marryed, and Monkes to haue become fathers of children: and on the contrary side Bishoppes to haue become fathers of children, and Monkes to haue liued altogether as Monkes without desire of Posterity.

[s] *Stromat. lib. 3. pag. 199.*

Neyther can this authority of *Athanasius* bee auoyded, as *Bellarmine* seeketh to auoyd it; namely, that those Bishoppes did ill, which hee saith became fathers of children. For [s] *Clemens Alexandrinus* an auncient *Greeke* Father, sayth expressly, *The Apostle admitteth the husband of one wife to bee a Bishoppe, and that though hee bee a Presbyter, Deacon, or Lay-man, if he vse marriage aright, and so as not to incurre iust reprehension, he shallbe saued by the procreation of children.* [t] *Chrysostome* accordeth with *Athanasius* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and sayth, that marriage is in so high a degree honourable, that men with it may ascend into the Episcopall chayres; euen such as yet liue with their wiues.

[t] *In 1. ad Timoth. 3.*

For though it bee an hard thing, yet it is possible, so to performe the duties of marriage, as not to bee wanting in the performance of the duties of a Bishop: wher-vnto [u] *Zozomen* agreeth saying of *Spiridii* that

[u] *Lib. 1. cap. 11.*

that though hee had wife and children, yet hee was not therefore any whitte the more negligent in performing the duties of his calling, and of *Gregory Nyssene* it is reported that though he were marryed, yet he was no way inferior to his worthy brother that liued single. But som haply wil obiect, that *Epiphanius* is of another minde, and that hee saith, [y] where the strictnesse of the Canon is obserued, none but such as are vnmarryed, or resolued to refraine from matrimoniall society with their wiues, are admitted into the Ministery of the Church. VVee deny not, but that hee saith so: But hee confesseth in the same place, that many in the Church, did liue with their wiues in his time, and beget children euen after their admission into the Ministery.

[y] *Epiphanius Heres. 59.*

So that the strictnes of the Canon he speaketh of, was not general, but in some certayne places only, as I noted before out of [z] *Socrates*. Nay, it is euident by *Socrates*, that how-soeuer in *Thessalia*, *Thessalonica*, *Macedonia*, and *Hellas* this strictnesse preuayled; yet all the Bishoppes of the East besides, were left to their owne liberty: and how-soeuer some in diuers places went about to take away this liberty, yet the worthyest men the Church had, stood in defence of it, protesting they would not suffer themselues to be inthralled in this behalfe.

[z] *Li. 5. cap. 21.*

To which purpose, that of the famous and renowned *Synesius* is most excellent: who, when they of *Ptolemais* would needes haue him to bee their Bishoppe, (which thing hee little desired) hee made them acquainted with his present condition, and resolued purpose for the time to come.

[a] *God* (saith hee) *the Law, and the sacred hand of* Theophilus, *hath giuen vnto mee a wife. I therefore tell all men afore-hand, and testifie vnto al, that I wil neither suffer my selfe to be altogether estranged and seperated from her, neyther will I liue with her secretly as an adulterer. For the one of these is no way pious and godly, and the other no way lawfull; but I will desire and pray vnto God that exceeding many and most good and happy children may bee borne vnto me. Neyther will I haue him, that is to bee chiefe in ordayning of me, to be ignorant hereof.* This liberty ȳ Councel in [b] *Trullo* impeached in respect of Bishops, but in respect of Presbyters it continueth in all the East Churches of the world, euen till this day, *Greeke*, *Armenian* and *Ethiopian*: warranted vnto them by the Canons of the Apostles, Iudgement of Bishoppes, Decrees of Councells, and the consent of all other partes of the World.

[a] *Synesius. ad fratrem. pag. 68. lib. Epist.*

[b] *Canone. 12.*

For first, the Apostle Saint *Paul* telleth the *Corinthians* [c] *hee had power to lead about a wife a sister, aswell as the bretheren of the Lord and* Cephas. Which wordes [d] *Clemens Alexandrinus* interpreteth in this sort: *Paul* feareth not in a certayne Epistle to speake to his yoke-fellow; which hee did not lead about with him, because he had no need of any great seruice. Therefore hee saith in a certayne Epistle: Haue wee not power to lead about

[c] 1 Cor. 9. 5.

[d] *Stromat. lib. 3. pag. 192.*

about a sister, a wife, as the rest of the Apostles? but they truly, as it was meete, because they could not spare their Ministery: attending without distraction to preaching, lead their wiues about, not as wiues but as sisters; which should minister together with them, among the women which kept the houses, by whome the doctrine of the Lord might enter into the closet of women, without reprehension or suspition. Neyther doth *Clemens Alexandrinus* onely so vnderstand the wordes, but a [e] *Remaine* Bishoppe also. So that our Aduersaries haue no reason to charge vs with hereticall peruersnesse, for expounding the Apostles words, of the Apostles wiues. Neyther can their interpretation of faithful women following the Apostles, and ministring vnto them things necessary, any way stand with the Apostles drift and meaning: for first, it is no way to bee conceiued, that those Apostles which had wiues, would not lead them about rather then strange women. Secondly, the word of leading about, implyeth a kinde of authority, right, and interest, in those women which the Apostles lead about: which might bee verified of them in respect of their wiues, but not in respect of such women, as out of their deuotion followed them, if any so didde. Thirdly, the Apostle doth not say, *Wee haue power to lead about a woman a sister*, as they read it; but *a sister, a woman, or wife*. Now the addition of woman to sister is idle and needlesse: seeing euery sister is vndoubtedly a woman. Therefore wee must vnderstand the Apostle to say; a sister, a wife: [f] *Hierome* indeed vnderstandeth the Apostles wordes of strange women, and not of their wiues: yet denyeth hee not, but that other interpret them otherwise, and translateth, and alleadgeth the words doubtfully, of the Apostles leading about women or wiues.

[e] *Decreti. part. 1. Dist. 31. cap. 11.*

[f] *Hier. contra Iouinian. lib. 1.*

Besides this clayme that the Apostle maketh of power and authority in this behalfe, else-where prescribing what manner of men must bee chosen vnto the Bishoppes office, hee saith [g] *A Bishoppe must bee the husband of one wife, one that can rule his owne house, hauing children vnder obedience, with all honesty*. Now to say, they were to forsake their wiues as soone as they should enter into this calling, is most absurd, and contrary to the very Law of God and nature. For it is not in the power of the man to with-draw him selfe from his wife, with whome hee is one flesh, seeing [h] *the man hath not power of his body, but the wife*.

[g] 1 Tim. 3. 3.

[h] 1 Cor. 7. 4.

Where-vpon [i] *Thomas Aquinas* resolueth, that a man entering into holy Orders, cannot without the consent of his wife with-draw him-selfe from her; but is bound to liue with her still, and to yeeld vnto her due beneuolence: Neyther may man and wife part by consent perpetually, but for a time onely, according to that of the Apostle; [k] *Defraud not one another except it bee by consent for a time, that ye may giue your selues to fasting and prayer; and againe come together, that Satan tempt you not for*

[i] *part. 3. qu. 53. art. 4. ad primum.*

[k] 1 Cor. 7. 5.

you

your incontinency. Answerable heere-vnto, the [l] Canons attributed to the Apostles forbid Bishoppes, Presbyters and Deacons to putte away their wiues vppon any pretence of religion. The wordes of the Canon are these: *Let no Bishoppe, Presbyter or Deacon, put away his wife vppon any pretence of religion: if hee doe, let him bee put from the Communion, and if he persist, let him be remoued from his Order.* This Canon (saith [m] *Zonaras*) condemneth those sacred Ministers of the Church that putte away their wiues. For that such putting of them away seemeth to bee done in disgrace of marriage; as if the companying together of man and wife, were an impure and vncleane thing. Whereas the Apostle pronounceth, that [n] *Marriage is honourable, and the bedde vndefiled.*

[l] *Canone. 6.*

[m] *In explicatione Canonis.*

[n] Hebr. 13. 4.

The *Romanists* to auoyd and decline the force of this testimony, say, that this Canon forbiddeth Bishops, Presbyters, & Deacons ỹ casting away of al care of prouiding for their wiues, but not the forsaking of their company: but this their euasion is easily refuted. First, because there is no shew of euill in Cleargy-mens prouiding for the necessity of their wiues, which they married while they were Lay-men: nay it would seeme vnto all men most vnnatural for them to cast off al care of them, & all men would condemne them for so doing; but in the companying with them (in the sinister iudgement of some men) there is; in respect wherof some forsake their wiues, vnder a pretence of religion; Secondly, because the Fathers in the Sixth General Councel (who no doubt vnderstood ỹ meaning of these Canons far better then the *Romanists* do vnderstand them, as forbidding Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, the refraying from companying with their wiues, & not the neglecting to prouide for their necessities. In the Councel of *Nice* some went about to make a Law, that Bishops and Ministers of the Church should not, after their entering into the holy Ministery, company with their wiues, which they had formerly married. But [p] *Paphnutius* Bishop of a Citty in the vpper *Thebais*, who was a most holy man, by whom miracles had bin wrought, & who for confessing the faith of Christ, had had one of his eyes pulled out, though him-selfe were neuer marryed, cryed out aloud, and besought them, to lay no such heauy yoke on the neckes of them that were entered into the holy Ministery; affirming, that *Marriage is honourable among al, and the bed vndefiled*; calling the company of a man with his wife by the name of chastity: and aduising them to take heed, least they did greatly hurt the state of the Church by making so strict a Law, for that all cannot indure so seuere a rule of Discipline; & for that also this rule haply cannot bee so easily obserued by their wiues. To these speaches of *Paphnutius* the whole assembly of Bishops assented. So that this controuersie was ended, & each man left to his owne liberty. This of *Paphnutius* is reported by [q] *Socrates*, *Zozomen*,

[o] *Canone. 12.*

[p] *Socrates. lib. 1. cap. 8.*

[q] *Vbi supra.*

q Vbi supra.
r Lib. 1. cap. 22.
s In uita Paphnutij.
t Hist. Eccles.
u Dist. 31. cap. 12.
x De Clericis. lib. 1. cap. 20.

r Zozomen, s Suidas t Nicephorus, and alleadged by u Gratian as true: yet x Bellarmine, and the Iesuites feare not to reiect it as false, as if they knew better what was done one thousand three hundred yeares agoe, then all that euer haue beene since: and the better to discredite this poore report, they charge both *Socrates* and *Zozomen* with Heresie, and contemne their storyes. So must all go to the ground, that standeth in their way, bee it neuer so auncient; and yet they are the men that plead Antiquity. But if this bee a fayned and counterfeyt Story, what are the signes of the forgery, whereby they discerne it to be so? Surely there appeare none; but it cannot be true (the Iesuite saith) because it is contrary to the report of *Epiphanius* and *Hierome*.

y Heres. 59.

Touching y *Epiphanius* I haue shewed already, that hee hath nothing contrary to this narration of *Socrates* and *Zozomen*: for hee confesseth that Bishoppes and Presbyters in his time, liued with their wiues, and begatte children of them, in such places, where the strictnesse of the Canon was not admitted. So that the Canon hee speaketh of, which was admitted in *Thessalia*, *Thessalonica*, *Macedonia*, and *Hellas*, and was proposed and reiected in the Councell of *Nice*, was but particular and locall; which may stand well enough with the narration of *Socrates* and *Zozomen*, that the Councell of *Nice* decreed nothing touching this point, but left it as they found it. The like may bee sayd of *Hierome*. For *Hierome* writing against *Vigilantius* speaketh of certayne Bishoppes, which would ordayne no Deacons vnlesse they marryed wiues, thinking that no single men liue chastly: who surely (if any such were found in those times) are not to bee excused. But if they onely demaunded first of them, that were to bee ordayned, before they ordayned them, whether they would liue continently, or not, and if they answered that they would not, willed them to marry before they ordayned them (as *Zonaras* writing on the Canons of the Apostles sheweth that they doe in the *Greeke* Church) they were not to bee blamed: Seeing the Councell of z *Ancyra* permitted Deacons, protesting when they were ordayned, that they would not liue single, to marry after they were entered into Orders.

z Canone. 10.

a Contra Vigilantium.

But a *Hierome* in opposition to the practise of these men, asketh what the Churches of the East, of *Ægypt*, and of the Apostolike Sea shall doe, which admitte into the Cleargy, virgins, or such as contayne, or such as if they had wiues, yet cease to bee husbands? whereby it may seeme, that this Canon of Bishoppes liuing from their wiues, was admitted generally, which is contrary to the narration of *Socrates*.

But they that vrge these wordes of *Hierome*, should consider; first, that hee doth not say that these Churches mentioned by him, admitted none to the Ministery, but such as were single, or hauing wiues resolued to liue no longer with them in matrimoniall society; but that they

admitted

admitted such as had neuer beene married, or hauing had wiues ceased to bee husbands, contrary to their practise, that would admit none as hee saith, vnlesse they saw their wiues to haue great bellies, or heard the children crying in their Mothers armes. Secondly, supposing that these Churches mentioned by *Hierome*, admitted none, but such as had neuer beene married, or hauing beene married ceased to bee husbandes, hee plainly sheweth by the particular mention of these Churches, [b] that there was no such thing generally preuayling; and so no way contrarieth the report of *Socrates*, and the rest.

[b] As in the Councell of Constantinople. *Can.* 2. Aegypt, and the East are opposed to Asia, Thracia, &c.

Wherefore seeing neither *Epiphanius*, nor *Hierome*, will by their contradiction eleuate the authority of *Socrates*, *Zozomen*, and the rest, the Cardinal wil improue their narration by another meanes. The Councel of [c] *Nice*, hee saith, forbiddeth Bishoppes, Presbyters and Deacons to haue any woman in their houses, besides their Mother, Sister, or Aunt: whence hee thinketh it may bee inferred, that it did forbid euery of these to haue any Wife dwelling with them in the same house; seeing if they might haue wiues, they might vndoubtedly haue hand-maides to attend them.

[c] *Canone.* 3.

This proofe is no better then the former: for in the Canons of the *Nicene* Councell, translated out of the *Arabian* tongue and put into the first Tome of Councells by *Binnius* out of *Alphonsus Pisanus*; (in which, as *Francis Turrian* professeth, in his Proeme before the same Canons, there is nothing but that which is approued, and worthy that great Synode of *Nice*) the Decree of the Councell is conceaued and expressed in such wordes, that it is euident it was neuer meant to bee extended to such Bishoppes, Presbyters, or Deacons, as haue wiues; but to such onely, as neuer were married, or are widowers. The wordes are these. [*] *We decree, that Bishoppes dwell not with women, neither any Presbyter that is a widower*: the same is decreed touching euery Presbyter that is vnmarried, and the Deacons which haue no wiues: and that Priests might liue with their wiues in those times, the 78. of those Canons maketh it most cleare, for it laieth a more heauy punishment vpon him, that hath a wife liuing, and liuing with him, if he commit adultery, then vpon him, that neuer was married, or is a widower. Wherefore let vs passe from the Councell of *Nice*, to the Councell of *Gangra*. [d] *Socrates* sheweth that *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, so farre disliked marriage, that he perswaded many women to forsake their husbands, that he contemned married Presbyters, and condemned the prayers and blessinges of Presbyters hauing wiues, which they married while they were Lay-men. Now it is not to be imagined, that he would haue despysed them if they had put away their wiues, (for he perswaded to that; and many women hearkning vnto him, departed from their husbandes) but because they retained them still; yet did the [e] Councell of *Gangra* condemne him; adding, that if any one

[*] *Canone.* 4.

[d] *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 33. & *Sozome. lib.* 3. *cap.* 13.

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one contrary to the Apostolicall Canons, shall presume to put any one of them, that haue taken holy orders, as Presbyters, or Deacons, from companying with their wiues, hee shall bee deposed. To this wee may adde the Sixth Generall Councell holden in *Trullo*, wherein a Decree was passed, that such as doe enter into the Ministery being married, shall bee permitted to liue with their wiues. The words of the Councell are these:

f Canone.13. e *Because wee haue vnderstood, that it hath beene deliuered to the Church of* Rome *for a Canon, that Deacons or Presbyters, who shall bee thought worthy to bee ordained, shall professe and promise to company no more with their wiues; weekeeping the ancient Canon of Apostolicall perfection and order, will and decree, that the marriages of such men, as are in holy orders, henceforth, and from this moment of time shall be firme and stable, no way dissoluing their coniunction with their wiues, nor debarring them from companying with them, at conuenient times. Wherefore if any man bee found worthy to bee ordained a Subdeacon, Deacon, or Presbyter; Let him by no meanes bee debarred from entring into such a degree, because hee liueth with his lawfull wife, neither let it bee required of him, at the time of his ordination, to promise to refraine from the lawfull companying with his wife; least by so doing, wee bee forced to doe wrong to marriage, ordained of God, and blessed by his presence: The Euangelicall voyce crying out alowde, the things which GOD hath ioyned, let no man sunder: and the Apostle teaching, that Mariage is honourable, and the bed vndefiled: And againe saying; Art thou bound to a wife? seeke not to bee loosed, &c.*

Thus doe the Fathers and Bishops assembled in this Councell, forbid and condemne the putting of Presbyters, Deacons and Subdeacons from the society with their wiues, alleadging the ancient Canon, vse, and custome, and many excellent authorities, and reasons out of the Scriptures and word of God; shewing that no such thing can bee done without great iniury to the state of Marriage, and without separating those whom God hath ioyned together: and yet sodainely forgetting them-selues, they

g *Canone.12.* g forbidde Bishoppes to liue with their wiues; so ouer-throwing the ancient custome and Canon, and separating those that God hath ioyned together.

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h *In explicatione Canonum Apostol.* h *Zonaras* noteth) was forbidden, and the Canon of the Apostles repealed. Yet did these Fathers (as wee see) most carefully prouide, that Presbyters and Deacons should not bee restrained. And indeed, this liberty hath continued according to their Decree in this behalfe passed, euer since, in all the East Churches of the world. For first, touching the *Greeke* Church, which is principally directed by the Canons of this Councell, it is euident by

i *Cap.21.* i the censure of the Orientall Church, vpon the Confession of *Ausburge*, translated out of *Greeke* into

into *Latine*, and published by *Stanislaus Socolouius*. Secondly, the Sixth [k] Generall Councell testifieth, that the *Armenians* were so farre from disliking the marriage of their Cleargie-men, that they ranne into the other extreame. For they confined the Election of Churchmen within the stocke of Church-men; as the Priesthood was confined in the time of *Moses* law, and contained within the tribe of *Leui*. And thirdly, [l] *Damianus a Goes* witnesseth, that among the *Æthiopian* Christians, Cleargy-men are married; and that by dispensation of the Patriarche, after the death of the first wife, their Priests and Ministers may marry the second: though with-out such dispensation they may marry but once.

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The *Armenians* and *Æthiopians* (I suppose) haue not restrained their Bishops, from liuing in matrimoniall society with their wiues, more then their Presbyters and Deacons: seeing they take no notice of the prescriptions of the Sixth Generall Councell, wherein this restraint began: The Armenians receiuing but onely the three first, and the *Æthiopians* onely the first foure Generall Councels.

Thus hauing taken a view of the course of things in the Church, from the beginning, and made it euident, that generally there neuer preuailed any restraint of Cleargy-men from companying with their wiues, which they married while they were but yet Lay-men, or in the inferior orders and degrees of Ministerie, and that the greatest part of the Christian world hath euer from the beginning, euen vnto this day, enioyed the liberty, which some vniustlye sought to impeache; let vs see where it was restrained or taken away, and by whome.

Of the restraint in *Thessalia*, whereof *Heliodorus* was Author, as likewise in *Thessalonica*, *Macedonia*, and *Hellas*, and of the endeuours of *Eustathius* Bishoppe of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, resisted by the Bishoppes in the Councell of *Gangra*, I haue spoken sufficientlye already, and haue shewed, that this restraint could not preuaile, nor continue in those partes; all these Churches holding their libertye in this matter euen vnto this daye. Therefore I will proceede to speake of the restraint, that some sought to bring into the West Church.

The first restraint of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons from companying with their wiues, that I doe finde in the West Church, was in the Prouinciall Councell of [m] *Elliberis* in *Spaine*, holden in the yeare three hundred and fiue, twenty yeares before the Councell of *Nice*, consisting of nineteen Bishops. But I hope our Aduersaries will not much presse vs with the authority of this Councell; seeing them-selues make so little account of it as they doe.

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[n] *Tomo. 1. Conciliorum.*

vpon this Councell, that thinke it erroneous, and of no authority, and that it is to be contemned as reiected by the Church, for fauouring the hereſie of *Nouatus*, the conceit of *Vigilantius*, and their opinion, that would haue no pictures in Churches. [o] *Melchior Canus* ſaith, the thirty ſixth Canon of it is erroneous: and [p] *Bellarmine* ſaith, it was but Prouinciall, not confirmed, and that it erred in many things: namely, in not admitting to the Communion of the Church, vpon their repentance, ſuch as in the time of perſecution denied the faith, or otherwiſe ranne into grieuous and enormous crimes and ſinnes. And Cardinall *Baronius*, howſoeuer [q] varying in his opinion touching this Councell, yet [r] confeſſeth, there is no mention of it among the Ancient, as of others; and that it was vtterly ſuppreſſed, as if it had neuer beene, becauſe it was ill thought of, as fauouring *Nouatianiſme*. And therefore contrary to this Councell, the Councell of [s] *Ancyra*, nine yeares after decreed, that they that fell in the time of perſecution, and denied the faith, after condigne penance ſhould be receiued to the Sacraments of the Church againe; and that [t] Deacons proteſting at the time of their ordination, that they cannot, nor are not reſolued to containe, but that they purpoſe and deſire to marry, ſhall remaine in the Miniſtery, though they marry after their ordination.

o *Locor. Theolog. lib. 5. cap. 4.*
p *De Imaginib. lib. 2. cap. 9.*
q *Tomo. 1. anno Domini. 57. num. 119. & trib ſequent.*
r *Tom. 2 anno. 305. num. 42.*
s *Canone. 4. & 5.*
t *Canone. 9.*

This Councell was confirmed by [u] *Leo* the fourth, and by the Councel of *Nice*, as it is in the [x] Councell of *Florence*. So that hitherto, no reſtraint of Cleargy-men from companying with their wiues preuailed. But almoſt foure hundred yeares after Chriſt, [y] *Syricius* Biſhop of *Rome*, writing to the Biſhop of *Tarracon*, (by whom hee vnderſtood that very many Prieſts and Deacons in thoſe parts, after their ordination, liued with their wiues which they had formerly married, and begat children of them as before, and iuſtified their ſo dooing by the example of the Prieſts of the Law) excuſing that which was done, as proceeding from ignorance, if they would acknowledge them-ſelues in fault, and refraine for the time to come, commanded that no ſuch thing ſhould bee any longer permitted.

u *Diſt. 20. cap. De Libellis.*
x *Actione. 4.*
y *Inter Epiſtolas Decretales.*

Where-vpon the [z] ſecond Prouinciall Councell of *Arle*, holden in the time of this *Syricius*, decreed, that no married man ſhould bee admitted to the degree of Prieſt-hood, vnleſſe hee would promiſe to refraine from the company of his wife, and yet permitted him to haue her liuing in houſe with him. [a] *Innocentius* the firſt, who began his Popedome about the yeare of our Lord foure hundred and two, inſiſted in the ſteps of *Syricius* his Predeceſſor, and drew ſome particular Biſhops to concurre with him. So that in ſome particular Councells, the lawfull ſociety and companying of Cleargie-men with their wiues, began to bee reſtrained. In the [b] ſecond Councell of *Carthage*, as it is vſually reckoned, but indeed the laſt, the Legate of the Biſhop of *Rome* being preſent, procured the Biſhops to paſſe a Decree, that Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons, ſhould refraine

z *Ca. 2. & 3.*
a *Epiſt. 3.*
b *Canone. 3.*

refraine from the company of their wiues; falsely affirming, that the Apostles did teach so, and Antiquity practise so; contrary to that which I haue before alleadged out of the Canons of the Apostles, the Councell of *Gangra*, the speaches of *Paphnutius* in the Councell of *Nice*, the report of *Socrates* the Historian, and the Decree of the sixth Generall Councell, affirming, the leauing of Cleargy-men to their liberty in this behalfe to bee Apostolicall, and Ancient.

The [c] first Councell of *Toledo* holden in the yeare of our Lord foure hundred, decreed, that Deacons which had liued with their wiues should not bee preferred to bee Presbyters, nor Presbyters to bee Bishoppes, though they had so done before the restraint made by the Bishops that were before them, but laide no other punishment on them. The Councell of [d] *Agatha* holden in the yeare fiue hundred and sixe, sheweth plainly, that at that time many Prouinces tooke no knowledge of the Decree of *Syricius* and *Innocentius*; but that their Presbyters and Deacons liued with their wiues still; and excuseth them in respect of their not knowing of any restraint; and continueth them in their places, onely debarring them from further promotion, and prescribing that the Decree of *Syricius* shall take place in time to come; and that such as know of it and disobey it, shall bee remooued from their places. The [e] first Councell of *Turon*, holden in the yeare foure hundred foure score and two, sought to remit some-thing of the seuerity of some particular Councels, wherein the Bishops directed by the prohibition of *Syricius* and *Innocentius*, had gone too farre. The words of the Councell are these: *Though our Fathers, out of the authoritie committed to them, decreed that what Priest or Deacon soeuer, should bee found to beget children of their wiues, should bee put from the communion of the Lord; yet wee moderating this extreame seuerity, and by a more equall constitution mollifying and mitigating that which was too hard, haue decreed: That a Priest or Deacon continuing in Matrimoniall society with his wife, and not ceasing from the procreation of children, shall not bee lifted vp to any higher degree, nor offer sacrifice vnto God, nor minister to the people: but let this be enough for them, that they are not put from the Communion.* Thus wee see, that within a short time after the publishing of these Decrees, the Bishops were forced out of due consideration to remit some-thing of that seuerity, that some other set on by *Syricius* and *Innocentius* had vsed, till at length the execution of these Decrees was in a manner wholy neglected as vnprofitable, and too heauy a burden for the Ministers of the Church to beare. Where-vpon wee shall finde, that in all the Prouinces of the West, the Presbyters and Deacons of the Church were married, at that time that *Hildebrand* climed vp into the Papall Chaire, and had beene long before. Priests in those times (saith [f] *Auentinus*) had wiues publickly, as all other Christians, and begate sonnes and daughters of them, as it appeareth by the instruments

[c] *Canone. 1.*

[d] *Canone. 9.*

[e] *Canone. 2.*

[f] *Lib. 5. Annal. Boiorum. pag. 564.*

ments of donations made to Churches, and Abbaies, wherein these Priests wiues together with their husbands, are brought as witnesses, and are stiled by the name of *Presbyterissæ*. Yea so generall and so well setled was the marriage of Cleargie-men in those times, that when *Hildebrand* began to restraine and forbid it, the whole Nation of Cleargie-men rose vp against him, called him Monster, and enemy of man-kinde, and pronounced him to bee Antichrist. And such was the resistance against this rashe and inconsiderate attempt of the Pope, that hee could by no meanes preuaile, though hee caused so great confusions, tumults and disorders in the Christian world, as the like had neuer beene seene in any of the bloudy persecutions, that were in the time of the Primitiue Church: and was forced to confesse a little before his death, that hee had caused grieuous scandales in the Christian world. The circumstances of the whole narration found in the Historians are these,

g *Naucler. vol. 2. generat. 36.*

g So soone as the Decree of *Hildebrand* was published, presently the whole faction of Cleargie-men was enraged against him: crying out that hee was an hereticke, and a man damnable erring in his iudgement, who forgetting the speach of our Lord, that saith, *All men receiue not this word; Let him that can receiue it, receiue it*: and of the Apostle, who saith, *Let him that cannot containe, marry; for it is better to marry then to burne*, would by violent inforcement constraine men to liue after the manner of Angells; and while hee denyed, and sought to restraine the ordinary and accustomed course of nature, looseth the raynes, and gaue free libertye to whoredome, and vncleanesse: protesting, that if hee should goe forward to vrge the execution of this his Decree, they were resolued rather to forsake the Ministery, then their mariage. And that then hee, before whome men did stincke, should see, whence Angells are to bee had, to vndertake the gouernment of the Church and people of God.

Notwithstanding all this resistance, and these earnest protestations, *Hildebrand* went forward, vrged the matter, and reproued the Bishops as careless and negligent. The Archbishop of *Mentz* fearing the Popes displeasure, and yet considering, that it would bee no easie matter to alter a custome so strongly and by so long tract of time confirmed, proceeded moderately in those parts, where hee had to doe: giuing those of the Cleargie halfe a yeares respite, to aduise them-selues, praying and beseeching them to resolue to doe that willingly, which of necessity they must doe.

But after the time expired, which hee had giuen vnto them, hee called a Synode, and was earnest with them, that without all further delay or excuse, they would presently, eyther abiure their marriage, or put themselues from seruing any longer at the Altar. They on

the

the contrary side alleadged many reasons to perswade him, not to vrge them to any such extremities: and when they found, that neither intreaty, and humble petition, nor weight of reason would preuaile, but that though professing him selfe vnwilling thus to vrge them, yet he was forced so to doe by the Popes mandate; and that therefore he must haue no denyall, but that they must yeeld; they went out of the Councell-house, as if it had beene to deliberate, and resolued among them-selues either neuer to returne, or other-wise so to returne, as to pull him out of his chaire, before hee should pronounce so cursed a sentence against them, and to take away his life from him; that so his vnhappy ende might be a warning to all posterities, that no sucteeding Bishoppe might euer dare to attempt, so to wrong and dishonour the Priestly degree and order.

The Arch-bishoppe by the meanes of some, that wished well vnto him, vnderstanding of this conspiracy, to preuent the tumult, which hee saw to bee vnauoydable, if hee did not speedily giue them some satisfaction and contentment, sent vnto them, besought them to be quiet, and to returne into the Synode; and promised, that as soone as any opportunity should bee offered, hee would do his best indeuour to perswade the Pope to desist from these courses: These thinges were done in the yeare 1074.

The yeare following, the Arch-bishoppe againe vrged by the Pope, called another Councell at *Mentz*, to which the Popes Legate came, bringing his letters and mandates, and requiring him to vrge them pretently, to yeeld, and if they should refuse so to do, to punish them with the losse of their degree & order, which thing when he was about to do, presently all the Cleargymen which sate round about, rose vp, and so refuted, & reiected that he said, with words, & by the violent mouing and shaking of their hands, and gesture of their whole bodies, shewed them-selues to bee so moued against him, as that hee feared euer to goe out of the Synode aliue; and so at last, ouercome with the difficulty of this attempt, hee resolued to desist from medling with this matter any more, which hee had so often to no purpose taken in hand, and to leaue it wholly to the Pope to do what he would. These were the vaine attempts of the *Romanistes* for the restrayning of lawfull Marriage, which though they preuailed not at the first, according to the wishes of the wicked Pope, yet caused the most horrible confusions in the Westerne Church, that euer had beene: for Lay-men taking occasion here-vpon, despysed their Priests, medled with the Ministration of Holy things, ministered the Sacrament of Baptisme, annoynted men with the filthe which they tooke out of their eares, in steade of oyle; did many thinges most disorderedly, and committed sundry intollerable outrages. And

there-

h De Clericis. lib. 1. cap. 19.

therefore it is most strange that h *Bellarmine* should so forget him-selfe as he doth, For wheras all stories impute these confusions, prophanations & contempts of sacred things to the restraint of marriage, and the disgracing of it, so hard is his forhead, that he blusheth not to write, that the marriage of Ministers would hinder the due and reuerent administration of Sacraments; and that experience shewed it, in that in *Germany*, in the time of *Gregory* the Seauenth when Priests began to marry wiues, their grew so great contempt of the Sacraments, that Lay-men began to administer them, as *Nauclerus*, and others report. In which speach of his, there is no word true: for neither did Priests begin to marry in *Gregoryes* time, but had beene ordinarily married long before, as i *Nauclerus* testifieth, saying, it was an old & confirmed custome, that was not easily to be altered, which *Gregory* sought to take away, when hee went about to forbid the marriage of Priests: So that they did rather cease to marry in his time then beginne. Neither doth any story impute the confusions, prophanations, and contempts of Sacraments and sacred things in those times to the marriage of Priests, which was publickly allowed long before, without any such euill ensuing, as k *Auentinus*, and others do testify, but to the restraint of it. And therefore it was not the beginning (as *Bellarmine* vntruely saith) but the ending of Priests marriages in *Gregoryes* time, that brought in so many and hideous euills into the Christian world. Thus hauing seene with how bad successe *Gregory* the Seauenth began this restraint in other partes of the Christian world, let vs take a view of our owne country, and see what footing it had here. l *Henry Huntingdon* an ancient Historian and of good credit, reporteth that before the time of *Anselme* Bishoppe of *Canterbury*, the mariage of Presbyters and other Ministers of the Church, was not forbidden in *England*; and that when he forbad it, howsoeuer hee pleased some, for that there seemed to bee greater purity in single life, then in the state of Mariage; yet this his prohibition seemed to other to bee very dangerous: fearing that whiles he sought to bring men to that, which is aboue the reach, and without the compasse of humane frailty, hee would occasion many greeuous and scandalous euils. But howsoeuer, this his endeuour tooke not place by and by; for the same author reporteth, that after that time one *Iohn Cremensis*, a Cardinal came into *England*, and went about to restriane § Marriages of Church-men: So that it appeareth, that *Anselme* had effected nothing. This worthy Cardinall (as hee reporteth) held a Synod at London, and in the same made a vehement and bitter speach against the mariage of Presbyters; asking if it were not an impure and vnfitting thing for a Minister of the Church to rise vp from the side of an harlot, (for so it pleased him to terme the lawfull wiues of Church-men) and to goe to the Altar to consecrate the Sacrament of the Lords Body and Blood. But see the iudgment of God, saith *Huntingdon*. The Impure Cardinall that had thus

i Vbi supra.

k Vbi supra.

l Lib. 7.

Card. Cremensis.

inveighed

inueighed against Marriage, the night following was taken in bed with an Harlot though hee had said Masse and consecrated the blessed Sacrament in the morning; which thing was so euident that it could not, and so foule, that it was not fit to bee concealed, and hee addeth, that if any *Romane* Prelate or other dislike this his most true report, hee were best to take heede hee follow not the example of *Cremensis*, least the like dishonour come vnto him as did vnto *Cremensis*, who being at first receiued in very glorious manner, was in the end cast out with disgrace; and who despising lawfull mariage, feared not to commit most filthy whoredome. *Math. paris in Henrico. 1. pag. 67.*

Hereupon it seemeth, the matter of restraint of Presbyters marriage had no good successe at that time; which appeareth also in that [m] after this time in a Councell it was referred to the King, and he was authorised and appointed to punish such Presbyters and ministers of the Church, as hee should find maryed, but hee notably deceiued the Popes Agents, that thus authorised him; for hee tooke money of such as were found to bee married and suffered them so to redeeme their liberties, which greeued them not a little: yet did they in the end so farre forth obtayne their desires, and the tyranny of Antichrist so farre preuayled, that Presbyters durst no longer bee knowne publickely to bee married, but were forced to take another course, for as it appeareth by the [n] Decrees of *Otho*, in the time of *Henry* the Third, many contracted matrimony secretly, and when in processe of time children were borne vnto them, for their good, when they saw it fit, they would take order it might bee proued they were married, and their children borne in marriage, either by witnesses, or publike instruments, either while they liued, or after their death. Whereby it is euident, that howsoeuer the impure *Romanistes* sought to keepe Clergy-men from marrying, and to force them by censures of the Church, and other extremities to put away their wiues, yet at that time they durst not pronounce their marriages voyde, nor their children illegitimate: for if they had, these men would not so carefully haue prouided to be able to make proofe of their marriages for the good of their children. So that though there wanted not instruments, set a worke by the Pope some hundreds of yeares past, that sought to restraine the marriage of Cleargy-men, yet was not their restraint like vnto that of the *Romanistes* at this day, for they did not so restrayne Cleargymen from marrying, or liuing with their wiues, as to prouounce their marriages to be voyde, neither did they seperate those that God had ioyned together, but if they would marry, or continue with their wiues, which they had formerly married, they permitted them so to do, and onely put them from the ministery. Presbyters in former times (saith [o] *Duarenus*) if they tooke wiues in those places where mariage was forbidden, were

[m] *Math Paris in Henric. 1. pag. 68.*

[n] *Constit. Othonis de vxoratis a Beneficiis amouendis.*

[o] *De Sacris Eccles. minist. & Benef. li. 4. ca. 8*

put from the Ministery, or perhaps, where more seuerity was vsed, were excommunicated; but their Mariage was not voyded, yet is it not to be denied, but that *Syricius* & *Innocentius* spake very vnreuerently of the state of Marriage, indeuouring to proue that Presbyters are not to be suffered to marry, because to liue in mariage is to liue in the flesh, and they that are in the flesh cannot please God. How absurd and inconsiderate this kind of reasoning is, euery man (I thinke) will easily discerne: for whereas the [p] Apostle, and after him [q] *Paphnutius* in the Councell of *Nice*, pronounce that Mariage is honourable among all and the bed vndefyled; and [r] *Chrysostome* affirmeth, that it is so honourable that men may be lifted vp into the Bishoppes chaires with it; with what face can these men say that to liue in mariage is to liue in the flesh, in such sort as not to please God? [s] *Bellarmines* euasion, that they speake not of mariage simply, but of forbidden mariage, such as that of Priests is, when they say to liue in mariage is to liue in the flesh, and that therefore they say onely, they who liue in vnlawfull & forbidden mariage, liue in the flesh, and cannot please God, will not serue the turne. For they speake not of vnlawfull and forbidden mariage, but goe about to proue, that mariage is to be forbidden and denied to Presbyters, by a reason taken from the nature of it, and some-thing in it, or consequent of it, in respect whereof it cannot stand with the holinesse of the degree and calling of Presbyters and Ministers.

So that they say simply; to liue in mariage, is to liue in the flesh and that therefore the holy ministers of the Church, who may not liue in the flesh, must bee forbidden to marry; their words being a reason mouing them to prohibite mariage, and not taken from the prohibition, as it will easily appeare to any one that will take the paines to view the [t] Epistles of these *Romane* Bishoppes (if yet they haue not beene corrupted, as many other things of like nature haue.) But how-so-euer we censure these sayings of the Popes, it is most certaine, that those particular Bishoppes of the West, who vpon misconceit sought to restraine Presbyters from liuing with their wiues, yet neuer proceeded so farre as either to pronounce their mariages vnlawfull, or to dissolue them, till of late. And therefore they were most contrary in their iudgements to the new assertions of Papistes; who thinke and teach that the mariages of Church-men are adulteries, and feare not to say, that it is worse for a man to take a wife to liue with continually, then to ioyne him-selfe vnto harlots: which prodigious assertion, al men in former times, euen they who were most auerse from the mariage of Cleargy-men would haue detested. If a Presbyter (saith the Councell of [u] *Neocesarea*) will marry a wife, let him be put from his order; but if hee commit fornication or adultery, let him bee driuen further, and put to pennance.

p *Heb.* 13. 4.
q *Socrates. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8.
r *In* 1. *ad Timoth.* 3
s *De Rom. Pont. lib.* 4. *cap.* 10.
t *Syricij ad Himericum cap.* 7. *Innocent ad Victricium. cap.* 9. *& in Epist. ad Exuperium. cap.* 1.
u *Can.* 1.

Where-

Where-vnto the Councell of [x] *Hellibertis* before mentioned, agreeth, prescribing that such as commit adultery shall bee put from the Communion of the Church for euer; and like-wise the Councell of [y] *Arnerne*. Some other indeed there were, that proceeded a little further, and put them from the Communion of the Church, that would liue in Matrimoniall society; but the Bishoppes in the Councell of [z] *Turon* thought good to moderate that extremity, and only to keepe them from further promotion and sacred imployment; and with them the Bishops in the Fifth Councell of [a] *Orleans* agree. So that these Bishops, though inconsiderately restraining mariage, yet durst not pronounce the Mariages of Church-men voyde, as our Aduersaries now doe; neither did they (for ought I can read) force men to make any vow of continencie. For though some of them required a promise of liuing single, yet was it no vow; seeing a promise made to men is farre different from a vowe, which is a promise made to God. And many of them (as it may seeme) vrged such as they admitted into the Ministery, to no such promise at all; but receiued them in such sort, that they should so long bee imployed, as they would refraine, and that if they pleased to marry, they should still inioy the Communion of the Church, but should not bee imployed in sacred function any longer. Touching the promise which some required, the Second Councell of [b] *Toledo* prescribeth, that at eighteene yeares of age they of the Cleargie shall resolue to marry, or promise to containe; and that at twenty they shall be made Subdeacons.

[x] *Canone.* 33. & 18.
[y] *Canone.* 12.
[z] *Turonens.* 1. *Canone.* 2.
[a] *Canone.* 4.
[b] *Canone.* 1.

The Councell of [c] *Ancyra* prouideth, that if Deacons shall protest when they are ordained, that they will not liue single, but will haue wiues, they shall bee permitted to marry, and yet keepe their places. But if professing that they will containe, they betake them selues to former or new mariages, they shall inioy the Lay-communion, but shall bee put out of the Ministery and Cleargy.

[c] *Canone.* 10.

Whereby it appeareth, that there was no vniforme obseruation in the promise of continencie, that was required. Seeing the one of these two Councels requireth it at eighteene yeares of age, of such as were not yet Subdeacons, and the other leaueth such as were to bee Deacons to their owne choyce at the time of their ordination: nor that this promise was thought to make voyde the ensuing mariage; seeing such as contrarye to promise, returned to the state of mariage, were permitted to enioy the communion of the Church as Lay-men, though in some places they were put out of the Ministery and Cleargy. I say in some places, because it appeareth by the [d] Councell of *Toledo*, appointing that such shall haue but the places of Lectors only, that they were not wholy depriued of the honour of Cleargy-men in all places.

[d] *Concil. Tolet.* 1. *Canon.* 4.

Afterwards indeed in the [e] Ninth Councell of *Toledo*, the Bishoppes finding

[e] *Canone.* 10.

finding that all their former indeuours preuailed not, though they voyded not the mariages of Cleargy-men, nor iudged them to bee adulteries as our Aduersaries doe, yet they adiudged such as should bee borne of such marriages to a kinde of bondage, and depriued them of that possibility of inheritance, which formerly they might haue had. But this was but the particular Decree of that Prouinciall Councell, and so could binde none but those few Churches in those parts. Neither did it. For long after heere in *England*, (as I haue shewed) the Ministers of the Church were publickly married with-out any such wrong done eyther to them, or their children. And long after the restraint of *Gregory* the seauenth, when this Decree of single life had in some sort preuailed, they did still secretly marry, and when they saw cause for the good of their Children, made proofe of their marriages.

Neither is it to bee maruailed at, that some particular Synodes in the West, set on by the Bishops of *Rome*, went about in some sort to restraine the lawfull Mariages of Church-men; lawfull I say, both by the lawe of God, and the resolution, allowance, and practise of the greater part of the Christian Churches (seeing they forbade those, which euen in the iudgment of our Aduersaries them-selues, I thinke cannot bee denied to haue beene lawfull. If the widowe or relicte of a Presbyter or Deacon, shall ioyne her-selfe to any man in marriage (saith the first Councell of [f] *Orleans*) let them after chastisment bee seperated; or if they persist in the intention of such a crime, let them bee excommunicated. Wherewith the [g] *Epaunine* Councell agreeth, and the second Councell of [h] *Bracar*, saying: *If any widdow of a Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon, take an husband, let no Cleargie-man, nor no religious woman banquet with them; neither let her euer communicate, onely at the time of her death, let the Sacraments of the Church bee administred vnto her.*

Likewise, the Councell of [i] *Antisiodorum*, decreeth to the same effect. Neither can it be answered, that these Councells forbid the widdowes of Presbyters, Deacons, and Subdeacons to marry, because during the life of their husbands, vpon some voluntary parting, they bound themselues by promise to liue continently. For the Councell of [k] *Matisconense* decreeth, that if the wiues of Subdeacons, Exorcistes, or Acolythes, shall after their death, ioyne them-selues in marriage the second time, they shall bee seperated, and thrust into the houses of Nunnes. And yet these might lawfully liue with their husbands, euen in the iudgment of them that made this Decree. Neither were they any way induced necessarily to promise to containe.

Thus hauing seene, where, when, and by whom, the forbidding of the lawfull marriage of Presbyters entred into the Church, in what sort it was vrged at the first, how afterwards, what contradiction it found, and how farre forth in the end it preuailed; it remaineth that wee procede to

f *Canone.15.*
g *Canone.32.*
h *Canone.29.*
i *Canone.22.*
k *Matisconens. 2. Canone.16.*

see what good followed vpon it. Where first [l] *Auentinus* telleth vs, that after the restraint of *Hildebrand*, vnder the honest name of Chastity, the greatest part euery-where, without check of punishment, committed whoredomes, incests, and adulteries, and that the Lawe of single life, which offended the good, was exceeding pleasing to impure companions, who now for one wife might haue sixe hundred Harlots. Neither is this the priuate conceit of *Auentinus* alone, but all good and wise men beare witnesse with him, that hee speaketh the truth; and say as much as hee. *Bernard* speaking of the state of the Cleargie in his time, saith, [m] *Many, not all truly, but yet many vndoubtedly, who neither can bee hid they are so many, nor care to bee hid they are so shameless; many surely seeme to haue made the liberty in which they are called, to serue as a fitte occasion to satisfie the flesh; abstaining from the remedy of Mariage, and powring forth them-selues into all manner of sinfull wickednesses.* And in the same Chapter hee saith, *That if wee digge downe the wall, according to the wordes of the Prophet* Ezechiell, *wee shall see horrible things in the house of God. For after whoredomes, adulteries, and incests, there are found the passions of ignominy, and the workes of impurity and filthinesse. Would to GOD* (saith hee) *those things that are most vnnaturall, were not committed: that neither the Apostles needed to write of them, nor wee to speake; and that no man would beleeue that so abhominable lust did euer possesse the minde of man. Were not those Cities, which were the Mothers of this impure filthinesse, long since condemned by the iudgment of God himselfe, and consumed with fire? Did not the fire of hell, impatient of delay, preuent the time, and in a sort before the time, consume that cursed Nation? Did not fire, brimestone, and the stormie tempest, consume the very earth and ground it selfe, as priuie to such confusions, as should neuer so much as once bee thought of? Was not all the whole land and ground it selfe turned into an horrible Lake? Surely, fiue heads of the Monster* Hydra *are cut off: but woe is vnto vs, innumerable woe are risen vp. Who hath reedifyed those Cities of villanie? who hath inlarged the walles of impuritie? and who hath spred out those venimous branches? Woe, woe! the enemy of man-kinde hath scattered euery where round about, the vnhappy reliques of that sulphureous burning, and hath sprinckled the body of the Church with those execrable ashes, and hath filled some of the Ministers of the Church, with that filthy, stinking, and impure running sore.*

Saluianus in like sort, in his book of diuine Prouidence, hath these words. [n] *It is surely altogether a new and strange kinde of conuersion, that some men talke of lawfull things, they doe not, and vnlawfull things they commit. They refraine from marriage, but refraine not from Rape. What doost thou O foolish perswasion? God forbad sinne, not marriage: your deedes agree not with your profession. You should not bee the friends of enormous crimes, who professe to doe the workes of vertue. It is a preposterous thing that*

[l] *Annal. Boiorum. lib. 5. pag. 565. & 571.*

[m] *Bernard. de Conuersione, ad Clericos. ca. 29.*

[n] *Saluianus de Diuina prouidentia lib. 5. citat. ab Espencæo. lib. 1. de Continentia. cap. 12.*

that you doe, it is not conuersion, but auersion. You that haue long since (as the fame is) forsaken the worke of honest marriage, cease at the last, from sinfull wickednesse.

[o] *Sigebertus in Chronico. Anni. 1074.*

With these agree the Historians generally, [o] reporting that innumerable euils followed the prohibition of the marriage of Cleargie-men, published by Pope *Hildebrand*; that few liued continently, though some counterfaited so to doe, for filthy lucre sake, and for ostentation; and that many ioyned both periury and adultery together; and not contenting them-selues with an ordinary degree of wickednesse, multiplyed their whoredomes, and adulteries exceedingly. Wherevpon wee shall finde, that many of the best learned, most iudicious, and worthiest men, the Church had in latter times, wished the Lawe of single life to bee taken away, euen as many resisted it when it was first made. *Durandus* in his booke [*] *De modo celebrandi Concily*, prooueth by many reasons, that it were fitte, that the liberty of marriage were againe restored to Priests in a Generall Councell.

[*] *Rubrica. 46. fol. 35.*

[p] *Aeneas Syluius de gestis Concily Basiliensis.*

[p] In the Councell of *Basill*, when exception was taken against the choyce of *Amedeus* Duke of *Sauoy*, (whom many thought fitte to bee Pope) for that hee had beene a married man, and had children, it was answered by some of good esteeme, that that was no exception, and that haply it were much better, that Priests were permitted to liue in marriage, then restrained. For that many of them might bee saued in chaste marriage, which now perish in their filthy and impure single life. *Æneas Syluius* a great man in that Councell, who was afterwards Pope, and named *Pius* the second, in an [q] Epistle to a friend of his, who was in the holy orders of the Ministery of the Church, and yet desirous for the auoyding of fornication, to marry a wife, writeth thus: *Wee suppose, that you are not ill aduised, if when you cannot containe, you seeke a wife, though that should haue beene thought on before you had entred into holy Orders. But wee are not GODS, neither can wee foresee things to come. Wherefore, seeing things are come to this passe, that you cannot resist the lawe of the flesh, it is better to marry then to burne. Yet cannot the Pope be perswaded to dispense with you; but hee standeth resolued to holde his seuere course still, and thinketh it not fitte to grant that to one, which may bee hurtfull vnto many. If therefore you desire safely to marry, you must expect some other Pope, who may bee more inclineable and yeelding.* And of this *Æneas Syluius*, afterwards named *Pius* the second, [r] *Platina*, and [s] *Sabellicus* report, that hee was wonte to say, That *they had, no doubt, reason to lead them so to doe, that forbade the Marriage of Cleargie-men, but that there were much greater reason now to leaue it free againe.*

[q] *Epist. 307. ad Ioannem Frundt.*

[r] *In Pio. 2.*

[s] *Ennead. 10. lib. 6. pag. 731.*

[t] *Fastorum. lib. 1.*

[t] *Baptista Mantuanus* saith, that many thought the Lawes against marriage to bee euill; that they which made those Lawes, had not sufficiently

ſufficiently conſidered, what the nature of man can beare, that Chriſt neuer put ſo vnpleaſant a Yoake vpon the neckes of men; that this burden, too heauy for the ſhoulders of men to beare, hath brought forth many monſtrous effects; that it was a ſhew of Piety, but indeed too great boldneſſe, that layde this burthen vpon the ſhoulders of men; that it had beene more ſafe to haue gone that way wherein the diuine lawe directeth vs, and to haue trode in the ſteppes of the Ancient Fathers, whoſe life was better in marriage, then ours that is ſingle.

[u] *Ioannes Antonius* ſaith, in the time of the Primitiue Church, it was lawfull for Presbyters, and ſuch as were entred into holy orders, to haue wiues, ſo that they refrained from companying with them, vpon the dayes wherein they celebrated; that afterwards in the Weſterne Church, they that were entered into holy Orders were commanded to containe: which commandement (hee ſaith) yeelded matter to enſnare the ſoules of many men, and therefore hee verily beleeueth, that as the Church brought in this precept of continencie, ſo the time will come, when the ſame Church will reuerſe and reuoke it againe: which reuocation ſhall bee agreeable to that of the Apoſtle, who ſaith, [x] *Concerning Virgins, I haue no commandement, but I giue aduice.*

[u] *Tit. Qui clerici vel vouentes matrimonia contrahere poſſunt. Citat. ab Andrea Friſio lib. 4. de Eccleſiâ.*

[x] 1. Cor 7. 25.

With *Antonius* agreeth [y] *Panormitanus*: who propoſing the queſtion, whether the Church may giue leaue to Presbyters to contract marriage, or to liue in marriage as the *Græcians* doe, anſwereth, that hee beleeueth it may; and that hee is aſſured it may in reſpect of them, who are not tyed by vowe implyed or expreſſed. Which hee prooueth, becauſe continencie in ſecular Cleargy-men is not of the ſubſtance of order, nor preſcribed by the Lawe of God. For that otherwiſe the *Græcians* ſhould ſinne, and no cuſtome could excuſe them: ſeeing no cuſtome is of force againſt the Law of God.

[y] *De Clericis coniugatis. cap. cum olim.*

Neither doth hee onely thinke, that the Church hath power thus to doe, but profeſſeth, hee thinketh it were behouefull, and for the good and ſaluation of the ſoules of men, that ſuch as are willing to containe, and to lead a life of higher perfection, ſhould be left to their owne will, and that ſuch as are not willing to containe, ſhould by the Decree of the Church be ſet free, to contract mariage. [z] *Alfonſus Veruecius*, as *Andreas Friſius* telleth vs, diſcourſing of the words of *Paul, (for the auoyding of fornication, let euery one haue his owne wife)* ſaith, they containe no precept, but a conceſſion or grant; and affirmeth, that by vertue of this grant, euery one that cannot otherwiſe auoyde fornication, may marry a wife. And after certaine remedyes preſcribed to bee obſerued and vſed by Presbyters, that they may auoyde fornication, at laſt, confidently giueth counſell to him, who hauing tryed all thoſe meanes cannot containe, rather to marry a wife, and ſo to prouide for his owne ſaluation, then to commit fornication, and

[z] *Citat. ab Andreâ Friſio. de Eccleſiâ. lib. 4.*

so to cast him-selfe head-long into eternall death: but yet perswadeth such a one, to doe nothing without seeking the Popes consent; hoping that hee will dispense in such a case; seeing the power hee hath, was giuen him for edification, and not for destruction. *I dare confidently say,* (saith *Polydore* [a] *Virgill*) *that it hath beene so farre from being true, that this inforced Chastity hath excelled that which is in marriage; that no sinfull crime hath brought greater disgrace to the order of the Ministery, more enill to religion, or made a greater and deeper impression of sorrowe in all good men, then the staine of the impure lust of Priests. And therefore haply, it were behouefull for the Christian common-wealth, and for the good of them that are of that sacred order and ranke, that at the last a publicke Lawe might bee made to giue leaue to Priests to contract Marriage. Wherein rather they might liue honestly and holily without infamie, then in most filthy manner defile them-selues with this sinne of Nature.*

[a] *De Inuent. Rerum. lib. 5. cap. 4.*

And Bishop [b] *Lindan* saith: *Surely euen at this day, it is lawfull to take chaste and honest married men into the order of Priesthood: which (in my iudgement) might much better bee done in some Prouinces of* Germany, *then to set ouer them certaine most impure companions, or any longer to endure and tollerate Knaues, Apostataes, and Sacrilegious Pastors.* With these agreeth [c] *Erasmus*, affirming, that in his conceit, hee should not ill deserue, nor take the worst course for the furthering of-humaine affaires, and the right informing of the manners of men, which should procure liberty of mariage (if it might bee) both for Priests, and Monkes. And therefore *Sigismund* the Emperour, a little before the Councell of *Basill* began, published a forme of reformation of the Cleargie, in which among other things this was one, that for-as-much as more euill commeth by the forbidding of marriage then good, it were better and more safe to permit Cleargie-men to liue in the state of marriage, according to the custome of the Oriental Churches, then to forbid them so to do. In the Councel of *Trent*, the Orator of *Bauaria* moued to the same purpose. And [d] *Chemnitius* reporteth from *George* the Prince of *Anhault*, that *Adolphus* Bishop of *Mersbergh* his vncle, would often say, before euer *Luther* began to stir, that if there were a Councell, he would be a perswader, that Cleargy-men might be permitted to marry; and professed that he knew, that many for the quiet of their consciences secretly contracted marriage with those women which they kept vnder the name of Concubines. And surely euen the Popes them-selues were content to winke at things in this kind. *Georgius Cassander*, a man of infinite reading, excellent iudgment, and singular piety and sincerity, and therefore so much respected and honoured by *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian* the second, that they held him the fittest man in the world to compose the controuersies in religion; and sent for him to come vnto them for the same purpose,

[b] *Citat. Achemnitio in examine Trident. Concil.*

[c] *In Declamat. de Laudib. Matrimony.*

[d] *Vbi suprà.*

* Cassander

purpose, is clearly of opinion [c] that how-soeuer some in auncient times forbade the marriage of Cleargy-men, yet now it were fitte and necessary, that that law were abrogated: first, because it is found by wofull experience, to bee the cause of many greeuous euils: secondly, for that the seuerity of Discipline, and strictnesse in all courses of life, that was in vse when this Lawe began first to bee vrged, is cleane gone, or much decayed, euen in the opinion of al. So that that which was fit in those times, may now be most vnfit. Thirdly, for that many godly and learned men are thereby* discouraged from entering into the Ministery, refusing to binde them-selues to the obseruation of this lawe of single life, whereby the Church looseth the benefit of their labours; few young men, indeed religious and pious, applying them-selues to the study of Diuinity; but such only for the most part, as seeke nothing but riche and good liuings, that intend a dissolute course of life, and resolue afore-hand, to wallow in all impurity of lust, (besides some few, who inconsideratly before they know them-selues, fall into the snare.) Neyther doth he only thinke it fit, that marryed men bee admitted into the Ministery, and suffered to company with their wiues, according to the custome of the Oriental Churches, but is of opinion also, that they may be permitted to marry, after they are entered into holy Orders, yea though there were no allowed example of any such thing heretofore; seeing the Prohibition is but positiue, and many positiue Constitutions haue beene abrogated. But indeed there are not onely examples of men marrying after entering into Orders; but also of the Churches allowing the same. For touching Sub-deacons and Deacons, there can bee no question; seeing the Councell of [f] *Ancyra*, which was most auncient, and confirmed by *Leo* the Pope, as [g] *Bellarmine* him-selfe confesseth, decreed, that Deacons, with the Bishoppes leaue, might marry wiues after their enterance into holy Orders.

[h] In the time of *Gregory* the Seauenth, and before, as it appeareth by the storyes of those times; Priestes did marry after Orders: and when hee went about to forbid them so to doe, hee was condemned by the whole Nation of Cleargy-men, & deposed in a Counceel of Bishops; being iustly disliked as for other things, so for this his Antichristian and vile attempt.

Neyther did those men, which desired a Decree to bee passed, to giue the liberty of marriage vnto Church-men, of whom I haue spoken, desire only the permitting of marryed men so to continue, but of such as are not marryed for to marry, as it easily appeareth by their discourses. And surely how-soeuer there might bee some reason of expedience, rather to permitte marryed men to enter into the Ministery, and to continue in the same state, then to suffer such as come into it, vnmarried, to marry afterwardes; yet if the one bee lawfull (as [i] *Bellarmine* rightly noteth) the other

* *In Consultatione de Sacerd. Cælibatu.*

* *Aeneas Syluius* writing to *Petrus Noxetus* hath these words. *Adhuc caui, ne me sacer ordo involueret. Timeo enim continentiam &c. Epist. 50.*

[f] *Canone. 10.*
[g] *De Clericis, lib. 1. cap. 18.*

[h] *Vide supra.*

[i] *Vbi supra.*

other cannot bee vnlawfull. For if any thing bee found in marriage, that cannot ſtand with the ſanctity of the Miniſtery, or the due execution of it, it is not the contract, which is a thing moſt ſeemely and honeſt, and ſoone paſt, but the act of it, and the cares accompanying that ſtate of life.

The manner, cuſtome and obſeruation of the *Greeke* Churches, is deſcribed by *Zonaras* in his explication of the Canons of the Apoſtles; where hee ſaith, that Preſbyters, Deacons, and Sub-deacons before they bee ordayned, are aſked whether they will liue ſingle or not; and if they anſwer that they will; they are preſently ordayned. But if they anſwere, that they will not; they are permitted to take them wiues firſt; and then are ordayned after marriage. So that they giue them leaue to marry after they haue choſen them, though before they ordayne them: but if refuſing to marry before ordination (when they are willed to reſolue what they will doe) they marry afterwardes, they are putte from the Miniſtery, but not from their wiues.

* For farther proofe hereof ſee the firſt booke of *Claudius Eſpẽcæus de Continentiâ.*

* By that which hath beene ſayd, it is moſt cleare and euident, that the mariage of Miniſters is iuſtifiable by GODS Lawe, by the Canons and practiſe of the greateſt part of the Church, and by the iudgment of ſundry of the greateſt and worthieſt of the World, in thoſe places, where it ſeemed to be moſt diſliked, in al ages, euen til our time: yet there remayneth ſtill one doubt, touching the lawfulneſſe of their Marriages, that by vow had promiſed the contrary. Concerning which poynt, two thinges are to bee obſerued: firſt, whether their mariage bee voyd, that vowed not to marry.

Secondly, whether they doe Sinne, that vppon any occaſion, or change of the ſtate of thinges, doe contrary to ſuch their vow. Touching the firſt of theſe two poyntes, to witte, that the marriages of ſuch as had vowed the contrary, are not voyd, wee haue the iudgement of ſundry the beſt learned among the Fathers. For firſt, *Cyprian* ſpeaking of Virgins hath theſe wordes: [k] *Quod ſi ex fide Chriſto ſe dicauerunt, pudicè et caſtè ſine vlla fabula perſeuerent. Ita fortes et ſtabiles præmium virginitatis expectent. ſi autem perſeuerare nolunt, aut non poſſunt, melius eſt nubant, quam in ignem delictis ſuis cadant:* That is; if by faith they haue dedicated them-ſelues to *CHRISTE*, let them chaſtly, and with all honeſt ſhamefaſtneſſe, without lying, or falſhood ſo continue, and reſolute and conſtant, let them expect the reward of virginity: but if they will not, or cannot perſeuere, it is better that they ſhould marry, then that by their ſinnes they ſhould fall into the fire. Which wordes are cleare enough for proofe of that which we defend. Yet [l] *Bellarmine* and ſome others ſeeke to auoyd them; making as if *Cyprian* did onely ſay, that if Virgins, that are to reſolue and are yet free, thinke they cannot contayne, it were better for them to marry then to burne.

[k] *Cyprian. lib. 1 Epiſt. 11.*

[l] *De Monachis. lib. 2. cap. 34.*

But

But this euasion serueth not the turne: for *Cyprian* speaketh of such as haue already dedicated them-selues to God, willing them to perseuere; and yet sayth, if they will not, or cannot contayne, they were better to marry then to burne: and therefore hee thinketh marriage after a vowe made to the contrary to bee good, though hee that voweth without constant purpose of performing, is not without fault.

Pamelius, writing on this place of *Cyprian* hath these wordes: If *Cyprian* by a certayne indulgence permitted such virgins vppon whome the vayle was not yet putte, to marry rather then to burne, let no man maruayle at it: seeing their marriages, if they do marry, are not dissolued by any Canons, but they are only inioyned pennance.

Saint *Austine* agreeth with *Cyprian*: for, speaking of the mariages of such as had vowed the contrary, hee hath these wordes: [m] *They who say, that the mariages of such men are not mariages, but rather adulteries, as it seemeth to mee, doe not acutely and diligently enough consider what they say: but a certayne likenesse and shewe of truth deceiueth them. For, because they are sayd to chuse* CHRISTE *to bee their husband, which out of a certayne loue of Christian sanctity refuse to marry, there are some that argue and say, that if shee bee an adultaresse which maryeth to another man while her husband liueth, as the* LORD *him-selfe defined in the Ghospell, then so long as* CHRISTE *liueth, euer whome death hath no more dominion, shee must needes bee an adultaresse, which hauing chosen him to bee her husband, maryeth vnto any mortall man.* [m] *Augustin. de bono Viduitatis.*

They truly which thus say, seeme to be moued, by some reason, that is not to bee contemned; but they little consider, how great absurdity followeth vppon that which they say: for seeing a woman may laudably (euen while her husband liueth) with his consent vow continency vnto CHRISTE; *according to the argument of these men, no woman may so doe; least (which once to thinke is impious) shee make* CHRISTE *him-selfe an adulterer, to whome shee maryeth, her husband yet liuing.*

After this refutation of their reasons, hee goeth forward to shewe the absurd consequences of their opinion. *By this inconsiderate opinion (sayth hee) of them that thinke the marriages of women, falne from an holy purpose, if they do marry, to be voyd, not a little euil is brought forth: for from hence it commeth, that women are seperated from their husbands, as adulteresses, and not wiues. And while they thus seperate them, and force them to contayne, they make their husbands truly and indeed adulterers: when as (these their wiues yet liuing) they marry.*

Thus doth *Austine* resolue, that mariages after vowes made to the contrary, are lawfull and good; though the not performing of vowed continency, is a sinne (as hee thinketh) more greeuous then

then adultery, not for that the marriage of such is to bee condemned, but because the inconstancy in not performing that was purposed, and the violating of the vow are condemned. *Non susceptio à bono inferiori, sed ruina ex bono superiori:* not for that they doe a lesser good, but because they fall from a greater. Lastly, not for that they afterwards marryed, but for that they violated their first faith of continency. Which thing that the Apostle might briefly insinuate, hee would not say, *that they haue damnation which marry, after the purpose of a more high degree of sanctity*; not for that they are not to be disliked that so doe, but least their marriage it selfe might seeme to bee condemned; but when hee had sayd, *they will marry*, hee by and by addeth, *Hauing condemnation*, and expresseth why; *Because they haue broken their first faith.* That it may appeare that the Will which fel from a former purpose is condemned and reproued, whether marriage follow or not.

If any man doubt whether Saint *Austine* were the Author of this booke, *De bono viduitatis*, wherein these thinges are found, as some doe; and consequently, whether hee were of the opinion wee haue recited, or not; he may easily know, that this is Saint *Augustines* iudgement, whether this be his booke or not, by his [n] Epistle to one *Bonifacius*, who had vowed a monasticall, retyred, and single life, and yet afterwardes did marry; whome hee telleth, hee cannot now, as otherwise he would exhort to that kinde of life, which he had formerly vowed, because of his wife, so that he thought not his marriage voyd, or that hee was to bee seperated from his wife. His wordes are these: *Thy wife hindereth mee, that I cannot exhort thee to this kinde of life; without whose consent it is not lawfull for thee to contayne. &c.*

[n] *Epist. 70.*

And [o] elsewhere speaking of certayne women, who abode not in that which they had first vowed, which had a desire of marriage, but married not for feare of disgrace, he saith; *It were better for them to marry then to burn*: that is, thē to be wasted with ỹ secret flame of the conscience in lust. And *Hierome* also is of the same opinion. For speaking to a certayne virgine that had priuately vowed virginity, and that could not indure the straight keeping of her mothers house, he hath these wordes: [p] *If thou be a virgine, why dost thou feare carefull and dilligent keeping? If thou be corrupted, why dost thou not openly marry? This is as a board to swimme out on after shipwracke. So shouldst thou temper that which thou begannest ill, by vsing this remedy. Neyther truly doe I say this, for that I take away repentance after sin, (that so that which is ill begun, may still continue) but for that I dispayre of drawing of you from that ill company into which you are entered.* And in his Epistle to *Demetriades* hee hath these wordes: *The ill name and report of some that behaue not themselues well, disgraceth and dishonoureth the holy purpose of virgins, and obscureth and blemisheth the glory of the Heauenly and Angel-like family: who must bee plainely and peremptorily vrged*

[o] *De Sancta Virginitate. cap. 34.*

[p] *Hieron. Epist. 47. de suspecto Contubernio vitando.*

vrged and required eyther to marry, if they cannot containe, or to containe, if they will not marry.

To these we may adde [q] *Epiphanius*, who indeed maketh it κρίμα, that is, a thing euill, and such as God will iudge and punish, to forgette, neglect, and not performe a vow made to God; but not κατάκριμα, that is, a thing that casteth men into the condemnation of hell fire, and plungeth them into euerlasting destruction to liue in adultery: Who defendeth, that it is better to descend to that state of life, which is lawfull and honourable, with one fault of breaking the vow passed to the contrary, and with teares of repentance to wash away the impurity of that one, fault of inconstancy, and so to bee saued, then to liue in sinne continually & so to perish. So that, though hee thinke it a fault for a man to promise a course of continency to GOD by vowe, and not to performe it; yet he thinketh it better for a man after this one fault committed, which may bee repented off and forgiuen, to marry, then by liuing in continuall adultery, to adde one sin vnto another, and to plunge him-selfe into endlesse destruction. [q] *Hereſi. 61.*

[r] *Hugo de sancto victore* maketh two constructions of the wordes of Saint *Austine* before alleadged. Whereof the one is, that hee speaketh of secret vowes, whereof the Church can take no knowledge, because there is no witnesse of them; and that Saint *Austines* meaning is, that marriages after such vowes, are to bee reputed good by the Church. The other is, that the Church in the time of *Austine*, allowed marriages, after a vow made to the contrary; but that now ỹ same Church (for considerations her mouing) hath determined otherwise, and by her authority made them voyd. The former of these constructions is too weake and cannot bee allowed. [r] *Erudit. Theolog. de Sacrã. fidei. lib. 2. part. 11. cap. 12.*

For, that *Austine* thinketh marriage is lawfull and good, after knowne vowes made to the contrary, it is euident by his Epistle to *Bonifacius*, whome he blameth for breaking his vow, whereof him-selfe and *Alipius* were witnesses, and yet alloweth his marriage; as also for that in the place interpreted by *Hugo*, hee sheweth that some who were of another iudgment, (as indeed wee finde [s] *Innocentius* Bishoppe of *Rome* to haue bene) dissolued marriages after vowes made to the contrary, which they would not, nor could not haue done, if those vowes had beene altogether secret and vnknowne. Neyther doth that hee sayth in the second place, any better auoyd the cleare euidence of Saint *Austines* iudgement, then the first. For no difference of times, and conditions of men and thinges, can so change the nature of vowes and marriages, as that a vowe at one time should make voyd an insuing marriage, and not at another. Others therfore there be, who go about to auoyd the euidence of the authorities of *Austine* and the Fathers brought to proue the validity of marriage, after vowes made to the contrary, by making a distinction of vowes. These men [s] *Epist. 2. ad Victricium. cap. 12.*

therfore

therefore make two sortes of vowes: naming some *simple*, and other *solemne*; and affirme, that the latter doe debarre men from mariage, and voyd their mariages if they doe marry; but that the former do so debarre them from marrying, that they cannot marry without some offence, and yet if they doe, their mariage is good and not to be voyded.

[r] *In secundâ secundæ quæst. 38. art. 11.*

The Diuines of the Church of *Rome* (as [r] *Caietane* rightly noteth) differ much in opinion, about the difference of these vowes. For some of them thinke, that they differ in such sort, as that one of them is a promise onely, and the other a reall and actuall exhibition; and that the solemnity of a mans vowe consisteth in a reall and actuall exhibition of him-selfe, and putting him-selfe into such an estate, as cannot stand with mariage. But this opinion (as hee rightly noteth) cannot bee true; seeing there is no such repugnance simply, and in the nature of the thinges betweene the Order of holy Ministery and Marriage; as appeareth in that the Ministers of the *Greeke* Church (as tyed by no vow) are iudged by all to liue in lawfull Mariage, not-withstanding their Ministery; as also in that the entering into no religious Order, voydeth Mariage, vnlesse it bee approued by the Church.

There is therefore (as hee sheweth) another opinion, that it is not from the different nature of the vowes, that the one voydeth mariage contracted, and the other doth not; but from the authority of the Church, that will haue mariage after a vowe made in one sort to bee voyd, and not in another. The latter of these two opinions [u] *Bellarmine* saith, *Scotus*, *Paludanus*, and *Caietane* follow; and (as *Panormitan* reporteth) the whole schoole of Canonistes. And these doe answere to the authorities of the Fathers, denying mariages to bee voyde after a solemne vow, that they are to bee vnderstood to deny them to bee voyd by Gods Law, and that there was no Law of man then passed to make them voyd, when they liued, that they knew of; and that therefore they might rightly bee of opinion in those times, that no vowes made insuing mariages to bee voyd; seeing no vowes doe voyd mariages by GODS Lawe; and there was no law of man in their time making mariage voyd in respect of a vow made to the contrary. So that euen in the iudgement of many of the best learned of our Aduersaries them-selues, Mariage after a vow is not voyd by Gods Law, but only by the positiue Constitution of the Church, which will haue it so to bee. But against this positiue Constitution two thinges may bee alleadged: first, that it began from that erroneus conceyt, which *Austine* refuteth in his booke *de bono viduitatis*: as it appeareth by the Epistle of *Innocentius*, grounding his resolution for voyding of Mariages in this kinde, vpon that very reason of their beeing espoused to Christ, which haue vowed vnto GOD that they will liue continently. Secondly, that the Church hath no power simply to forbid any man to marry, whome Gods Law leaueth free; seeing single life is

[u] *De Monachis. lib. 2. cap. 34.*

one

one of the thinges that men may bee counselled and aduised vnto, but cannot bee prescribed and imposed by commaundement: that the Church may keepe men from mariage, if they will inioy some fauours, as wee see in Colledges and Societyes, or that She may by her Censures punish such as vnaduisedly, and without iust cause, shall breake their vow and promise, wee make no question: but that She may simply forbid any one to marry, how faulty and punishable soeuer otherwise, we vtterly deny. Neyther is the reason that is brought to proue this power to bee in the Church of any force. For though it were graunted, that the Church by her authority for respectes best knowne to her selfe, may forbid a man to marry with some of those with whome God permitteth him to marry; yet will it not follow that She may absolutely forbid any one to contract mariage; seeing parents to whome it pertayneth to direct the choyce of their children, may forbid them to marry with such as they iustly dislike, and yet they may not simply restraine them from marying. So that though it were yeelded, that the Church for causes best knowne to her selfe, may forbid mariage with moe then the Law of God doth; and that in such sort, as to auoyd it, hauing greater power in this behalfe then naturall parents; yet would it not follow that She may simply forbid any one to marry, and voyd his marriage if hee doe; whereas the Law of God voydeth it not. And so wee see, that as Marriage after a solemne vow is not voyd by the Lawe of God; so the Church hath no power to make any Law to make it voyd. But because though it bee so, yet it may seeme, that no man that had vowed the contrary can marry without sinne, it remayneth, that wee proceed to consider and see, whether there bee any cases, wherein a man, that vowed the contrary, may marry without offence to God.

First, touching this poynt, the Schoole-men generally resolue, that the Pope may dispense with a Priest, Deacon, or Sub-deacon to marry though hee haue sollemnely vowed the contrary by entering into holy Orders; because the duty and bond of contayning is not essentially annexed vnto Orders, but by the Canon of the Church onely.

[x] *Aquinas*, and they of that time thought hee might not dispense with a Monke to marry: For that single life is essentially implyed in the profession of a Monke, and cannot bee seperated from the same, as it may from the office and calling of a Priest. But since that time the general opinion is that he may; because though single life cannot be seperated from the profession of a Monke, yet heere that is a Monke may bee freed from that profession hee hath made, and cease to bee a Monke.

x *Secunda secundæ. quæst. 88. art. 11.*

Neyther is this only the opinion of the Schooles, but the practise of Popes hath concurred with the same. For (as *Petrus* [y] *Paludanus* reporteth) a Pope reuiued a Monk, who was next in blood, & to succeed in the Kingdome

y *In 4. Sent. Dist. 38.*

Kingdome of *Arragon*, and dispensed with him to marry a wife for the good of that Kingdome. [z] *Caietan* saith, the like is reported in the stories of *Constantia* daughter and heyre of *Roger* King of *Sicilie*, who was a religious woman, and of fifty yeares of age, and yet by the dispensation of *Celestinus* was called out of the Cloyster, and permitted to marry with the Emperour, *Henry* the Sixth, who begatte of her *Fridericke* the Second.

[z] *In secundam secundæ. loco citato.*

[a] *Lib. 4. de Ecclesia.*

And [a] *Andreas Frisius* reporteth out of the Histories of *Polonia*, that *Casmirus* sonne of *Merssistaus* King of *Polonia*, was a Monke, & ordayned a Deacon, and yet when after the death of *Merssistaus* his father, there was none to sway the scepter of that Kingdome (whence many mischiefes followed) *Benedict* the Ninth gaue him leaue to marry a wife, making him to leaue his Cloyster, his vowes, and Deaconshippe, that so there might be a succession in that Kingdome. So that there is no question, but that for a common good, men may bee dispensed with to marry, that haue solemnely vowed the contrary.

[b] *Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 27.*

[c] *Erudit. Theolog. de Sacrament. fidei, lib. 2. part. 12. cap. 4.*

Yea [b] Cardinal *Caietan* proceedeth further, and sayth, that the Pope may dispense with such to marry as haue vowed the contrary, not only, for the publike benefit and good of the whole or common-wealth, but for the greater good of the parties that haue so vowed. [c] *Hugo de sancto victore* disputing what vowes they are, that must be kept, pronounceth peremptorily, that the vowes of fooles are to bee broken, and not kept; and defineth all those to be the vowes of fooles, that eyther are made *de malo*, or *de bono malè*: That is; for the doing of some ill, or for the doing of some good, but not well. For example, if one vow to kill a man, as they did in the Actes, [d] that bound them-selues by a vowe neyther to eate nor drinke till they had killed *Paul*; such a vow, is *de malo et malum*: That is; it is for the doing of an euill thing, and it selfe is euill. *In quo prima culpa fuit vouere, secunda foret, si impleretur, perficere*: that is, in which kinde it was ill to vow, and it would be worse to performe: and therefore such vowes are not to bee kept. Neyther are they onely the vowes of fooles, that are made for the doing of some euill, but they also that are made for the doing of good, if they bee not well and rightly made, are to be reckoned among the vowes of fooles, that are to bee broken. Now that vow is not well made, which though it bee touching something that is good, yet it is touching that, which eyther one may not lawfully doe, or it is not expedient for him to do. One may not do; as if a woman vow continency without the consent of her husband: which it is not expedient to doe; as if a man in fasting or any other worke purpose the doing of that which is aboue his strength and ability. All these vowes of fooles, as well of the second, as of the first kinde, may bee broken without seeking any dispensation. For a dispensation is then needfull when the vow is good and aduisedly made, and yet in some particular

[d] *Acts, 23. 12.*

particular case that may fall out) not to bee kept. In which case eyther the whole is remitted, or some other thing equiualent is by way of commutation enioyned. Wherefore lette vs consider, what is to bee thought of the vowes of single life, made by men of the Cleargy in latter times.

Touching which [c] *Andreas Frisius* rightly noteth, that if the vowes of children in respect of their want of iudgement, and the vowes of them that are constrayned, bee little to bee regarded, because they are not voluntary, there is little respect to bee had to those vowes of single life, that men made in latter times; seeing for the most part, they desired not that they vowed, but some other thinges; in respect whereof they doubted not to vow that, they had neyther purpose, nor desire to performe. It was the hope of honour, wealth, ease, and a voluptuous life, that drew the most part of them to make promise of that which they neuer had any loue vnto, & some other of a better mind, finding that they coulde not otherwise enter into the Ministery of the Church, ran into it before they considered of the great waight of the burden which they put vpon their shoulders. It cannot be denyed (saith [f] *Cassander*) but that that they did ill, and insnared the consciences of men, who admitted young men not yet knowne to them-selues, into the Ministery, and when they found the burden of single life too heauy, which yet together with the honour of their calling they were forced to take vppe, rather dissembled, and in a sort approued any impurity in them, then they would remitte any thing of their owne lawe, or suffer them to marry without consideration of the difference of times, manners, and course of life; which haue made thinges not onely hard but impossible to bee performed, that were in the time of greater seuerity of discipline (as [g] *Gerson* rightly obserueth) not so hard. So that from this hard Law, and the violent vrging of it, many greeuous and most abhominable scandalls in the Church haue proceeded.

[c] *Vbi supra.*

[f] *In Consultat. De Celibatu Sacerdotum.*

[g] *De vita spirituali.*

Wherfore seeing in the iudgement of the best Learned of the Fathers, mariages are good notwithstanding vowes made to the contrary, I thinke wee may boldly resolue, that howsoeuer they did ill, that made inconsiderate vowes of single life, which they neuer ment to performe; yet they did not ill, that out of consideration of their owne infirmity chose rather to marry, then continually to displease God by wallowing in all impurity. [h] *Hugo de sancto victore* bringeth in the secret thoughts of men bound with such vowes, solliciting and vrging them in this sort: Thou canst not resist so violent a passion, nor indure the heate of such burning desires, which haue proclaymed warre against thee, not for this day, or the next, or the third or fourth alone, nor for the space of a month, or a yeare; they will neuer leaue thee, they will not spare thee,

[h] *Erud. Theolog. de Sacramentis fidei lib. 2. part. 11. cap. 12.*

they will giue thee no peace nor reſt, ſo long as thou ſhalt liue vpon the earth, and carry about with thee this mortall fleſh, they will alwayes oppreſſe thine intention, and auert thy cogitation, that thou ſhalt neuer be able to lift vp thy mind with liberty, or thy wil with purity vnto God. See therefore what thou doeſt: Thou looſeſt this world, and gayneſt not the other. It were better for thee at leaſt to auoyd theſe preſent torments, then wholy to periſh, and no where to ſee or enioy any good. God doth ſee that thou ſuffereſt theſe thinges vnwillingly, that thou art drawne to that thou wouldſt not, and giueſt conſent but by conſtraint. It may bee hee will haue reſpect to the violence of thy paſſion, that hee will take pitty on thee, and pardon thy exceſſe; eſpecially ſeeing the Apoſtle ſaith, it is better to marry then to burne; and againe, for the auoyding of fornication, Let euery one haue his owne wife; it is better to vſe the lawfull remedy for this infirmity, then ſinfully ſtill to burne in luſt. VVhere-vnto hee bringeth in the inconſiderate votary, anſwering thus.

The Lord knoweth that I cannot containe. When I thought I could, I willingly reſolued ſo to doe, and would willingly ſtill continue in the ſame will and reſolution, if I could indure it. But I can no longer abide the heate of theſe burning deſires. Wherfore I reſolue to doe that which onely remayneth, which is to marry a wife, and ſo to ſupport my weakneſſe and infirmity: Sory truly, that I am forced to come downe from the height of that good I aſpired vnto; but yet deſpaire not, becauſe I deſcend to thoſe things that are lawfull. I had rather, *in inferiori bono ſaluari, quam in ſummo periclitari*, that is, I had rather be ſaued, containing my ſelfe within the limits of the lower degrees of good, then to indanger my ſelfe in ſ higheſt: and if it be a fault that I deſcend, and performe not that I purpoſed, I will repent of this my fault, and by al due ſatiſfaction pacifie & appeaſe my God; nothing ſhal ſeeme hard vnto me, ſo that I may auoyd this paſſion, and decline this death, *in quâ viuens teneor*, that is, in which I am holden though I liue.

Theſe reaſons hee ſaith muſt needes preuaile, and cannot bee reſiſted; if mariage after a vow made to the contrary bee lawfull; if the Church may not diſſolue it, and if ſaluation may bee attayned by men liuing in it, as I haue ſufficiently proued they may: and therefore our Aduerſaries raſhly condemne ſuch as in our time haue maried, notwithſtanding their vowes.

If a man (ſaith [1] *Friſius*) ſhall vndertake to carry a burden to a certayne place, and after finding his inability to performe it, ſhall deſire to bee excuſed, and that ſome lighter burden may bee laid vppon him, hee is much better to bee allowed off, then hee that goeth on in that he vnder-tooke, and fainting by the way hurteth him-ſelfe, and diſappointeth

[1] *Vbi ſuprà.*

pointeth him that set him on worke: and in like manner hee is rather to bee approued, that prayeth to be eased of the ouer-heauy burden of single life, and resolueth to liue honestly in mariage, then hee that will still liue single, though neuer so wickedly, what-soeuer *Pighius* and *Eckius* prate to the contrary: who feare not to preferre a Priest that liueth in adultery, before him that marieth a wife.

Besides all this which hath beene said, seeing single life is not simply good, and to bee desired, but respectiuely to certayne endes, therefore they that chose to liue single, and intended not the glory of GOD, the good of his Church, and the more opportunities of doing good without distraction, did not make any lawfull vowe; seeing a vowe must bee of that which is good, and properly of the better good; and consequently were not tyed to the keeping of it; it beeing resolued, that the vowes of fooles, that is, such as are made without respect to the right end, without due consideration of their owne strength, and a free and voluntary purpose of performing that they promise, are not to bee kept.

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Chap. 58.

Of Dygamie, *and what kinde of it, it is that debarreth men from entering into the Ministery.*

HEtherto wee haue proued the lawfulnesse of Ministers mariage, and sufficiently shewed that no Lawe of GOD or the Church forbiddeth it, and that no rash and inconsiderate vowe hindereth it, if men cannot contayne: Now lette vs proceed to see, whether they bee any more restrayned and limited in their mariage then other men. Some there bee who thinke they are, and teach, that they must marry but once onely; whereas other may lawfully marry as often as they please. And further, they suppose, that if any man haue beene twice maried, or haue maried a VVidowe, hee may not bee admitted into the Ministery. The grounde of which conceyt is that of the Apostle, where he sayth: [a] *A Bishoppe must bee the Husband of one wife:* But the meaning of the Apostle is, that he, who is to be chosen a Bishop, must

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HEtherto wee haue proued the lawfulnesse of Ministers mariage, and sufficiently shewed that no Lawe of GOD or the Church forbiddeth it, and that no rash and inconsiderate vowe hindereth it, if men cannot contayne: Now lette vs proceed to see, whether they bee any more restrayned and limited in their mariage then other men. Some there bee who thinke they are, and teach, that they must marry but once onely; whereas other may lawfully marry as often as they please. And further, they suppose, that if any man haue beene twice maried, or haue maried a VVidowe, hee may not bee admitted into the Ministery. The grounde of which conceyt is that of the Apostle, where he sayth: [a] *A Bishoppe must bee the Husband of one wife:* But the meaning of the Apostle is, that he, who is to be chosen a Bishop, must

[a] 1 Tim. 3. 2.

not haue more wiues then one at one time. So that the Digamy the Apoſtle condemneth is not the hauing of two or more wiues ſucceſſiuely, but the hauing of more then one at the ſame time. Of which it is that [b] *Iuſtine Martyr* ſpeaketh, when expounding that ſaying of our Sauiour: *Hee that marieth her that is forſaken, committeth adultery*, hee concludeth that they, who according to mans law runne into Digamyes, by our maiſters iudgement are found to bee ſinners. And therefore [c] *Chryſoſtome* expoundeth the text of the Apoſtle as meant of Polygamy, which is the hauing of many wiues at once. His wordes are theſe: The Apoſtle ſaith not this as making a Lawe, that none without a wife may bee made a Biſhoppe, but appointing a meaſure of that matter. For it was lawfull for the Iewes, to bee ioyned in the ſecond mariage, and to haue two wiues at once. Thus doth hee interpret the Apoſtles words, though hee were not ignorant that ſome followed another interpretation. And therefore [d] *Bellarmine* vntruly denyeth, that any of the auncient followed this interpretation but *Theodoret*. And the [e] *Rhemiſtes* confeſſe that *Chryſoſtome* ſo interpreteth them, but they ſay, that writing vpon *Titus* he followeth the other interpretation; but ſurely it were ſtrange if hee ſhould ſo ſoone forget him-ſelfe. Let vs heare therefore what hee ſaith, that ſo hee may the better diſcerne whether he diſſent from him-ſelfe, and interprete the wordes of the Apoſtle to *Titus* as they would haue haue him, or not. His wordes are theſe: The Apoſtle purpoſeth vtterly to ſtoppe the mouthes of heretikes which condemne mariage; ſhewing that mariage is without fault, and ſo precious, that with it a man may bee preferred euen to the holy ſeate and chayre of a Biſhoppe. Alſo with this ſaying he chaſtizeth vnchaſt perſons, while hee ſuffereth them not after their ſecond mariage to be taken to the gouernment of y Church. For hee which is found not to haue kept his benenolence, towardes his wife, which is gone from him, how ſhould he be a good teacher of the Church? Nay rather to what crymes ſhall hee not dayly bee ſubiect? for you all know, that although by the Lawes, ſuch ſecond Mariages are permitted, yet that thing is open to many accuſations. Therefore hee will haue the Biſhoppe to giue no occaſion to them that are vnder him.

[b] *Apologia. 2.*

[c] *In locum Timotheipredict & in Titū.*

[d] *De Clericis. lib. 1. cap. 23.*

[e] Annotations vpon that place.

Theſe are the wordes of *Chryſoſtome*. Neyther can any man doubt, that hee will aduiſedly conſider them, but that hee ſpeaketh of a ſecond mariage while the firſt wife liueth, but is gone away (for ſo are the wordes, and not defunct or dead, as our Aduerſaries tranſlate for their aduantage,) and not of a ſecond Mariage after the death of the firſt wife. For if he did, he would not condemne them that marry the ſecond time as vnchaſt & wantō, or make them ſubiect to any crimes. With *Chryſoſtome* agreeth *Theodoret*: his words are theſe, [f] *The preaching the*

[f] *Theodoret in locum Timothei predict.*

began

began, and neither did the Gentills exercise Virginity, nor the Iewes admit it, for they esteemed the procreation of Children to bee a blessing. And therefore for as much as at that time, they were not easily to bee found which exercised continencie, of such as had married wiues, he commandeth them to bee ordained, which had honoured Temperancy. And concerning that saying, The husband of one wife, I thinke certaine men haue said well. For of old time both Greekes and Iewes were wonte to bee married to two, three, or more wiues at once. And euen now when the Imperiall lawes forbid men to marry two wiues at one time, they haue to doe with Concubines and Harlotts. They haue said therefore that the holy Apostle saith, that hee that dwelleth honestly with one onely wife is worthy to bee ordained a Bishop. For say they, hee doth not reiect the second mariage, who hath often commanded that it should bee vsed. For a woman (saith hee) is bound by the Lawe, so long as her Husband liueth; but if her Husband bee dead, shee is free, that shee may marry with whome shee will, onely in the Lord, &c. For if hee haue thrust away his wife, and bee ioyned to another, he is worthy to bee reprehended, and is iustly subiect to accusation: but if force of death haue disioyned his first wife, and Nature vrging, haue compelled him to bee ioyned to a second wife, his second mariage is proceeded not of his will, but of casualty. These things considered (saith Theodoret) *I admit the interpretation of those which haue so vnderstood the place.* Neither doe *Chrysostome* and *Theodoret* onely thus interpret the words of the Apostle, but [g] *Theophylact* also.

[g] *In eundem locum.*

The Apostle (saith hee) *prescribeth, that hee who is to bee chosen a Bishop must bee the husband of one wife, because of the Iewes to whome* Polygamy *was permitted, that is, to ioyne mariage with many together.* And [h] *Hierome* maketh mention of this Interpretation. *The Apostle* (saith hee) *was of the Iewes, and the first Church of Christ was gathered out of the remaines of Israell.* Hee knew it was permitted by the Lawe, and ordinary among the people, by the example of the *Patriarches*, and *Moses*, to beget children of many wiues: which thing also was permitted vnto the Priests, and therefore he commanded that the Priests of the Church should not take vnto them-selues the like liberty, nor haue two or three wiues at once: but that they should haue one onely wife at one time. And though he rather incline to another interpretation; yet in his *Commentarie* vpon *Titus*, hee mentioneth this againe, without any signification of dislike, and saith, *We must not thinke, that euery one, that hath beene but once married*, is better then he that hath beene twice married, but that (indeed) hee may better exhort to one onely mariage, and continency, that can bring forth his owne example in teaching. For otherwise, if a yong man marry a wife, and she dye within a little while after, and after her he marry a second, which within a short time he looseth also, and then continue continent, he is to be preferred before him that liueth with one wife till his old age. So that often-times, if he that hath beene but once married, bee preferred before him

[h] *Hieron. ad Oceanum.*

him that hath bene twice maried, his happineſſe is choſen rather then his will: and as ſundry great and worthy Diuines did ſo interpret the Apoſtles wordes as to condemne *Polygamie*, and not to exclude from the Miniſtery men twice maried; ſo the practiſe was according there-vnto. For how-ſoeuer many vrged the other Conſtruction of the Apoſtles wordes, and excluded men twice maried from the holy Miniſtery; yet others did not ſo. And therefore *Tertullian*, who was a *Montaniſt*, and condemned ſecond mariage, in his booke of *Monogamie*, interpreting the Apoſtles words, of ſuch as had maried the ſecond wife, and ſpeaking bitterly againſt the Catholikes of thoſe times, ſaith: the holy Ghoſt fore-ſaw there ſhould come ſome that ſhould affirme all things to be lawful for Biſhops. For (ſaith he) how many are there among you that gouerne the Church, which haue maried the ſecond time; inſulting againſt the Apoſtles, & not
[l] *Vbi ſuprà.* bluſhing when theſe wordes are read vnder them. [l] *Hierome* was of opinion, that men twice maried might be choſen to be Biſhops or Preſbyters, if they maried both, or one of their wiues before they were baptized. Which was the caſe of very many in thoſe times; ſeeing, (beſides thoſe who were conuerted from *Paganiſme*) many that were borne of Chriſtian parents put off their Baptiſme a long time. So that ſome were
[m] *Ruffinus. li. 2. cap. 11.* elected Biſhops before they were baptized, as wee read of [m] *Ambroſe*. Here-vpon he ſaith, the number of ſuch as had bene twice maried, and yet were admitted into the holy Miniſtery, was exceeding great. His wordes are theſe: *All the world is full of theſe Ordinations: I ſpeake not of Preſbyters, nor thoſe of Inferior degrees; I come to Biſhops, whome if I ſhall goe about particularly to name, I ſhall muſter together ſo great a number as will exceed the multitudes of them that were at the Councell of* Ariminum. And it appeareth by the Epiſtle of [n] *Innocentius* to the Biſhops of *Macedonia*, that
[n] *Epiſt. 22. cap. 1. & 2.* they thought as *Hierome* did; that ſuch as were not twice maried after Baptiſme, might be admitted into the Miniſtery, how often ſoeuer they had bin maried before. It is true that *Innocentius* was of another mind, and
[o] *De bono Coniugali.* [o] *Auſtine* likewiſe: But *Hierome* who is wont to ſpare no man that croſſeth his conceit, calleth them Hypocrites, & telleth them that they are like the *Scribes* and *Pharizees*, that did *ſtraine at a Gnat and ſwallow a Camel, that tithed Mint and Anniſ-ſeed, but let paſſe the waightier thinges of the Lawe*; becauſe they admitted ſuch into the Miniſtery, as had kept Harlots before their Baptiſme, and yet reiected ſuch as had beene maried, for that ſin is waſhed away in Baptiſme, and nothing elſe. *Rem nouam audio* (ſaith he) *quia peccatum non fuit, in peccatum reputabitur.* That is, it is a new and ſtrange thing that I heare, becauſe it was no ſin to haue a wife, therefore it ſhal be reputed for a fault and ſin. Whoredome, Impiety againſt God, Parricide, Ineeſt, and the ſin againſt Nature, are purged and waſhed away in the Baptiſme of Chriſt: but this, that a man hath had a wife, ſticketh faſt vnto him ſtill. So are the filthy ſtewes preferred before the honourable & vndefiled

vndefiled mariage-bed. Let the *Pagans* heare what the Harueſtes of the Church are, out of of which our Barnes are filled. Let the *Catheeumens* (who are not yet baptized) heare likewiſe, & let them take heed they marry no wiues before baptiſme, neyther enter into the eſtate of honeſt mariage: but let them giue them-ſelues to al impurities; onely let them take heed of the name of mariage, leaſt after they ſhall beleeue in Chriſt, this may preiudice them, that ſometimes they had not Concubines, nor Harlots, but lawful wiues.

Zonaras in his expoſition of the Canons of the Apoſtles, followeth the Opinion of *Hierom*, & ſo doth *Sedulius*, *Scotus*, & *Anſelme*, as [p] *Sixtus Senenſis* reporteth. And this opinion was very generall, as it appeareth by [q] *Ambroſe*, who though he diſliketh it, yet ſaith exceeding many did approue it. So that to reſolue this point; we ſee ſome vnderſtood ỹ words of the Apoſtle as ment againſt *Polygamie* only, or the hauing of many wiues at once ſucceſſiuely: and that accordingly many were permitted to gouerne the Church that had bin twice maried; and that of them that vnderſtood the words of ỹ Apoſtle, as ment of the not hauing of more wiues then one ſucceſſiuely; ſome excluded onely ſuch as had more then one wife after Baptiſme; others, al that had bin twice maried, eyther before or after. But we ſhal finde that they who generally excluded al them, that had bin twice maried from entring into the Miniſtery, had no good reaſon leading them ſo to do. For neyther is he alwaies better, that hath bin but once maried, then he that hath beene twice maried, as I haue ſhewed out of *Hierome*; neyther can he alwaies better exhort to continence; for how can he exhort others to liue continently, and not to marry the ſecond time, or after the death of their wiues, that him-ſelfe in his widow-hood committed Adultery, or liued as a whore-monger? ſeeing the Apoſtle willeth both men and women, rather to marry the ſecond, third, or fourth time, then to burne in luſt, and to commit adultery or fornication. There is therefore a third reaſon yeelded of this pretended prohibition of marying a ſecond wife, after the death of the firſt: which is myſticall and taken from a kinde of Sacramental ſignification, which muſt be found in them, ỹ are to be admitted into the holy Miniſtery of the Church. And ſurely eyther this Reaſon muſt preuayle or none: for if it were ſome moral defect and imperfection, that debarreth men twice maried from entering into the Miniſtery; or for that it is a ſigne of incontinency to haue beene twice maried; it might be waſhed away in Baptiſme, as wel as Whoredome, and other Crymes, which yet theſe men deny. Let vs ſee therfore what force there is in this Reaſon of myſtical ſignification.

[r] The mariage of the Fathers in the time of the old Lawe (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) by their many wiues, expreſſed and figured thoſe Churches, out of the many Nations, People and Kinreds, of the worlde, that weare to ioyne them-ſelues vnto Chriſt in Spirituall mariage at his comming:

[p] *Bibliotheca Sancta lib. 6. annot. 318. & 325.*

[q] *Lib. 10. Epiſt. 82.*

[r] *Auguſt. de bono Conjugali.*

but the marriage of Christians, figureth specially that perfect vnity that shall bee in Heauen, of all faithfull and holy ones, both with Christ, and amongst them-selues. This is *Augustines* reason, and this the [f] Schoolemen vrge.

[f] *Bonauentura in 4. Sent. distinct. 25. quæst. 3.*

But it is strange that men of Learning should stand so confidently vpon so weake a ground. For if the expressing of the vnity between Christ and the Church his Spouse, by the vndeuided vnity that is betweene one man and one woman, be necessarily required in him that is to be chosen a Bishoppe or Presbyter; then of necessity, euery one that desireth to bee a Bishoppe or Presbyter, must marry a wife, that so his Mariage may expresse the Spirituall mariage betweene Christ, and the Church. Nay, seeing Christ neuer with-draweth him-selfe from his Church, but dayly begetteth sonnes and daughters of her vnto God; each Bishoppe must haue a wife, & company with her continually; that so by the matrimonial vnity that is betweene him and his wife, hee may expresse the vnity, that is betweene Christ and the Church. Their answere heere-vnto is, that as Christ is a Husband, so hee is a Virgin; and that therefore a man may beare an expresse resemblance and representation of Christ, by Virginity, as well as by Mariage. So that it sufficeth if eyther hee bee a Virgin, or haue beene but once maried, that is to bee thought capable of Ecclesiasticall honour.

But this answere will not serue the turne: For though a man bee no Virgin, (as [t] *Hierome* professed of him-selfe, that hee was not; and as it is euident *Augustine* was not, in that [u] hee had children borne vnto him:) yet it is not necessary, in the iudgement of our Aduersaries, that such a one should marry a wife, to make him-selfe capable of Ecclesiasticall honour. Whence it followeth, that there is no necessity of Representing eyther the Virginity of Christ, or his matrimoniall Coniunction with the Church, by the Virginity or mariage of such, as are to be admitted into the holy Ministery. Besides this, it is not enough to expresse the Vnity betweene Christ and the Church, that a man marry but one wife; but it is required also, that hee defile not him-selfe, by beeing ioyned vnto harlots; but that hee keepe him-selfe intirely to his owne wife. For so it is, betweene Christ and his Church; who not onely hath no other wife or spouse, but the Church of the faithfull; but also so intirely loueth her, that hee giueth no part of his loue to any stranger. So that hee, that marying but once, hath eyther before or after such mariage, committed adultery or fornication, doth not expresse the vnity that is betweene Christ and the Church.

[t] *In dub. Epist. Citat. ab Erasmo in vita Hieronymi.*

[u] *Aug. confess. lib. 4. cap. 2. & lib. 6. cap. 15.*

And yet our Aduersaries, that are so peremptory against such as haue bene more then once maried, sette open the dores to let in both VVhoremongers and Adulterers into the Church, and house of God. And therefore the wordes of [*] *Hierome* may rightly bee applyed vnto them,

[*] *Hieron. ad Oceanum.*

That

That they tythe Mint and Anniſeed, and omitte the weightier things of the Lawe; and that they ſtraine at a Gnat and ſwallow a Camell, reiecting them as vnworthy, that haue not offended, and admitting ſuch as haue; iuſtifying the ſinner, and condemning the Innocent.

But that wee may perceiue the weakeneſſe of this myſticall Reaſon, wee muſt obſerue that our Aduerſaries admitte none into the Miniſtery that haue beene maried, vnleſſe eyther their wiues bee dead, or by conſent of their wiues they reſolue to Contayne, renouncing that power and intereſt, the man hath ouer the body of his wife; and ſo (indeed) ceaſing to be huſbands. So that if their Preſbyters, & other Cleargy-men haue reſemblance of *CHRISTS* mariage with the Church in reſpect of their mariage, it is while they are no Cleargy-men but meere Laie-men.

Now how-ſoeuer it may be required of them that are to be admitted into ỹ Miniſtery, that they haue not bin ſcandulous before their enterance: yet I thinke it is not required, that they haue bene cleare repreſentations or figures of Chriſt; but this is to bee looked for afterwards, when they ſupply his place. Wherfore wee may aſſure our ſelues that this was not the reaſon that moued thoſe to debarre men twice maried, from entering into the Miniſtery that ſo did: but partly a miſvnderſtanding of the Apoſtles words; partly for that as [x] *Duarenus* noteth though often marying be permitted, both by Gods Lawe and mans Law; yet the old Fathers did not greatly like it, as arguing immoderate incontinency in them that ſo do. Wher-vpon we ſhal finde that in auncient times, they were all putte to penance, that maried the ſecond time, though Lay-men, and neuer intending to enter into the Miniſtery.

[x] *De ſacris Eccleſ. miniſt. & Benef. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

The wordes of the [y] Councell of *Neocaſarea* are theſe: Concerning ſuch as often *take them wiues, and ſuch as are often maried, it is ordered that they ſhall obſerue and fulfill the time of the Penance, which is preſcribed vnto them: yet ſo as that their conuerſation and faith may ſhorten the time.* And the ſame Councell forbiddeth a Preſbyter to bee preſent at the marriage-feaſt of them that are the ſecond time maried; ſeeing it is preſcribed, that they muſt be put to Penance that marry the ſecond time. And aſketh what Preſbyter that is, that will for a mariage-feaſt conſent to ſuch mariages. And [z] another Canon forbiddeth ſuch mariages to be bleeſſed in the Church.

[y] *Canone. 3. & 7.*

[z] *Referente Ambroſio in 7. cap. 1 ad Corinth. & in 3. 1. ad Timoth. Auguſt. Serm. 243. de tempore. Iſidoro. lib. 2. de Diuinis officiis. cap 19.*

[a] The Councell of *Laodicea* prouideth in this ſort, touching them that marry the ſecond time: Concerning them, that (according to the Eccleſiaſticall Rule) are freely and lawfully ioyned in the ſecond mariage, and haue not ſecretly ſo ioyned them-ſelues: It is fitte that for ſome ſhort time they giue them-ſelues to prayer and faſting, which beeing paſt, by a kinde of Indulgence, they may be reſtored to the Communion.

[a] *Canone. 1.*

The

[b] *Apud Gratian. part. 2. causa 31. quæst. 1.*

The [b] author of the vnperfect worke, that goeth vnder the name of *Chrysostome*, proceedeth a little farther in this sort, The Apostles (saith he) commanded to enter into the second mariage, for the avoyding of fornication. For according to the precept of the Apostle, it is lawfull to take a second wife: but according vnto the rule and prescription of truth it is (indeed) Fornication.

[c] *Canone. 8.*

This conceipt grew so farre, that the Councell of [c] *Nice* was forced, to make a Canon that the *Cathariſts* should not be receaued into the fellowshippe of the Church, vnlesse they would communicate with such, as fell in the time of Persecution, and with such as had beene twice marryed; whereby it appeareth, that some reiected them, as though they might not haue beene receaued into the Church, noe not after Penance. So that to conclude this poynt touching *Digamie*, it is not the hauing of more wiues then one successiuely, that the Apostle condemneth: but the hauing of more wiues at once. Three reasons are brought by our Aduersaries to proue the contrary; but they wilbe found too weake, if wee examine them.

The first is, that *Polygamie*, or the hauing of many wiues at once, was not in vse in the Apostles times, and that therefore the Apostle had noe reason to forbid it; but this may easily bee refuted by good authorities. *Your Maisters* (saith [d] *Iustin Martyr* speaking to the Iewes) *euen to this day, suffer euery one of you, to haue foure or fiue wiues:* and in his [e] *Apologie* hee vnderstandeth by *Digamie*, the hauing of more wiues then one at one time, and not successiuely: for hee saith they which according to mans lawe doe enter into *Digamie* or second mariages, are sinners, according to the Doctrine of our Teacher and Maister. And *Theodoret* saith, [f] *In former times both Iewes and Gentiles tooke vnto them in marriage many wiues.*

[d] *In Triphone.*
[e] *In Apologetico posteriori.*
[f] *In locum Timothei.*

Their Second reason is this. The Apostle requireth that a widow must haue beene the wife of one husband: and his meaning must needs bee, that she must not haue had more husbands then one successiuely. Therefore when hee prescribeth, that a Bishoppe must bee the husband of one wife, his meaning is, that hee must not haue had more then one wife successiuely, the forme of speach being the same; that when he speaketh of widowes he meaneth that they must not haue had more husbands then one successiuely, they proue, because how-so-euer Men haue some-times had more wiues then one, at the same time; yet Women neuer had more Husbands: and [g] here-vpon they charge vs, with intollerable impudency, violent wresting of Scripture, and bringing such an interpretation of the Apostles words, as neuer came into any wise-mans cogitation before; when wee say, hee repelleth such from entering into the order of widowes, as haue had two husbands at once;

[g] *Rhemenses in Locum Titi.*

once; and not such as haue beene twice maried. But if it pleaſe them to giue vs leaue, wee will ſhewe them, that they are too violent, and ſay they know not what. For we thinke, nay wee know it hath beene heard off, that a woman ſhould haue two huſbands at one time; yea that both amongſt *Iewes* and *Gentiles* in former times women forſaking their huſbands, or forſaken of them without iuſt cauſe, haue maried againe: which the Apoſtle might iuſtly condemne, and debarre ſuch as had ſo done, from entering into the order, and ranke of ſacred Widowes. Neyther is it hard to ſhew, that our interpretation hath beene thought off, and approued, more then a thouſand yeares ago, by men of as great wiſedome, as our great maiſters that thus inſult vppon vs. For *Theodoret* vpon theſe very wordes of the Apoſtle, writeth thus. Heereof alſo, *it is manifeſt that he reiecteth not ſecond mariages, but decreeth that they liue chaſtly in matrymony: for hee which before hath eſtabliſhed the ſecond mariage by law, hath not here forbidden her which hath bin twice maried, to obtaine bodily reliefe.*

And [h] *Theophylact* likewiſe ſaith; *The Apoſtle requireth* Monogamie *of her, that is to bee admitted into the company of widowes; that is that ſhe haue beene coupled but to one huſband at once, as a ſigne of honeſty, chaſtity and good manners.* Concerning theſe Widowes, two thinges are to be conſidered. Firſt, how and in what ſort they were imployed by the Church. Secondly, how far forth they were tyed not to leaue the Church-ſeruice, and to marry againe.

[h] *In hunc locum.*

Touching their ſeruice, it was firſt & principally, about women that were to bee baptized, for their inſtruction, and the adreſſing of themſelues to that Sacrament and the ſacred Rites of the Church accompanying the ſame: as appeareth by the [i] Conſtitutions of *Clemens*, it beeing more fit for them, to haue priuate and often acceſſe vnto them, then for men. Which thing alſo [k] *Epiphanius* ſheweth, calling them by the name of *Diaconeſſes*. Secondly, the attending, and taking care of the ſicke and impotent.

[i] *Li. 3. cap. 15.*

[k] *Hereſ. 79.*

Touching the ſecond point, we ſuppoſe that theſe widowes, (being of great Age, deſtitute of al outward ſupports, ſeeking reliefe of the Church, and dedicating them-ſelues to the ſeruice thereof) did by this very act, profeſſe and make knowne their purpoſe of continuing in that eſtate of Widowhood, and performing ſuch ſeruice, as to them any way appertayned. And therfore the Apoſtle condemneth them, that after ſuch profeſſion made, waxed wanton againſt CHRISTE, ſought to putte them-ſelues out of the holy Miniſtery and ſeruice they had dedicated them-ſelues vnto, and to returne to Secular courſes of life againe. Theſe (according to the iudgement of [l] *Epiphanius* were ſubiect to κρίμα that is, iuſt diſlike and blame, and were to bee condemned

[l] *Hereſ. 61.*

condemned for their leuitie, and inconstancy; but not to reiect that is to the condemnation of eternall death and destruction, if declining adultery and other like vncleanneſſe, they chooſe rather to marry, then to defile them-ſelues with ſuch impurities. And [m] *Auguſtine* reſolueth that their mariage, (notwithſtanding any profeſſion they ſeeme to haue made to the contrary) is not to bee condemned as euill, or to be diſſolued; but that onely their breach of promiſe made to God and his Church and their falling from their purpoſe, is to bee diſliked and condemned. Thus doe theſe learned and holy Fathers reſolue, touching ſuch widowes as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh off And *Peter Lumbard* vpon theſe words of the Apoſtle in like ſort, adding; That they breake their firſt faith euen that they profeſſed in baptiſme, in that violating ſo ſolemne a promiſe, & turning away ſo ſcandalouſly from the calling they had voluntarily put them-ſelues into, they ſeeme to forget and caſt from them the very faith and profeſſion of Chriſtians. Soe that it is cleare, and not denied by vs, that theſe widowes made a kind of promiſe and profeſſion of continuing in widow-hood, when they were admitted to the Almes and Seruice of the Church; and that it was a fault not to bee excuſed, to ſhew them-ſelues inconſtant in this reſpect: yet ſuch was the tenderneſſe of the Church in auncyent times, knowing the weakneſſe of the ſexe, as not to caſt any ſnares vpon them, or to tye them by the bond of any ſolemne benediction or conſecration to a neceſſity of continuing in ſuch an eſtate: but ſhee thought good to leaue them to their owne deliberations and reſolutions: ſo that, though they were wont to put a kinde of ſacred vaile on ſuch virgins, as voluntarily deuoted them-ſelues to God; yet [n] *Gelaſius* forbiddeth any Biſhoppe to attempt any ſuch thing, as the vailing of a widow: If widdowes (ſaith hee) out of the mutability of their mindes, hauing made a kinde of profeſſion of not maryingagaine, ſhall returne to mariage, it ſhalbe at their perill in what ſort they will ſeeke to pacifie God; ſeeing (according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle) they haue broken their firſt faith. For as (if haply they could not containe, according to the Apoſtle) they were no way forbidden to marry; ſo hauing deliberated with them-ſelues ſo to doe, they ought to keepe their promiſe of continent liuing made to God, but we ought not to caſt any ſnare vpon ſuch, but onely to exhort them to doe that is fit, by the conſideration of the eternall rewards and puniſhments, that GOD hath prepared for men, according to their workes, that ſo wee may cleare our ſelues, and make kowne what wee thinke, and they may bee left to giue an accompt of that they doe, knowing beſt their owne intention. This was the Decree of this Pope, and ſome other were of the ſame Iudgement, who admitted widowes to noe Benediction, but that of Penitencie; nor ſuffered no other vayle but the vayle of penitents to be put vpon them.

[m] *De Bono viduitatis.*

[n] *Epiſt. 9. ad Epiſc. Lucaniæ.*

But

But it [o] seemeth this course was not holden afterwards, succeeding Bishops degenerating from the wise and discreet moderation of their Godly predecessors, and laying heauier burthens one mens shoulders then was fit.

[o] *Vide Binnii tomo 2. concilior. pag. 115. annot. in Toletan. 4.*

Chap. 59.

Of the maintainance of Ministers,

HAuing briefely runne through all those things that concerne the different degrees, orders and callings of them Almighty God employeth in the Ministery of holy things; it remaineth, that in the last place I come to speake of the maintainance of them. That an honourable intertainement is due to the Ministers of God, and disposers of his heauenly Treasures, there neither is, nor can bee any doubt. The light of Nature, the sence of Piety, and the Presidents of the *Iewes* and *Centils* before Christ, and all Christian Kingdomes, Nations, and People since, most clearly conuincing it. [a] *Who goeth a warre-fare at any time* (saith the Apostle) *at his owne charge? who dresseth a Vineyeard, and tasteth not of the fruite of it? Who attendeth and feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of it?* It is an Axiome most cleare and euident in the light of Nature, that *The Labourer is worthy of his hire*, and the detaining of his wages is one of the sinnes that crye so lowd, that hee that sitteth in heauen heareth them. If this bee true in them that are employed in any seruice, busineſſe, or worke in the world, for the good of men; how much more in respect of them, that labour to procure their Spirituall and eternall good? [b] *It is a small thing* (saith the Apostle) *that we should reape your carnall things that haue sowne vnto you spirituall things* [c] *therefore let him that is instructed in the word, make him that instructed him partaker of all his goods.* The *Galathians* thought them-selues so much bound to the blessed Apostle Saint *Paule* (by whose ministery they were conuerted from Idolatry to serue the true and liuing GOD) that [d] they would haue plucked out their eyes, to haue done him good: perswading them-selues, they were no way able to make recompence vnto him, for all the good hee had done vnto them. And the Apostle is bold to tell *Philemon*, [e] that *hee oweth him-selfe vnto him.* This thing is so cleare and euident, that I suppose noe man will contradict any Part of that which hath beene sayde, yet not-with-standing it is not to be dissembled, that *Wickliffe* and some others, let fal some inconsiderate speaches, out of an immoderat dislike of the abuse of things in the *Romane* Church: wherein all piety, care of Religion, and performance of pastorall duties being neglected, by the most part of men: nothing

[a] 1. Cor. 9. 7.

[b] 1. *ver.* 11.

[c] Gala. 6. 6.

[d] Gala. 4. 15.

[e] *Philem.* 29.

thing was sought after, but riches, honour, and greatnes, accompanied with excessiue and riotous expences, to the great scandall of the world. For the opinion of [f] *Wickliffe* was, that the ministers of the Church ought to make no such claime to tithes, possessions, or lands, or any other reward of their labours, as may bee pleadable in any temporall court of Iustice, as each man doth to the things that are come to him by inheritance from his fathers, or by his owne purchase; but that they should content them selues with the title of Originall Iustice; by vertue whereof, that is due to euery good man that is fitting to him, and answerable to his condition, merit, and worthinesse.

[f] *In Trialogo.*

This opinion of *Wickliffe* proceeded from a dislike of some-thing hee conceaued to bee amisse, but knew not how to reforme. And the censure of *Gerson* vpon this and the like Articles was right and good, that they who proposed them, had cause of offence at many abuses, by them reprehended: but that to goe about to reforme things out of order by such a course as those Articles imported, was to cast out one Deuill by another: where-vpon hee sheweth that a golden meane is to be followed, betweene that immoderat flattery, that gaue to much to the Pope and his Cleargy, and caused them to forget that they were men, and to incroch vpon the right and possession of all other Men; and that vile detraction, that diminisheth the honour and reputation, and taketh away the reward of worth and learning, to the ruine of the Church, and bringing in of all Barbarisme and confusion. Wee say therefore, that this position is to bee reiected, as contrary to the cleare euidence of heauenly truth, the light of Nature, and the practise and Iudgement of all the world; whether we respect *Iewes*, *Pagans*, or *Christians*. For is it so, (the Apostle himselfe disputing and determining the case) that the Ministers of God, by the rules of the law of Nature, and that giuen by *Moyses*, haue more right to a maintenance, fitting to their worth and calings, then the labourer hath to his hyre? And are not all Christian Princes and Magistrates bound, to force by their lawes such as with-hold that which is thus due? Nay may not the Church, by her censures make them that are instructed to minister out of their temporall goods, to such as instruct them? Surely there is no doubt but they may. Which duty being done, the Minister hath as good right by Positiue law, to that maintenance that is fitting for him; and may as lawfully sue for it, in any court of *Mundane* Iustice, as any other may for that, which by any right of this world pertaineth to him. This (I thinke) will not be much gainsaid: For all men will graunt, that a competency of maintenance is due by the prescript of Gods law, and the law of nature; and that Princes must take order that it be yeelded. But the onely thing that is questionable, is, whether God haue determined of this competency; or left the iudgement and determining thereof vnto Men.

In

In the old Law, himself from heauen declared, what he thought to be a fit allowance for his seruants the Priests and Leuites; which we shall find not to haue beene sparing, but very liberall. For, besides the Tenths of all the things that the rest of the Tribes possessed and enioyed, hee gaue them Cities to dwell in, and fields adioyning to the same.

Touching Tithes, in the Booke of *Leuiticus* it is thus written; [h] *All the Tithe of the Land, both of the seed of the ground, and of the fruit of the Trees, is the Lords, it is holy to the Lord: and of euery Tithe of Bullocke and of Sheepe, and of all that goeth vnder the rod, the Tenth shall bee holy vnto the Lord.* And as God prescribed, and commaunded this Rent of the Tenthe to bee paid vnto him, out of all that men possessed by any Right deriued from him; so by his Prophets hee did exact it, when it was vnpaid. [i] *Bring* (saith the Lord of Hostes by his Prophet *Malachie*) *all the Tithes into the Store-house, that there may bee meate in my house, and proone me now here-with, if I will not open the windowes of Heauen vnto you, and powre you out a blessing without measure: I will rebuke the deuourer for your sakes, and hee shall not destroy the fruit of the ground, neither shall your vine be barren in the field, saith the Lord of Hostes; and all Nations shall call you blessed, for you shall be a pleasant Land.*

h Leuit. 27. 30.

i Mala. 3. 10.

And touching Cities for the Priests and Leuites to dwell in, God spake vnto *Moses* his seruant in this sort: [k] *Commaund the children of Israel, that they giue vnto the Leuites of the Inheritance of their Possession, Cities to dwell in: Ye shall giue also to the Leuites, the Sub-urbs of the Cities round about them; so they shall haue Cities to dwell in, and their Sub-urbs shall be for their Cattle, and for their substance, and for all their Beasts: and the Sub-urbs of the Cities which ye shall giue vnto the Leuites, from the wall of the Citie outward, shall be a thousand Cubites round about:* These Cities, by Gods owne appointment, were fourtie and eight.

k Numb. 35. 2. &c.

Besides this standing Rent of Tithes, which God commaunded his people to paie vnto the Priests and Leuites, and these Cities, which they were to giue them to dwell in; hee made them yet a more plentifull and ample allowance out of his owne immediate Reuenue, and the presents that were dayly brought vnto him. For wheras the people (after they were entred into the land of Promise) stood bound to make some acknowledgment, that they had receiued all of Gods hands, and therefore were to giue vnto him, the best, first, and principall of all that they were blessed with, euen the first of the fruits they gathered; The Leuites by Gods appointment had their parts in these first-fruits: Nay, as we may read in the booke of *Numbers*, God gaue these first-fruits which the people offered to him, to the Priests, saying vnto *Aaron*, and his sonnes; [l] *All the fat of the oyle, and all the fat of the wine, and of the wheat, which they shall offer vnto the Lord for their first fruites, I haue giuen them vnto thee: and the first ripe of all that is in their Land, which they shall bring vnto the Lord, shall be thine.*

l Numb. 18. 12.

This

This Allowance did God make them, out of his sette Reuenew of first fruites; and yet was not vnmindefull of them, when any other presents were brought vnto him. So that they, [m] *Who attended at the Altar, were (indeed) partakers of the Altar.* Thus wee see in what sort God did prouide for his seruantes the Priestes and Leuites, in the time of the Lawe.

[m] Cor 9. 13.

Wherefore now it remayneth, that, passing by that Addition, that was out of those Offerings, which were proper to those times, we come to see, whether the same kinde of prouision by Tythes (which GOD then prescribed) remaine still in force, by Vertue of any Lawe of GOD, or not.

Heere wee shall finde a great and maine Controuersie betweene the Schoole-men and the Canonists. For the Schoole-men (for the most part, nay all, if wee may beleeue [n] *Bellarmine*) doe thinke, that Tythes are not due since the comming of *CHRISTE*, by any Lawe of *GOD* or Nature.

[n] *De Clericis. lib. 1. cap. 25.*

The Canonists resolue the contrary, aud are so peremptory in their opinion, that they doe (almost) condemne such of Hæresie, as thinke otherwise. [o] *Aquinas* one of the greatest *Rabbins* amongst the Schoole-men, determineth the Question in this sort. The Præcept concerning § paying of Tythes in the time of the old Lawe, was partly Morall, Naturall, and Perpetuall; and partly Iudiciall, applyed to the condition of that people, and so to continue no longer by force of Gods prescription, then that state should continue. In that it prescribed a sufficient, large, and honourable maintenance, to bee yeelded to them that attended the holy thinges of God, it was Naturall and Morall, and is to continue for euer; but in that it prescribed such a proportion, as a fit and competent maintenance, namely the Tenth part out of euery mans increase, it was not Naturall, but Iudiciall, applyed and fitted to the condition of that people.

[o] *Secunda secundæ. quæst. 87. art. 1.*

For the whole Nation of the Iewes, beeing diuided into thirteene Tribes, and the Tribe of Leui, that serued at the Altar, and in the Temple, hauing no Inheritance or Possession amongst the rest, but God him-selfe, being the Inheritance of them of that Tribe, that they might haue in some proportionable sort, as good an estate of maintenance as any of the rest, he gaue vnto them the Tenth of all that the rest had. If it be said, they were not the Tenth part of the people, but § Thirteenth; and that therefore to make them equall with the rest, God should haue giuen them the Thirteenth part onely, and not the Tenth: hee answereth, that therefore God gaue them something more, then each of the rest of the Tribes had; First, for that hee knew al that hee allowed them would not be duly & exactly paid vnto them, but that they should loose some part of that which he meant vnto them; which by this ouerplus of Allowance, hee would make vppe vnto them againe. Secondly, for that hee would

would haue their allowance to be some-thing better then that which others had, they being more neare vnto him then the rest. Thus doth he make the particular determination of the tenth, to bee iudiciall, fitted to the condition of that people; and neither Morall nor Ceremoniall: and yet saith, that as all things that were done in that state, and by that people, figured some thing that was afterward to come to passe; so this paying of the tenth of that each mā possessed, though it were a iudicial constitution, and not ceremoniall, yet figured the perfecting of all things by Christ the Sonne of God. For in that the number of ten, is the vttermost extent and perfection of numbers, beyond which no man goeth in numbring; by giuing the tenth part (that signifieth perfection) to God, and keeping nine (expressing imperfection to them-selues, they professed their owne wants, defects, and imperfections, and the desire, hope and expectation they had, that God, (in whome onely perfection is found) would in his good time perfect all things by Christ his Sonne. How aptly these things are deliuered by *Thomas*, let the Reader iudge. There are other that likewise insist on the number of ten, as being the vttermost extent of number, but to another purpose. For they say, in that the people of God gaue vnto him the tenth of all that they possessed, which is the vttermost bound, and extent of all the things they had, they did thereby expresse the desire they had, that this tenth part, as being the bound and limit of all the rest, (in a sort included within it,) should sanctifie the rest; and that in respect of the blessing, which God hath promised vnto that, which is giuen vnto him, it should be as a wall of defence, for the safe-keeping of the rest. And yet neither *Thomas*, nor these, make the paying of the tenth to bee Ceremoniall, in respect of these significations, for then no such custome might bee vsed amongst Christians, as some ignorant men haue taught in our age, out of this false conceipt. But *Thomas* supposeth the paying of the tenth, in the particular determination to bee iudiciall, and the other thinke it Naturall and perpetuall. For (say they) seeing something is to bee yeelded to God out of that which wee haue, and the number of ten is the bound of all the things we haue, or can haue, at least one of ten is to be payed vnto God, for an acknowledgement of our obligation vnto him, & for the maintenance of his seruice, and those that atend the same. For if we may passe the number of ten, which is the bound of our possessions, and yeeld no noe part thereof as an acknowledgement to God, we neede not to pay any thing to him at all. This opinion is strongly confirmed, in that P *Abraham* payed tithe to *Melchizedech*, (who was a Priest of the high God, and blessed him in the name of the Lord) of all that he possessed, before any law written, or any particular prescription that wee reade of touching the same. Whereby hee shewed (as it may more then probably bee concluded) that tithes are due by the Law of nature. Neither did *Abraham* onely by his fact, shew the naturall

P Gen 14.20

duty of paying Tithe, but *Iacob* also confirmed the same by the vowe hee made; That if God would prosper his iourney, and bring him backe in
q Gen. 18. 22. safety, the Lord should bee his God, and q hee *would offer vnto him the tenth of all that he should giue him.* But some man perhaps will say, that this vow of *Iacob*, prooueth rather the contrary; namely, that hee was not bound to pay Tithes: for men do vow such things as they are not bound vnto, by any generall law of God or Nature. And therefore Cardinall
r *De Clericis lib. 1. cap. 25.* r *Bellarmine* saith, *It had beene an impious thing*, for *Iacob* in this conditionall sort, to haue vowed the paying of Tithe, if by the generall lawe of God, and Nature, he had beene bound there-vnto. But surely this saying of the Cardinall is impious, and iniurious to the holy *Patriarch*, who neuer was charged with any Impiety, in respect of this his vow; neither can be (as I suppose) and yet necessarily must bee, if this inference of the Cardinall be good. For it is the first commandement in the lawe *Naturall* and *Morall*; *Thou shalt haue no other Gods but mee*; and the holy *Patriarch* was bound by a generall Obligation of the lawe of Nature, to take the Lord for his God, and yet hee voweth conditionally, *That if the Lord will bee with him*, keepe him in his iourney, and bring him safe back againe,
s ver. 21. s *he shall be his God*, and hee will serue him: which if the Cardinall say true, he could not do without Impiety. But let vs passe by this ouer-sight, and see what is to be resolued touching this point. It seemeth by the fact of *Abraham*, and vowe of *Iacob*, before the law, by the prescription of the same in the time of the Law, and by the iudgement and practise of Christians, since the time of the Gospell; that the duty of paying Tithes is
t *Origen. Hom. 11. in Numeros.* naturall and perpetuall. t How doth our Righteousnesse (saith *Origen*) exceed the Righteousnesse of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, if whereas they doe not taste of the fruites of the earth, before they offer the first fruites to God, and set out the Tithe for the Leuites, wee doe no such thing, but so vse, or rather abuse the things, which God hath giuen vs, *Vt Sacerdos nesciat, Leuita ignoret, Altare non sentiat:* That is, in such sort, that the Priest shall not know of it, the Leuite shall neuer heare of it, and the Altar of God neuer feele it, or haue any sense of it.

u *In Malach. 3* Saint u *Hierome* saith; *Quod de Decimis, Primitijsq; diximus, qua olim dabantur à populo Sacerdotibus & Leuitis, in Ecclesia quoque populis, intelligite quibus præceptum est, non solum Decimas, et Primitias dare, sed et vendere omnia qua habent, & dare pauperibus; quod si facere nolumus, saltem Iudæorum imitemur exordia, & pauperibus partem demus ex toto, ne Sacerdotibus & Leuitis honorem debitum deferamus; quod qui non fecerit, Deum fraudare, & supplantare conuincitur.* That is, Vnderstand that which I sayde of Tithes and first fruites, which of old were giuen by the people to the Priests and Leuites, concerning the people of the Church also, who are commanded not onely to giue Tithes, and first fruites, but to sell away all that they haue, and to giue to the poore: which if we will

not

not doe, at the least let vs imitate those beginnings of the *Iewes*; that we may giue a part of all to the poore, and yeeld due honour to the Priests and Leuites; which who so doth not, is conuinced to defraude and deceaue God. Here we see *Hierome* is of opinion, that Christians stand boũd at least, to performe as much touching the matter of tithes and first fruites as the *Iewes*; and that he maketh the not paying of tithes to be a sinnefull defrauding of God: but that which he addeth of selling all and giuing to the poore, is not to be vnderstood as meant generally, but onely in some cases that may fall out. With *Hierome*, *Augustine*, or the author of the Sermons *De tempore*, whosoeuer he was, agreeth, saying,[x] *Audi inde-notamortalitas, nosti quia Dei sunt cuncta quæ percipis, et de suo non accomodas omnium Conditori?* that is: Heare O mortal man, voyd of deuotion, thou knowest that all the things that thou enioyest are Gods, and wilt thou present him with nothing that made all? &c. He vouchsafeth to require onely the Tenth, and the First-fruits, and thou denyest him: what wouldest thou doe, if he should challenge nine parts and leaue thee but the Tenth? For why might not God say, the men that serue thee are mine, I made them; the earth that thou tillest is mine, the seed thou sowest is mine, the Oxen are mine that thou wearyest in thy worke; yea the showers of raine, the blasts of winde, and the heate of the Sunne is mine; all the things which cause thy increase are mine; and thou onely puttest to thy hand; therefore the Tenth onely is due vnto thee, and the rest is mine? But God (who is rich in goodnesse) hath not giuen thee so sparing a reward of thy labour; for behold, hee is content thou shall haue nine parts, and exacteth onely the Tenth; and thou most vnthankefully, perfideously, and falsly, withholdest it from him, and therefore in his wrath he often depriueth thee of those nine parts that thou mightest haue had, destroying and bringing to nothing all that which thou hoped'st to reape, by immoderate drought, or raine, by hayle, frost, or some other meanes, as seemeth best vnto him. But whatsoeuer we thinke of the Author of these Sermons, it is certaine Saint *Augustine* did vrge a necessity of paying the Tenth, at least, of all that men possesse. [y] Set out (saith he) some certaine thing out of thy reuenewes, increase, or gaine, if thou wilt, the Tenth, though this bee to little: for the Pharisees paied tithes of al that they possessed; and yet, *If our righteousnes exceed not theirs, we cannot enter into the Kingdome of Heauen.* And if we vrge you to the paying hereof (saith he) thinke not that we seeke your wealth, but your well-doing. With *Augustine* agreeth [z] *Chrysostome*. The first Councell of *Hispalis* (as we read in [a] *Iuo*) vrgeth the paying of tithes, as commanded by God, and pronounceth, that he maketh a prey of things holy vnto God, and is as a theefe and a robber, that payeth not tithe of al that he possesseth; and that all the curses which God powred out on *Caine*, that made no good diuision, but gaue the worst to God, and kept the best to himselfe, shalbe powred vpon him.

x *De tempore Serm. 219.*

y *August. in Psal. 146.*

z *in Matth. 23*

a *Iuo: part. 2. cap. 174. in. 2. tom. concil. pag. 954. apud. Binium.*

[b] *Ca.* 17. [c] *Can.*5. The first [b] Councell of *Orleance* sheweth that Tythes, were payed at that time: and the second [c] Councel of *Matiscon* saith, The law of God prouiding for the Priests and Ministers of the Churches, commaunded the people to bring into the holy places, the Tenth of their increase, for an hæreditary portion; that so beeing hindered by no labour, they might in due sort attend the worke of the holy Ministery: which law the whole multitude and heape of Christians, hath kept inuiolabely for a long time.

[d] *Can.* 14. The Fathers assembled in the [d] Councell of *Forum Iulii*, after they haue alleadged the mandate of Almighty God in the third of *Malachy*, adde, that God him-selfe pronounceth, that his wrath and indignation abideth vppon the Nation or People, which fulfilleth not this his commaundement with an intire heart, and a good will: and after recitall of the blessings and curses that follow them that keepe or breake this commaundement, If yee beleeue not vs, or despise vs (say they) because we are men, beleeue God him-selfe in his threats and promises; & who-soeuer thou art, that professest thy self a Christian, *De suis, non de tuis, da Domino; quia omne quod sumus, viuimus, et habemus, eius est, et de ipsius benignitatis suscepimus manu:* ỳ is, giue vnto God of his owne, not of thine; seeing al that we are, liue & haue, is his, and we haue receiued at the hand of his goodnes. The Fourth [e] Councel of *Arle* decreeth thus; let euery one offer to God the Tenth and First fruits of all the increase of his labour, as it is written, *Thou shalt not be slow to offer thy Tithes & first fruits vnto God.* The Councell of *Mentz* vnder *Charles* the Great, prescribeth in this sort; [f] We admonish and commaund that no man neglect to pay Tythes vnto God, which God him-selfe appointed to be giuen, because it is to be feared, least as each man shal with-hold from God that which is due vnto him; so God for his sinne should take from him those thinges that are necessary, and which he would otherwise suffer him to enioy. Which agreeth with that of *Augustine* in his book of his 5. *Homilies*, where hee saith: [g] Our Auncestors did therfore abound in wealth, and had plenty of all things, because they gaue Tythe to God, and Tribute to *Cæsar: Modò autem, quia discessit deuotio Dei, accessit indictio fisci, nolumus partiri cum Deo Decimas, modò autem totum tollitur, hoc tollit Fiscus, quod non accipit Christus.* That is; But now because deuotion giueth nothing to God, the Officers of Princes cal for our Treasure, to fill their Coafers; we wil not so part & deuide with God, as to giue him the Tenth, and therfore all is taken from vs by men, the Exchequer ceazeth on that, which Christ could haue no part off. The Councel of *Tribur* alleadgeth and alloweth the saying of ỳ Author of the sermons *de tempore* before cyted, & addeth these wordes. [h] If any man aske why Tythes are payed, let him know that they are therefore payed, that God beeing pleased with this deuotion, may giue more largely the thinges wee haue need off. The perswasion of the necessity of paying Tythes, was so deepely imprinted in the mindes

[e] *Canone.* 9 [f] *Cap.* 38. [g] *Homil.* 48. [h] *Can.* 13.

of

of our forefathers, that when they were ready to die, there was no account concerning things in this world, they more carefully sought to perfit, than this; and therefore, after they had taken order for satisfying all that they could any way find to be behind, in this kinde, they were wont, (lest happily some-thing there might bee that came not to their mind) to appoint that the second best of those mooueable things they had, should bee brought after them to the Church when they went to be buried, as a Recompence, if in any thing they had done wrong in paying their Tithes; and this thing thus brought after them, was named a [i] *Mortuarie.*

[i] *Linwood. Prouincial. li. 1. de Consuetudine.*

Thus we see, the fact of *Abraham*, and Vow of *Iacob* before the giuing of the Law; the prescription of Almightie God in the time of the Law; the Resolution of learned and worthy men, and the practise of the Church since the comming of Christ, prooue strongly, *That Tithes are perpetually and for euer due*; yet the Schoolemen, and such as follow them, are of another opinion. [k] *Bellarmine* goeth about to prooue that Tithes are not due by Gods law, in this sort. They are neither prescribed in the olde Law, nor in the new (saith he) therefore they are not due by Gods Law. That they are not prescribed in the new (he saith) it is cleare, but prooueth it not. But that tithes are to be paid, may be prooued by necessarie consequence out of that which is prescribed in the new Testament. That they are not prescribed in the olde, hee cannot say; all the bookes of the olde Testament beeing full of Mandates, Threats, Promises, and Encouragements to mooue men to pay Tithes. But hee saith, the precepts that are found in the old Testament, requiring and vrging men to pay Tithes, were Iudiciall, not Morall and Perpetuall. That they were not Moral, he endeauoureth to prooue, because there was no Law concerning the paying Tithes before the time of *Moses*. If he speake of a written Law, it is true there was no such before *Moses*, neither touching Tithes, nor any thing else: but if he speake of a Law simplie, wee say there was a Lawe before *Moses*, which mooued *Abraham* to pay Tithe; and that as (presupposing the knowledge of the Creation of the world in sixe dayes, and Gods rest in the seauenth) Reason conuinceth vs, that one day in seauen must bee a day of Rest from our owne workes, affaires, and businesses, that wee may spend it in diuine thoughts, meditations, prayers, and prayses of God: So in like sor, tthe number of Tenne, beeing the vttermost extent, limit, and bound of all numbers, it beeing presupposed, that something is to bee giuen to God, out of that we possesse, the very light of Reason will make vs know, that we ought not to passe the number of Tenne, but that one of ten (at the least) is to be yeelded vnto God out of all that we possesse; and that not the worst, (for wee doe not so deale with mortall Princes) but the best, the first and principall. Which is confirmed vnto vs, in that the *Gentiles* and people that knewe not God, but by the light of Nature,

[k] *De Clericis lib. 1. cap. 25.*

ture, and such Traditions as they had receiued from the Patriarches, did pay tithes as well as the *Iewes* did, and the *Christians* doe. The proofe hereof, the Reader may find at large out of diuers Authors in a [l] Treatise of Tithes, written not long since, and in [m] *Iansenius*.

[l] *M. Carlton of Tythes.*
[m] *Comment. in Concord. Euang. cap. 84*

But some man (perhaps) will say, that this confirmation is too weake; for that many among the *Gentiles* were Circumcised as well as the *Iewes*, and that yet it followeth not from thence, that Circumcision was prescribed and imposed by the Law of Nature; so that the custome, practise, and obseruation of the *Gentiles* paying Tithes, will not prooue that it is a naturall dutie to pay Tithes.

But they who bring this Obiection, should know, that there is a great difference betweene these two Obseruations of the *Gentiles*; For the one was but in some certaine parts of the world onely, and among such people as were descended of *Abraham*, or by Leagues, Compacts, and Perswasions, were induced by them to be Circumcised. But the paying, vowing, and offering of Tithes to their supposed gods, was generall amongst all the *Gentiles*, *Romans*, *Grecians*, and *Barbarians*. Wherefore wee may resolue, that the prescription of Tithe, was not meerely Iudiciall, and fitted to the State of the people of the *Iewes* (as *Bellarmine* out of *Aquinas* would haue it) but that it was Naturall, and from the beginning.

And surely it is worth the noting, how strangely hee forgetteth himselfe, and so runneth into grosse contradictions in this point. For first, to make it seeme probable, that this prescription was but meerely Iudiciall, he saith: [n] *The intendement of God*, in prescribing Tithe was, that there should be a certaine equalitie amongst the parts and Tribes of his people; and that therefore he allotted the Tenth to the *Leuites*, who were almost the tenth part of his people; and yet after he saith, [o] *The Leuites were* not the *sixtieth* part of the people: and prooueth the same out of the first and third of *Numbers*. So that it cannot bee immagined that the reason of allowing this proportion to the *Leuites*, was for that they were little lesse than the tenth part of the people, that so they might haue at least as much as the rest, if not a little more: especially seeing it may easily be prooued, that the Cities and Sub-urbs that were allowed vnto them, by God himselfe, besides the First-fruits, and that part of the Sacrifices which they had, was as much as the possessions of any Tribe, though they had had no Tithes at all. So that the possessions of the *Leuites* and *Priestes* being more than the thirteenth part of the whole land, (whereas they were not the sixtieth part) and all the Tithes, First-fruits, and a part of the Sacrifices, beeing assigned vnto them besides, it is most cleare and euident, the Intendement of God in allowing Tithes vnto the *Leuites*, was not the equalling of them and the rest.

[n] *De Clericis, lib. 1. c. 25.*

[o] *Eod. capite, Dubio. 4.*

But to conclude this point, if wee had neither the fact of *Abraham*, the vow of *Iacob*, the custome of the *Gentiles* before Christ, nor any other

other reason to perswade vs, that Tithes are due by Gods law; yet this very prescription in the time of *Moses* law, would prooue sufficiently, that *Christians* must yeeld the Tenth (at the least) of all their increase, towards the maintenance of the Ministers.

For seeing the Ministerie of the Gospel is much more glorious, then that of the Lawe, and the Obligation of the people vnto them stronger; there can be no doubt made, but that *Christians* are bound to giue the Tenthe of their increase (at the least) towards the maintenance of them, that attend the seruice of God: and consequently, that God hath not left it to men, to determine, what is a competent allowance for his seruants (as some thinke:) which thing may easily be prooued, if any man shall make any question of it.

For seeing they of *Leuies* Tribe had so large an allowance, whereas yet the most part of them were but ordinarie *Leuites*, and imployed in meane seruices, the Priests beeing (in comparison) but a fewe, and attending but by courses, once in 24. weekes; there is farre greater reason, that the Ministers of the Church, that attend more holy things, and that continually, (whose Education out of their owne Patrimonie, hath bin chargeable vnto them, and whose Profession of Learning and Knowledge is such, that the very furnishing of them with Bookes, is a matter of great expence, should haue a more plentifull allowance made vnto them, than the *Leuites*. Neither is there any kind of Prouision for Ministers fitter than this by Tithes. For if they haue their allowance in money, the prices of things often rising, it may be too short; neither will they haue so sensible a fellow-feeling of the blessings of God, or his punishments the people tast of, if they haue their allowance certaine, and no way subiect to those different courses of Times that others haue.

And therefore we shall finde, that howsoeuer in the very first Times, *Christians* were forced to supply the necessities of their Ministers by other meanes, before things were setled; yet so soone as there was any quiet establishment of things, they embraced this course of prouiding for Ministers by Tythes, as of all other the best.

These Tythes (before there was that perfect distinction and diuision of Parochiall Churches that now is) they payed to the Bishop and Cleargie ioyntly. Wherevpon we shall finde, that at first, as all Lands, so all Money, Tythe, First-fruits, & other Contributions made to the Church, were in the hands of the Bishop and Cleargie ioyntly, but of the Bishop principally, as more eminent, than the rest; and that he was bound to P diuide all into foure parts, whereof one serued for his owne maintenance, another for the Cleargie, the third for the Reparations of the buildings and houses belonging to the Church, and a fourth for the Relieue of the poore, and the entertainment of Strangers.

P *Gelasius Epist. 9. ad Episc. Lucaniæ. Vide Gratian. part. 2. decreti caus. 12. qua. 2*

And

* This word imported no base but an honorable allowance.

And therefore at first the Cleargy was maintayned out of a common diuidend, and the portion allowed to each man was named * *Sportula*, and they that liued by these allowances, *Sportulantes*. In which sence, *Cyprian* writing of some that hee had designed to bee Presbyters, hath these words: ¶ *Presbyterij honorem designâsse nos illis iam sciatis, et vt sportulis ijsdem cum Presbyteris honorentur, et diuisiones mensurnas aquatis quantitatib° partiantur sessuri nobiscum prouectis et corroboratis annis suis.*

¶ *Cyprian Epist.* 66, & 34.

But this course continued but a while; for afterwards, as there was a diuision of Parochiall Churches, with particular assignation of seuerall Presbyters to take care of them: so likewise of the tithes of the increase of the lands and possessions of such, as were within those Limits, the Bishoppe and Cleargy of the Citty, or of the chiefe Church liuing in common of such landes, reuenewes and possessions, as had beene giuen to the Church, and the tithes and offerings of them that receaued Sacraments, and resorted ordinarily to be taught in the Cathedrall Church; till in the end, as the Inhabitants of the country abroad, so they of the Citties like-wise, were put into Parochiall diuisions, and none but the Bishop, Cleargie, and such as partayned to them, resorted ordinarily to the Cathedrall or great Church, but to other diuided from it; and then was there no more tithe paid to the Bishop and Cleargy of the Cathedrall or chiefe Church, but to the inferior Churches onely, the Bishoppe and his Cleargy, of the Mother Church, liuing of such lands as were giuen vnto them; which also in processe of time they diuided. So that the Bishop had his distinct possessions, lands, and reuenewes, proper to himselfe; and likewise they of the Cathedrall Church. So that to conclude this matter, as tithes are payable by the laws of God, & men, for the maintenance of Gods seruice, and them that attend the same; so before there was any particular diuision of Parochiall Churches, and while each city and the places adioining made but one Church, they were due, and of right to be payed, by men liuing within those limits, to the Bishoppe and Cleargy ioyntly, who by a ioynt care, were to gouerne and teach the people of such places. But after Parochiall Churches were deuided, each man was, and is to pay the tithes of the thinges he possesseth, within each parish, to that particular Presbyter that ruleth the same. And therefore it is an error to thinke, as some doe, that before the Councell of *Lateran*, men might pay their tithes to what places & persons they pleased; and that by the Decrees of that Councell, they were first limited to the place of their habitation. For the thing that was ordered in the Councel of *Lateran*, was not the limiting of the duty of paying tithe to one certain & definite place, as if men had bin free before to pay them to whom and where they listed; but wheras men dwelling in one place, & hauing lands, liuings, & possessions in another, thought they might pay the tenth of the encrease of such thinges

thinges as they had in other places, to the Minister of the place where they dwelt, and of whome they receiued the Sacraments; The [r] Councell decreed, that the Tythes of such Landes, as men had lying else-where, should not bee payed by them, in the places of their habitation, but where the land lyeth; and personall Tythes in the place of their abode, where they are partakers of the holy things of God., and not else-where: Then which, nothing could bee more iust or reasonable. Neyther did the Councell of *Lateran* alone, take order for this matter, but the Councell of *Mentz* cited by [f] *Gratian* prouideth likewise, that if any man giue away such places, as hee had proprietie in, or other thinges, the Tythe shall not bee alienated from the Church it did formerly belong vnto.

[r] *In indite in appendicem Concil Lateranens. 3. de Pactionib. 39. & 40.*

[f] *Part. 2. causa. 16. qu. 42. 1. cap.*

But that men were alwayes bounde to pay their Tythes of such things as they possesse, within the place of their habitation, to the Ministers of the same, it may easily bee proued, in that, very Auncient Councels do prouide, that no man shal pay the Tithes of such things as he hath within the limits of any place, but to that Church, to which all they that inhabite, there resort for Baptisme, and Spirituall instruction.

VVee decree (saith) [t] *Anastasius*, Bishoppe of *Rome*, that if any man seeke to with-hold the Oblations, and Tythes, which the people ought to yeeld vnto the Church, or giue them away from that Church, where they of the places, where such Tythes arise, doe vsually receaue the Sacrament of Baptisme, to any other without the Bishoppes consent, lette him bee accursed.

[t] *Citatus part. 2. causa. 16. quæst. 1. cap. 55.*

It hath seemed good, not only to vs, but to our Aunceſtors, (saith [u] *Leo* the Fourth) that the people shal pay their Tythes, where they and their children are baptized, and no where else. The [x] Councell of *Wormes* prouideth, that if any man with the Bishopps consent builde a new Church within his owne land, the Auncient Church shall not bee preiudiced, but all accustomed Tythes shall bee still payed vnto it. The [y] Councell of *Ticin* saith, there are certaine Lay-men, who hauing Churches or Oratories within the compasse of their owne landes and possessions, pay not the Tythes to those Churches, where they are partakers of the benefit of Baptisme, Preaching, Imposition of handes, and other Sacraments of *CHRISTE*; but giue them to their owne Churches, or their owne Clearkes, as they list; which is contrary to the Law of God, and the sacred Canons.

[u] *Ibid. cap. 45.*

[x] *Canon. 47.*

[y] *Habetur. Tomo. 3. Concil. apud. Binnium. pag. 656.*

And therefore the Councell of [z] *Mentz* in the time of *Arnulphus*, decreed, That [z] Auncient Churches shall not be depriued of their Tithes, or other possessions, and that the thinges that formerly did belong vnto them, shall not bee giuen to newe Chappels, or Oratories.

[z] *Cap. 13.*

The first wrong that was offered vnto Churches, in depriuing them of

of their Tythes, that preuayled, was in fauour of Monkes, who hauing their manſion houſes within the precincts of pariſhes, and landes belonging to the ſame, which for their prouiſion they held in their owne handes, and vſed for their owne benefitte, reſted not till they obtayned of the Pope and other Biſhops to haue them Tithe-free.

The Councell of *Lateran* vnder *Alexander* the Third ordayneth, [a] *That religious men ſhall pay no Tythes out of ſuch their landes as they till them-ſelues.* But if they ſhal rent any, they ſhall pay Tithe as other do: & likewiſe if they let any landes out vnto Countrey-men to be tilled, they ſhall pay Tythes out of them; yea if they ſhall get new landes, after their foundation and confirmation of their Priuiledges, they ſhall pay Tythes, though they keepe them in their owne handes. But this exemption of Religious men, (though very preiudiciall to the Church) ſtaid not heere, but preuayled yet further, to the great hurt of the Church: & therfore we read, that ſome ſought to exempt their Farmers alſo from paying Tythes: which the Biſhoppes aſſembled in the Councell of [b] *Cabilon* diſliked, and commaunded that both Biſhoppes and Abbots ſhoould permitte their Tenants to pay Tythes in the places where they receaued the Sacraments: and that they ſhould keepe the Tythes of ſuch fieldes and Vineyardes, as they held in their owne occupation, to them-ſelues. Thus we ſhal find that this Monkiſh generation firſt robbed the parochiall Churches, within the boundes whereof their houſes and poſſeſſions were, of a great portion of Tythes due vnto them, by their priuiledges and exemptions: and that after they had taſted the ſweetneſſe of this robbery, they went forward, till they had ſubiected thoſe Miniſters and their Churches to them-ſelues, to whoſe Iuriſdiction they were formerly ſubiect: And got the Tythes that others payed to parochiall Churches, to be appropriated to them-ſelues, that at firſt by priuiledge exempted them-ſelues from paying Tythes; forgetting that of Saint [c] *Hierome*; *Alia Monachorum eſt cauſa, alia Clericorum, Clerici paſcunt oues, ego paſcor, illi de Altari viuunt, mihi quaſi infructuoſæ arbori ſecuris ponitur ad radicem ſi munus ad Altare non defero; nec poſſum obtendere paupertatem, cum in Euangelio anum viduam, duo quæ ſola ſibi ſupererant æra, mittentem laudauerit Dominus, mihi ante Preſbyterum ſedere non licet; illi ſi peccauero, licet tradere me Satanæ in interitum carnis, vt Spiritus ſaluus ſit.* That is; the condition of Monkes and the condition of Cleargy-men differ very much. Cleargy-men ſeede the Sheepe of *CHRISTE*, but I am fedde; they liue by the Altar, but if I bring not my gifte to the Altar, the Axe is laid vnto mee, as to an vnfruitfull Tree; neyther can I pretend Pouerty, ſeeing the LORD in the Goſpell, praiſed the VVidowe, that caſt in two Mites, which was all that ſhee had; I may not ſitt in the preſence of

[a] *Indice in appendicem.*

[b] *Cabilonenſ. 2. Canone. 19.*

[c] *Hier. ad Heliodorum de laude vitæ ſolitariæ.*

of a Presbyter, but if I offend, he may deliuer me to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh that the spirit may be saued.

But as these idle bellies, and euill beasts, by the fauour of Popes and Prelates, gott into their hands the portion which God appointed for his seruants the Ministers of his Churches; so in the end growing odious to the world, for that professing mortification, and a voluntary penitentiall course of life, they abounded in wealth and surfetted vpon pleasures, more then any secular men in the world, they were deuoured of others, who seazed vpon their houses, tooke from them their reuenewes, and together with their other liuings, led captiue that portion of tithes, they found in their possessions; and hold it (in sort) as the former vsurpers did, euen to this day.

So that wee may truely pronounce, that the Cloisters of Monks are guilty of all that horrible Sacriledge, that hath laied wast so many Churches, spoyled so many Christians of the comfort of Godly Pastors, that other-wise they might haue enioyed; and brought the Cleargy into that meane estate, that now it is come vnto. For it is not to be imagined, that euer any Lay-man would once haue entertayned a thought of receauing tithes, that (as consecrated things to GOD, and holy vnto him) were to bee put into the Store-house of his Temple, if they had not found them, (who by the originall of their order, and institution, were to pay, and not to receaue tithes) possessed of them and spending them in most vile and shamefull manner. Neither shall wee euer finde (as I thinke) that Lay-men inherited this portion of the Lord, in sort as now they doe, till the suppressing of the houses of these irreligious Monkes; which were become cages of vncleane Birdes, and dens of theeues and robbers.

It is true indeed that [d] *Duarenus* hath, that the right of receauing sacred tithe, *Clientelæ titulo*, was by certaine Princes, with the consent of the whole Cleargy, made ouer to Knights and Marshall men, for defending the Church, and people of CHRIST against the enemies of religion. But this was for the good and benefit of the Cleargy, and in their right; and not as now it is, by absolute title of Inheritance, and Fee-simple or Free-hold.

[d] *De Sacris Eccle. minist. & benef. lib. 7. cap. 1.*

The beginner of this kind of assignation of tithes to Lay-men, for defence of the Church, was *Charles Martell*: as *Duarenus* saith, and the third Councel of *Lateran* reuersed & voided it, more then foure hundred yeres since.

From tithes, (which the Lord God, possessor of heauen and earth, appropriated to him-selfe, as his owne particular portion from the beginning, though all were his) let vs proceed to see what the deuotion of men

men gaue vnto him, since the appearing of CHRISTE, his Sonne in the world.

Touching which point, first, wee shall finde in the sacred storie of the Euangelistes, that many ministred vnto CHRIST out of their substance, and that hee had a Bagge, wherein hee kept the thinges which the faithfull ministred vnto him; and out of the same supplyed his owne ne-
[c] In Iohn. 13. cessities, and the wantes of others, as Saint [c] Augustine obserueth. So that he hee did not liue so, as to haue nothing, or to begge, (as some heere-tofore haue thought) whose error Pope Iohn the Two and twentith long since condemned. Here was the first patterne of Church-goods and treasure, as Augustine noteth.

After the death, resurrection, and returne of CHRIST into Heauen, such was the deuotion of the beleeuers in the beginning, that many of
[f] Acts. 4. 34. 35. them [f] sold their possessions, and brought the price therof, and laid it downe at the Apostles feete. VVhich communication of the goods of the first Christians, though it extended to the benefit of all, yet was there a speciall respect therein had to the Apostles; to whome they would haue nothing to bee wanting, and to whose disposition all was committed. The reason why they rather sold their possessions, & turned their lands into money, then gaue them to the Apostles, for the relieue & maintenance
[g] Decreti. part. 2. causa. 12. quæst. 1. cap. 15. of them-selues and others, was, (as [g] some thinke) for that the Church was soone after to bee remoued from those partes, and to be dispersed amongst the *Gentiles*, which made them little regard to haue lands and possessions in *Iudæa*.

But after these times, when the Christians were dispersed through-out the world, and Churches established amongst the *Gentiles*, they thought it better to giue landes vnto the Churches, for the maintenance of the Ministery, relieue of the Poore, and entertainment of Strangers, then money; as beeing a more sure, certayne, and setled Indowment, and consequently fitter for Churches established. Of which chaunge we may read in
[*] Ibid. cap. 16. the Epistle attributed to [*] *Vrbanus* Bishop of *Rome*, about the yeare two hundred twenty sixe. And though ỳ first course of giuing al that men possessed, to the common benefit, soone ceased, and was neuer practised (for ought we read) amongst the *Gentiles*: yet great was the deuotion of Christians, turning from *Gentilisme*, in those first Ages of the Church; while the blood of Christ lately shedde, was yet warme in mens hearts: so that they gaue many goodly and ample Indowments and Possessions to the Church. VVhere-vppon wee shall finde, that the Churche had very aunciently goodes and landes, as well as treasure.

For the Councell of [h] *Ancyra* holden in the yeare three hundred and
[h] Canone. 15. [i] Canone. 25. foureteene, voydeth the sale of such things, as the Church made by Presbyters, when there was no Bishoppe; and leaueth it in the choyce of the Bishoppe

Bishoppe when he is chosen, if he please, to resume the things them-selues againe.

The [i] Councell of *Antioch* in the yeare 240. maketh mention of the Fieldes, lands, and possessions of the Church, and taketh order how they shalbe disposed. *Agri Ecclesiæ* (saith *Ambrose*) *solvunt tributa*; that is, the fields and lands of the Church pay tribute. [k] *Constantine* the Emperour made a law, that it might be lawfull for such as pleased, to leaue their goods vnto the Church. And [l] *Licinia*, a rich and welthy Matron, gaue her goods by will vnto the Church of *Rome*, when *Marcellus* was Bishoppe. *Hilarie* Bishoppe of *Arle* (as [m] *Prosper* reporteth) not onely possessed such things as the Church had formerly, but greatly increased the possessions of it, receauing the inheritances of many, who gaue that they had to the Church. Thus did the deuout Christians of the Primitiue Church religiously giue, and the Godly Bishoppes take, such temporalties, as were giuen vnto them. And therefore the conceipt of *Wickliffe* (if that bee true that is imputed to him) and some other, cannot well bee excused, who thought, that *Constantine*, and other Christian Emperours sinned in giuing, and *Sylvester* and other Bishoppes in receauing temporall goods and possessions.

[i] *Cannon.25.*

[k] *Duaren.de Sacr. Eccles. minist.& benef. lib.2.cap.1.*

[l] *Ibid.*

[m] *De vita contemplatiua. lib.2.cap.9.*

It is true, that great was the superfluity of Church-men in latter times, and their state such, as made them forget the things that most concerned them: whence grew that saying, *Religio peperit diuitias, & filia deuorauit Matrem*; That is, religion brought forth riches, and the daughter hath deuoured the mother. [n] *Nauclere* reporteth, that there was a common conceit amongst many, that when *Constantine* first began to endow the Churches, with lands and possessions, a voyce was heard from Heauen saying, *Hodie venenum Ecclesiæ est immissum*, that is, This day is poyson powred into the Church: and in processe of time, temporall Princes (finding that the indiscreet deuotion of men, giuing more then was fit to the Church, preiudiced the state of their Kingdoms, and common wealthes) made Statutes of *Mortmaine*, to stay men from putting any more of their landes and possessions into such dead hands, as would doe them noe seruice.

[n] *Vol.2. generat.11.pa.505.*

But such is the infelicity of the sonnes of men, that commonly they runne out of one extremity into another; and while they seeke to avoyde one euill they fall into an other as bad or worse, The abuse of the riches and wealth the Church had in the time wherein *VVickliffe* liued, made him so farre dislike the present state of things; that hee thought the contrary would right all againe; as the manner of men is, when they goe about to straighten a thing that is crooked, to bow it as much the other way. But [o] *Gerson*, a right, good religious and wise man bringeth in an euen and iust moderation, to inter-pose it selfe betweene these extremities, that neither men giue so much to the Church, as

[o] *De potest. Eccles. & consider.12.*

to

to make her fette her feete on the neckes of Emperours, nor yet bring her to want and contempt; which hath beene the courſe of ſome men in our times, the vnhappy ſequells of whoſe proceedings, wee ſee already in part; and it is to be feared, that Poſterity ſhall feele the ſmart of it in more grieuous ſort then we do.

But to returne to the matter whence we are a little digreſſed. Theſe Lands, which deuout and good people gaue vnto the Church, were at firſt poſſeſſed ioyntly by the Biſhoppe and Cleargy; but in proceſſe of Time, a diuiſion was made, and eyther knew diſtinctly their owne, and had power to diſpoſe of it; ſo that they did nothing preiudiciall to the inheritance of their Churches, or tending to the hurt of them that were to ſucceed them. For (to reſtraine them from doing any ſuch thing) the Biſhoppe was forbidden by the lawes of the Church, to lette any thing belonging to his See, without the confirmation of his Cleargy, and the Miniſters abroad, to alienate, exchaunge, or demiſe any thing without the conſent of the Biſhoppe, and Patrons, or Founders of the Churches. Otherwiſe, both the Biſhoppe might diſpoſe of him-ſelfe alone, of that portion that belonged vnto him, and the Miniſters of their Tythes, Oblations, Obuentions, and Glebe-landes, without the Biſhoppes intermedling with them: onely three thinges were due to the Biſhoppe out of the Liuings of inferior Miniſters.

For firſt, as [p] *Duarenus* noteth, the Miniſters of inferior Churches, were to giue yearely a certayne tribute or penſion vnto the Biſhoppe: which Tribute or Penſion was called *Cathredaticum, quod Cathedræ, i. honori Epiſcopali, debeatur.*

[p] *De ſacris Eccleſ. miniſt. & Benef. lib. 7. cap. 5.*

Secondly, when the Biſhoppe goeth to viſite his Dioceſſe, and the pariſhes abroad, the inferior Miniſters are to giue him entertainment, and prouide for him; which is called *Procuratio*; *Quia Eccleſiæ Epiſcopum procurant, i. curant, alunt & tuentur, ſicut pueri dicuntur procurari a nutricibus:* That is, Procurations, becauſe the Churches abroad, muſt take care, prouide, and procure, all thinges neceſſary for the Biſhoppes lodging, diet and entertainment. But becauſe in theſe viſitations ſome Biſhoppes grew too chargeable, therefore the Councell of [q] *Lateran* limiteth what company a Biſhoppe ſhall haue with him, when hee goeth to viſite. Thirdly, in former times, the fourth part of the Tythes due to inferior Churches, and the fourth part of ſuch thinges, as by Will men gaue to them, was by the Miniſters of theſe Churches, to bee paid vnto the Biſhoppe, which thing is now growne out of vſe. Neyther is there any other thing payable, and due to the Biſhope, from inferior Miniſters, but Procurations onely.

[q] *Sub. Alexand. 3. cap. 4.*

Thus were Church-landes, and Tythes, (which at firſt were enioyed by the Biſhoppe and Cleargy ioyntly) in time diuided, and eyther of

of them had an entire power to dispose of the same, as seemed good vnto him, without the intermedling of the other: yet was there a difference made, betweene such things as they had by right of inheritance, or by the gift of their friendes, and those thinges which they gayned and gathered vpon their Ecclesiasticall liuings. For sundry Canons prouided, that Bishoppes and other Cleargy-men, might make their last Will and Testament, and giue to whome they pleased, that which came to them by inheritance, the gift of their friendes, or which they gayned vppon the same. But that which they gayned vppon their Church-liuings, they should leaue to their Churches. But the Church of *England*, had a different custome: neyther were these Canons euer of force in our Church: And therfore, her Bishoppes and Ministers might euer at their pleasure bequeath to whome they would, what-soeuer they had gayned, eyther vppon their Church-liuings, or otherwise. And surely there was great reason it should bee so, for seeing, *The labourer is worthy of his hire*, why should not they haue power to giue that which was yeelded vnto them as due recompence and reward of their labours, to whome they please.

And how can it bee excused from iniustice and wrong, that men (spending a great part of their owne Patrimonie, in fitting them-selues for the Ministery of the Church, which conuerted to the best aduantage and benefitte, might greatly haue enriched them) should not haue right and power to dispose of such thinges, as they haue lawfully gayned, out of those Liuings which are assigned to them, as the due reward of their worthy paynes? Yet are there some, that are much more iniurious to the holy Ministery.

For [r] *Waldensis* out of a Monkish humour, thinketh that Cleargy-men are bound to giue away, what-soeuer commeth to them, by inheritance, or by any other meanes; and that they ought not to possesse any thing in priuate, and as their owne. And alleadgeth to this purpose the saying of *Origen*, *Hierome*, and *Bernard*; that the Cleargy man that hath any part or portion on earth; cannot haue the Lord for his portion, nor any part in heauen.

[r] *Doct. fidei. lib. 4. art. 3. cap. 42.*

But Cardinall [s] *Bellarmine* answereth to these authorities, That these Fathers speake of such as content not them-selues with that which is sufficient, but immoderately seeke the thinges of this world; and proueth, that Cleargy-men may haue, and keepe Lands, and Possessions as their owne. First, because the Apostle prescribeth that such a one should bee chosen a Bishoppe [t] *As gouerneth his owne house well, and hath children in Obedience*; which presupposeth that he hath something in priuate, and that is his owne. Secondly, he confirmeth the same, by the [u] Canons of the Apostles, the Councell

[s] *De clericis. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

[t] 1. Tim. 3. 4.

[u] *Can. 40.*

of

of [x] *Agatha*, *Martinus Bracharensis* in his [y] Decrees, and the first Councel of [z] *Hispalis*; and further addeth, That a man hauing Lands, Possessions & Inheritance of his owne, may spare his own liuing, and receiue maintenance from the Church: for proofe whereof he alleadgeth the Glosse, & *John de* [a] *Turrecremata*, a Cardinall in his time of greate esteeme; and confirmeth the same by that saying of Christ, [b] *The labourer is worthy of his hyre*, and that of the Apostle Saint *Paul*, [c] *Who goeth to warfare at any time, at his owne charge?*

[x] *Can.* 48.
[y] *Can.* 15.
[z] *Canon.* 1.
[a] *In Cap. Clericos.* 1. *qu.* 2.
[b] Math. 10. 10.
[c] 1 Cor. 9. 7.

FINIS.

23 AP 57

Minochius D. Resp.